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# SAIPAN

## THE ETHNOLOGY OF A WAR-DEVASTATED ISLAND

ALEXANDER SPOEHR

FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 41

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CHICAGO NATURAL HISTORY MUSEUM

FEBRUARY 11, 1954





# FIELDIANA: ANTHROPOLOGY

*A Continuation of the*

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES

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VOLUME 41



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SAIPAN

THE ETHNOLOGY OF A  
WAR-DEVASTATED ISLAND



SAIPAN  
THE ETHNOLOGY OF A  
WAR-DEVASTATED ISLAND

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## Preface

The anthropological field research on which this report is based was conducted for Chicago Natural History Museum. For approximately one year, from November, 1949, to the latter part of October, 1950, I undertook both archaeological and ethnological investigations in the Mariana Islands, principally on Saipan, with short periods of work on Tinian, Rota, and Guam. The present monograph contains the results of field work among the Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan. A future publication will be devoted to the archaeological phase of the research in the Marianas, while special aspects of the work have been treated in articles in journals (Spoehr, 1951a, 1951b, 1953; Stewart and Spoehr, 1953).

M. SMITH

The 1949-50 expedition was also sponsored by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, as part of its program, known officially as Scientific Investigations in Micronesia (SIM). At the time of my field research in the Marianas, the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was administered by the Department of the Navy, which extended its full co-operation and valuable assistance.

As in the case of my past field research undertaken in behalf of Chicago Natural History Museum, I am indebted to the Museum for its generous financial support of the Marianas project. Mr. Stanley Field, President of the Museum, and Colonel Clifford C. Gregg, Director, provided their usual thoughtful aid. To Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator, Department of Anthropology, I am particularly indebted for encouragement and assistance. Miss Lillian Ross, Associate Editor of Scientific Publications, has kindly devoted much time and painstaking effort to seeing this report through the press. Miss Agnes McNary, Departmental Secretary, had given generous assistance during the period of preparation of the manuscript for publication.

To the Pacific Science Board goes most of the credit for the anthropological field research carried out in Micronesia since World War II. It was a privilege to have the Marianas expedition receive the official sponsorship of the Pacific Science Board. Mr. Harold J.

Coolidge, Executive Director of the Board, provided invaluable assistance in acting as liaison with the Navy Department and in caring for the great number of details inevitable in the preparation for a field project in the Pacific. He has my special thanks. Miss Ernestine Akers of the Honolulu office of the Pacific Science Board was most helpful, and I am grateful for her assistance.

The Navy Department kindly allowed me the use of government transportation for my family and myself from San Francisco to the Marianas and extended also the use of inter-island transportation facilities. The Department permitted me to rent quarters on Saipan for my family, provided commissary privileges, and in many other ways helped to make my stay in the Marianas both pleasant and productive. I am appreciative of the interest shown in my field work by Admiral A. W. Radford, then High Commissioner of the United States Trust Territory, Rear Admiral L. S. Fiske, then Deputy High Commissioner, and Commander L. B. Findley. On Guam, Rear Admiral and Mrs. E. C. Ewen and Commander E. C. Powell were most hospitable. For their assistance on Saipan, I am particularly grateful to Captain W. C. Holt, then Governor of the Northern Marianas, and to Mrs. Holt, to Commander and Mrs. J. R. Grey, and Commander and Mrs. W. R. Lowndes. Commander Grey and Commander Lowndes were in turn Civil Administrators of the Saipan District during my period of field work. To the following members of the administration staff and to their wives I am indebted for aid and hospitality: Captain S. P. Sanford, Lieutenant Commander J. B. Johnson, Lieutenant C. J. Carey, Lieutenant J. S. Broadbent, Lieutenant J. S. Bowman, Lieutenant R. F. Roche, Lieutenant B. I. Rosser, Lieutenant (jg.) S. Weinstein, Lieutenant (jg.) D. D. Moore, Lieutenant (jg.) W. E. Laskowski, Ensign R. K. Hoffman, Chief C. T. Smallwood, Staff Sergeant J. E. Hinkle, U.S. M.C., and Messrs. Cyrus F. Quick, Frank L. Brown, Ernest G. Holt, Kan Akatani, Woodrow H. McConnell, and John A. Wood.

I also wish to acknowledge the friendly interest of the members of the Capuchin mission on Saipan, in particular the Reverend Ferdinand Stippich, OFM, Cap., the Reverend Rufin Kuveikis, OFM, Cap., and the Reverend Marchand Pellet, OFM, Cap.

An ethnologist is, most of all, indebted to the people among whom he has worked. My thanks go to all the Chamorros and Carolinians who helped me so generously during my stay on Saipan. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude to the following Chamorros and their families: Messrs. Ignacio V. Benavente, Vi-



cente de L. Guerrero, Ricardo T. Borja, Elias P. Sablan, William S. Reyes, Juan M. Ada, Joaquin S. Pangelinan, José S. Pangelinan, Ignacio Sablan, Antonio S. N. Palacios, Joaquin M. Palacios, J. Torres, and José A. Shimizu, as well as Soledad J. Camacho.

Among the Carolinians, I am especially appreciative of aid received from Messrs. Benedicto Taisacan, Antonio Mangarero, David Massiano, Antonio Angailin, and Eduardo Peter, and from Maria Taisakan.

To Dr. Paul Fejos and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., my thanks go for the loan of photographic equipment.

On my return to the continental United States, I was enabled to conduct additional documentary research on the Marianas through a grant-in-aid awarded by the Social Science Research Council, to whom acknowledgment for their generosity is herewith made.

Finally, to my wife, Anne Harding Spoehr, goes my special gratitude for handling the problems of logistics on Saipan, for her assistance in the composition of text figures, and for her forbearance and encouragement during the period of field work and subsequent preparation of this report.

ALEXANDER SPOEHR

*December 1, 1952*



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## I. Introduction

Though it is neither as picturesquely rugged as some of the high islands of Polynesia, nor as majestic as Ponape in the Carolines, the Island of Saipan in the Marianas group of Micronesia has a certain massive character of its own. Viewed from an approaching plane or from a ship offshore, Saipan appears as a handsome tropical island. Rising from its center are the forest-topped slopes of Mount Tapochau, whose form suggests a long-extinct volcano, though it is actually composed of eroded limestone. The western shore is bordered by a thin strip of white coral-sand beach, with the roll of breakers farther out marking the string-like barrier reef that encloses a narrow lagoon. Elsewhere, Saipan's shore line consists of steep cliffs. The spume and spindrift rise from the crashing waves and float upward. This rugged shore line is broken occasionally by stretches of beach leading out onto fringing reefs. A number of points of land give the island the irregularities that form its distinctive outline. From a ship offshore, these points—Agingan, Naftan, Kagman and Marpi—look like tapering arms extending into the ocean from Mount Tapochau, in the center of the island.

On landing on Saipan itself, however, the visitor is presented with a different picture. Here is no Pacific island with abundant coconut palms, breadfruit, and pandanus; nor is there here the pre-World War II island covered with carefully tended fields of sugar cane. Saipan, five years after the war, is a strange and incongruous mixture of natural beauty and the ugly, abandoned remains of war. In the few years since the invasion of the island by American forces in World War II, the ancient ruined stone pillars (*latte*) that formed the foundations of prehistoric Chamorro houses have been joined by more recent architectural relics. The main town of Garapan—its pre-war population was more than 13,000—is no more. Wrecked in the invasion battle, it was bulldozed and its ruins now lie beneath several feet of crushed coral limestone, on which were built rows of immense, war-time warehouses that today stand empty and abandoned. The only visible remains of Garapan's former existence are the belltower of the old Catholic church, whose top projects above

THE MARIANA ISLANDS<sup>1</sup>

<i>Name</i>	<i>Area</i> (Square miles)	<i>Peak Elevation</i> (Feet above sea level)
Farallon de Pajaros (Uraecas)	0.79	1,047
Maug	0.81	748
Asuncion	2.82	2,923
Agrihan	18.29	3,166
Pagan	18.65	1,883
Alamagan	4.35	2,441
Guguan	1.61	988
Sariguan	1.93	1,801
Anatahan	12.48	2,585
Farallon de Medinilla	0.35	266
Saipan	46.58	1,554
Tinian	39.29	564
Aguijan	2.77	584
Rota	32.90	1,612
Guam	215.50	1,334
Total	399.12	

<sup>1</sup> Data from Bryan (1946).

the encroaching jungle; the small concrete hospital; and an unimportant structure that was once a telephone exchange. On the slope above the site of the town, hidden in a clump of trees, is a bronze statue of the founder of the Japanese sugar industry on Saipan, his frock coat and striped trousers pierced by bullet holes.

Scattered throughout the countryside are the foundations of ruined Okinawan farmhouses, surrounded by clumps of old banana trees growing in weed-covered yards. Along the beaches and on the heights at As Lito are dispersed the concrete pill boxes, bomb-shelters, and command posts of the Japanese defense forces—battle-scarred and cracked, with weeds growing on their roofs and through their walls, the massive steel ports rusty and ajar.

The most extensive ruins of all, however, are of American origin and date from the time when Saipan was a great war-time base. These are the rows and rows of abandoned rusty quonsets, and the lines of vacant, gradually rotting warehouses. Scattered around the island are the sagging remains of officers' clubs, Red Cross libraries, and chapels. The great air strips and hardstands are deserted save for an occasional abandoned engine. Rusty equipment, sometimes scattered, sometimes neatly lined up, lies useless and forsaken.

In this curious milieu, repeated at many a deserted American base in the Pacific islands, live some five thousand people. This community does not inhabit the kind of village that through long and undisturbed occupancy has acquired an appearance that joins

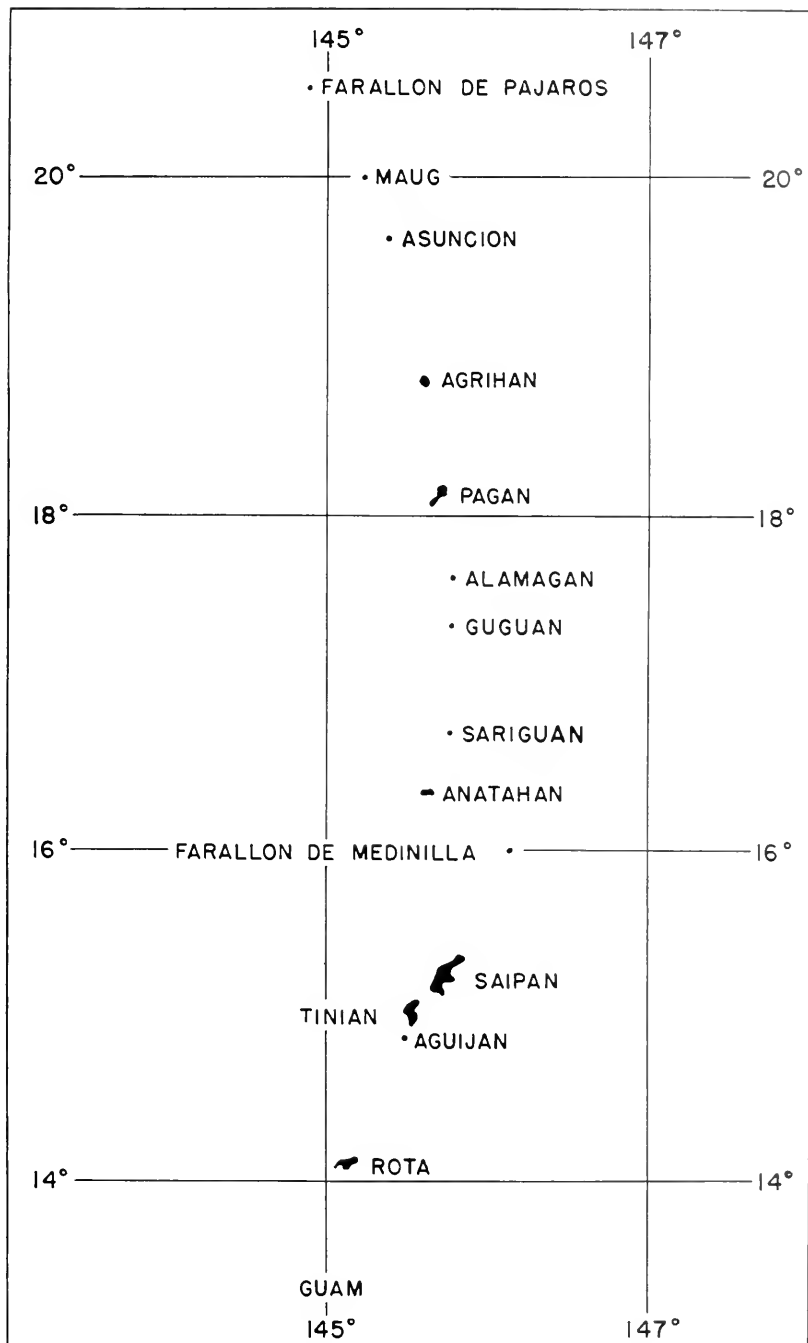


FIG. 1. Map of the Mariana Islands.

it immutably to its habitat. There are no well-ordered relationships here on Saipan between man and nature, no completely accepted modes of subsistence and occupancy that are reflected in a neatly formed cultural landscape—houses, fields, and other man-made modifications of the natural environment. There are no easily delineated patterns of settlement that give clear expression of a well-integrated and long-established local organization of community life. For war has passed this way, and its manifestations cannot be erased in a day or a year. The community on Saipan was torn by the roots from its pre-war existence. It is this community, striving to adjust itself to the upset social and natural conditions of its island home, that forms the subject of this study.

### The Mariana Islands

Stretching southward from Japan across the Pacific to the tip of New Guinea, there extends a long submarine ridge of volcanic origin, whose highest peaks project above sea level to form a series of islands and island archipelagoes. Among the more important of these are the Mariana Islands. This group consists of fifteen islands that lie in a long flat arc from Farallon de Pajaros (Uracas) in the north to Guam in the south, a distance of approximately 500 miles.

The Marianas can be divided into a northern and a southern group. The northern islands are a series of volcanic peaks rising abruptly from the sea. The southern group, consisting of Guam, Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, and Saipan, is composed of coral limestone resting on a volcanic base, with occasional surface areas of volcanic origin. The southern islands are less mountainous, with lower elevations and much greater areas of level or gently rolling land than the northern group. The characteristic topographic feature, particularly of the four islands north of Guam, is their structural system of superimposed limestone terraces, bordered by steep cliffs that probably indicate former stands of the sea.

The land area of the Marianas is approximately 400 square miles. The five southern islands together comprise more than three-quarters of this total, Guam alone including some 215 square miles. The southern islands, with much greater areas of level and more fertile land, are more suitable for human occupation and since prehistoric times have supported all but a small fraction of the population residing permanently in the Marianas group.

Although the Marianas are in the latitudes of the trade winds and enjoy a tropical maritime climate, they are also on the eastern

fringe of the Asiatic monsoon area. The climatic elements are accordingly determined to a large extent by the interplay of trade wind and monsoon. The trade winds prevail through the first part of the year until the early summer, when the winds shift to the south and the southwest. This condition continues until late summer, when the trade winds gradually assume control again. Temperatures are high, but, except for occasional spells during the summer months, are not oppressive. In the southern Marianas, temperatures range from 75° to 85° F., with a yearly average on Saipan of 78° F. In the summer the temperature is a few degrees higher than in the winter, and from time to time, when the wind drops, the heat combined with the high humidity makes for personal discomfort; but on the whole the Marianas enjoy a pleasantly warm but not an enervatingly hot climate.

Rainfall is abundant, with an annual average on Saipan of 82 inches. The Marianas experience distinct dry and wet seasons, the latter extending from about late June until early December, although the onset of each season is not sharply marked and tends to be variable. Also, during the dry season periodic rains can be expected.

Mention of typhoons must also be included in any summary of climate in the Marianas. These terrific and destructive storms strike the area most frequently between August and November, although they can occur in any month of the year. They usually originate well south of the islands, and hence their characteristic high winds, which may exceed 140 knots, are well developed by the time the storms reach the southern Marianas. However, the well-deserved reputation of these storms does not mean that they devastate all the islands in the Marianas each year. Saipan has not been struck directly by a major typhoon since 1905. Rota and Guam have been less fortunate. Nevertheless, typhoons must always be expected.<sup>1</sup>

### Saipan

Saipan, approximately 12.5 miles long and 5.5 miles across at its widest point, has a land area of a little more than 46 square miles. The island consists of a series of raised coral limestone terraces on a volcanic base. Topographically, the surface can be divided into two major areas: a mountainous interior upland, which occupies nearly a quarter of the total land area; and a series of

<sup>1</sup> For further information on the physical geography of the Marianas, see Bryan (1946) and the United States Navy Department Handbook (1944).

plateaus and coastal terraces, and a low coastal strip on the west side, which surround the rugged interior. The interior upland consists of steep slopes and rocky cliffs, culminating in a north-south crest from which rise several minor peaks and one major one, Mount Tapochau, that is the highest point on the island (see fig. 2).

The area surrounding the interior upland can be further divided into distinct surface regions. Bowers (1950, pp. 21-22) divides it into (1) a northern coastal terrace; (2) the peninsula formed by Kagman Point, which juts out from the east coast; (3) a southern plateau, including Naftan and Agingan Points; and (4) the coastal strip that fronts the lagoon shore along the west coast of the island. These areas contain the best farm land on the island.

The coastal strip along the west side has been particularly important in Saipan's history. As an area of human occupancy, it must be considered in conjunction with the lagoon, which combines with the land to provide a major subsistence resource. The lagoon is long and narrow, shallow through its southern extent and deeper in the northern arm. Until harbor improvements were made by the Japanese, the lagoon provided poor natural seaport facilities, as it was either too shallow or too studded with coral heads for regular use by ocean-going vessels, but its fish have always provided an important source of food for Saipan's population. In historic times, the principal settlements on the island have been along the lagoon side.

The island's vegetation has been so altered by man that its original character is no longer preserved. Only in a few small restricted areas on Mount Tapochau and along the cliffs and steep slopes of the east coast are there patches of forest that probably resemble the vegetation of early days. The Japanese planted sugar cane on most of the arable land. Today, acres of sugar cane fields lie abandoned, invaded by vines and weeds and interspersed with the cultivated areas of present farms, as well as by the acres of abandoned military installations. The latter are in turn being rapidly overgrown by vines, shrubs, and the *tangan-tangan* (*Leucaena glauca*), which in places has formed almost impenetrable thickets. Along the coast the usual strand vegetation is to be found. Other prominent features of the vegetation are the lines of acacia (*Acacia confusa*) and ironwood (*Casaurina equisetifolia*) set out by the Japanese, who also planted numerous poinciana trees. As on Guam, areas along the upper and mid mountain slopes are covered with sword grass (*Miscanthus floridulus*). Saipan also has one marsh

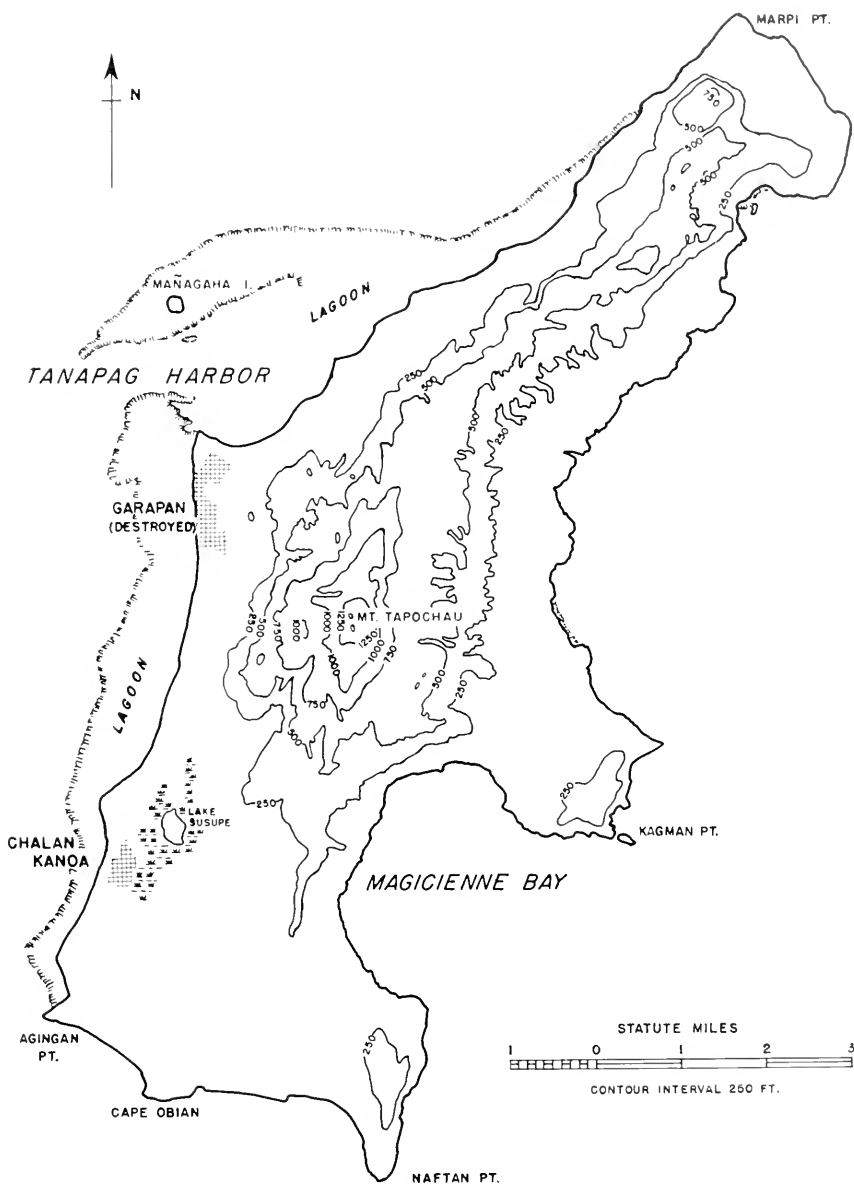


FIG. 2. Map of Saipan.

area around Lake Susupe, just east of Chalan Kanoa village, and a small bit of mangrove swamp farther north along the lagoon shore.

As on all Micronesian islands, the land fauna is markedly impoverished. The mammals include two species of bats, *Emballonura semicaudata* and *Pteropus mariannus*, the latter called *fanihi* and forming a traditional Chamorro food source but existing only in small numbers today. The rats are numerous and a serious pest. Mice are fortunately less numerous. Except for domesticated animals, these few species comprise all the mammals on the island. Reptiles include the omnipresent gecko, the iguana (*Varanus indicus*), introduced by the Japanese, who also brought the toad, and a single species of small, non-poisonous snake (*Typhlops braminus*). Only a small number of species of land birds exist, among the more prominent being a dove (*Phlegoenas xanthonura*). The Marianas mallard (*Anas oustaleti*), formerly numerous, seems now to be extinct on Saipan. Flies and mosquitoes are common, but fortunately the island has been spared the presence of *Anopheles*, and malaria does not exist. The most obvious faunal species on Saipan is the giant African snail (*Achatina fulica*), introduced during Japanese times and constituting today a serious pest.

### The People of Saipan

Apart from official American personnel and their families, the close to five thousand residents of Saipan are divided into two groups: a larger and dominant Chamorro population, and a smaller and ethnically separate Carolinian minority. There are no exact census figures for either of these two groups, but official estimates as of March, 1950, give the Chamorros a total of 3,821 and the Carolinians 1,104 (population data are included in the Appendix).

In Micronesia, the Chamorros of the Marianas possess characteristics that have long caused them to be differentiated from the rest of the indigenous island population. On Saipan, Chamorros and Carolinians have been in close contact for many years, but they retain a marked degree of separateness. The contrasts between Chamorros and Carolinians will be examined in greater detail in following sections of this account, particularly in the chapter that deals specifically with the latter group. For purposes of orientation, however, a brief summary of these contrasts is included at this point.

Modern Chamorro culture received its primary patterning after the Spanish first seized control of the Marianas in the seventeenth



century. At this time the Chamorros of the islands north of Rota were removed to Guam, where they could be more easily controlled by the Spanish. In the following century and a half, Chamorro culture was transformed into a Hispanicized Oceanic hybrid. Catholicism, with its close relation to familial life, was established as a central feature of the culture. Social organization became markedly modified. The old emphasis on maternal descent groups and on a rigid class structure of nobility and commoners gave way to Spanish-dominated patterns. At the same time elements of culture were introduced by the Spanish from the New World. Corn became the principal staple crop, supplemented by other New World vegetable foods and by associated elements of the food complex, such as the *mano* and *metate*, and *tortillas*. Thus a new culture developed, a Spanish-indigenous growth, incorporating also important American Indian and Filipino traits. Various aspects of this new pattern as it developed on Guam receive interesting treatment in Thompson (1947).

The present-day Chamorros of Saipan have not resided there from the early days of Spanish contact. As mentioned previously, the original Chamorro population was removed from Saipan by the Spanish conquerors and for nearly a century and a half no Chamorros lived on the island. It was not until the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century that Chamorros returned in numbers as permanent residents, migrating primarily from Guam, with a few also moving from Rota. It is from this relatively late migration that the present Chamorro community is descended. After the Spanish-American War, Germany acquired control of Saipan; after World War I, the Japanese assumed the administration of the island; and since World War II it has been an American concern. During this period of successive administrations by outside foreign powers, Chamorro culture has been affected by influences emanating from Europe, Japan, and America.

As a result of this long period of contact, Chamorro culture today is far removed from its original Oceanic antecedents. The Chamorros are as westernized as they are Oceanic, if westernization is not thought of purely in its twentieth-century context.

Physically, the pre-contact Chamorro stock has also been greatly altered. The Chamorros were almost exterminated, largely through the introduction of epidemic diseases, on Guam during the Spanish period. In the subsequent recovery of the population, sizable admixtures of Spanish and Filipino have made for a relatively hetero-

geneous racial group, further modified by additional outbreeding with individuals from other European countries, America, and more recently Japan. Many present-day Chamorros are physically indistinguishable from Europeans, while others display generalized Mongoloid features.

Through all these contacts and cultural modifications, the Chamorro language has persisted and is today the language used on Saipan. Chamorro has incorporated great numbers of Spanish loan words, and educated Chamorros are wont to think of Spanish as their "mother" tongue. Actually, however, Chamorro retains its Malayo-Polynesian morphology. One of the interesting features of the language is the way in which Spanish loan words are treated in accordance with the persisting Chamorro grammatical structure. Unfortunately, Chamorro has not claimed the attention of a professional linguist, though its study would reveal enlightening problems in the relation of cultural to linguistic change.

The Carolinians first came to Saipan in 1815, when a small party from a typhoon-devastated area in the central Carolines received permission from the Spanish authorities to settle on the island. The Carolinians therefore were the first to resettle Saipan after the forcible removal of the Chamorros in the seventeenth century. After the arrival of the first party, other small groups migrated from the Carolines through the years of the nineteenth century. The last increment of permanent settlers moved from Guam, where they had established a colony, after the Spanish-American War and the assumption of American sovereignty over Guam. American authorities on Guam exerted pressure on the Carolinian colonists to give up their native dress for western fashions and in other ways to change their old customs. The Carolinians thereupon moved to Saipan, then under a German administration that was more congenial to the retention of Carolinian ways.

Contemporary Carolinian culture on Saipan has been much modified by contact with the Chamorros and by the successive Spanish, German, Japanese, and American administrations. But it does not conform to the basic Spanish-Oceanic pattern of Chamorro culture. The Carolinians retain their own language for use among themselves, though most of them also speak Chamorro, for the latter is the dominant tongue. The Carolinians as a group are more conservative than the Chamorros, who are quick to borrow from outside sources. Probably because they are a minority, the Carolinians display greater unity and cohesion as a group and are very conscious of their ethnic separateness.

In a number of specific ways, the Carolinians display characteristics of their ancient island culture. In the subsistence pattern, the old division of labor whereby the men fished and the women took care of the garden plots still has great vitality. The men have never completely shifted to farming. Land tenure, inheritance, and the organization of familial life reflect the emphasis on maternal descent and the lineage, which are still of some importance in Carolinian life. The Carolinians continue to favor their old therapeutic practices in the treatment of disease instead of utilizing the Western medical facilities available on the island. They are all nominally Catholics, but their exposure to Catholicism has been of much shorter duration than in the case of the Chamorros, and it does not play as large a part in their culture. The Carolinians as a group are more homogeneous; they do not display the range in worldly sophistication of the Chamorros, who contain individuals varying from simple farmers to persons educated abroad.

In physical type, the Carolinians also offer a contrast. They tend to be stockier and darker in skin color, with predominance of curly hair, and do not exhibit the extreme variations characteristic of the Chamorros. Features of dress also distinguish them.

Chamorros and Carolinians get along amicably enough, despite sporadic occurrence of tensions between individuals of the two groups. However, the Chamorros as a whole consider themselves as a superior group and the Carolinians as a less civilized and backward one. In this, the Chamorros point to their long history of Catholicism, their greater literacy and schooling, and their progressive westernization. Whereas the majority of Carolinian adults know Chamorro, only a very few Chamorros know Carolinian. The amount of intermarriage between the two groups is not great, although it is more than is commonly supposed. My genealogies reveal twenty marriages today, but with the years of common residence on Saipan, there is a considerable background of miscegenation between the two groups. In intermarriages, if the man is a Chamorro, the children generally consider themselves Chamorros.

The Carolinians, on the other hand, feel they are different from the Chamorros, but not necessarily inferior, and during my stay a number of Carolinians expressed mild resentment at the Chamorros who imputed inferiority to their group. In working with Carolinian informants, I found a number who pointed to differences in the value patterns between Chamorros and Carolinians and who stoutly maintained that their own were superior. Yet under the successive foreign administrations of Saipan, the greater degree of westerniza-

tion of the Chamorros, their greater literacy, and their eagerness to borrow from the culture of the administering group have given them a preferred position.

One key to the status positions of Carolinians and Chamorros is found in the marriages with outlanders from other parts of the Pacific and of the world. The Chamorros have a long history of intermarriage with Spanish, other Europeans, Americans, Filipinos and in the last few decades with Japanese. At the present time (1950) there are eleven Japanese adults living on Saipan who either are or have been married to Chamorros. In addition, there is a larger group which is the offspring of Japanese-Chamorro unions in the past. There are at least two Japanese children who have been adopted by Chamorro foster parents. On the other hand, there is only one Japanese living on the island who is married to a Carolinian. Although in the past there have been a number of other unions of Carolinians with Japanese, Americans, or Europeans, these have been few and were generally casual liaisons unsanctioned by wedlock. On Saipan today there are also five Filipinos, all married to Chamorros, who intend to make Saipan their permanent home. There is also one long-time resident who originally came from Santiago, Chile, married a Chamorro and has reared a family to adulthood. There are no comparable marriages among the Carolinian group.

There is also a contrast in marriages with islanders from other parts of Micronesia. There are two full-blood men from the Marshalls living on Saipan and married to Carolinians. There is also a resident of Saipan who is of mixed German, Portuguese, and Marshallese descent. He is married to a Chamorro. A parallel situation exists on Tinian. Thus, mixed-blood islanders, who usually have formal schooling, marry Chamorros, whereas full-blood islanders marry Carolinians. It would be difficult to conceive of a socially marginal mixed-blood group developing among the Chamorros out of the present contact situation, for despite the existence of a Chamorro culture the group is racially heterogeneous. The same situation does not hold for the Carolinians.

These are a few of the more obvious contrasts between Chamorros and Carolinians.

#### PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS

The people of Saipan have been the subject of four principal field investigations since the close of World War II. The first of

these was conducted by E. E. Gallahue as part of the United States Commercial Company's Economic Survey of Micronesia. Gallahue's report (1946) on the economy of the Marianas has not been published, but his principal conclusions have been incorporated in the final summary report of the survey (Oliver, 1951). The second and third field studies were part of the *Coordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology*, sponsored by the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. Under this program, Alice Joseph and Veronica F. Murray undertook an analysis of Chamorro and Carolinian personality structure. Their interesting and important findings have recently been published (Joseph and Murray, 1951). The third investigation was a geographic study by Neal M. Bowers of problems of resettlement on Saipan, Tinian, and Rota. Bowers' report (1950)<sup>1</sup> is fundamental to a full understanding of the complex problems of economic reconstruction in the Marianas.

The present monograph is concerned primarily with social organization, and its focus of interest lies somewhere between the study by Joseph and Murray on one hand and Bowers on the other. It necessarily impinges on both. In places, the same basic data appear in this report as in the other two, but in the present state of anthropological field research the confirmation of a previous investigator's data is surely desirable. Finally, in so far as the ethnographic study of Chamorro culture is concerned, this monograph is linked to those of Safford (1905), Fritz (1904), and Thompson (1947).

During the last two decades, much field research has been devoted to the modern cultures of Hispanic America. A corpus of knowledge of these cultures has been obtained, which, combined with the data of documentary history, has allowed inferences as to the processes of change operative during the long period of Spanish influence and has facilitated the analysis of the dominant characteristics of contemporary Hispanic-American cultures and societies. In order to give wider comparative perspective to these studies, Foster has recently initiated field research in Spain (Foster, 1951). At the same time, he has pointed out that the fact of pronounced Spanish influence in the Philippines makes the examination of Christian Filipino communities of marked significance in the comparative study of culture dynamics within the context of Hispanicized, non-European societies.

The Chamorros of the Mariana Islands are also a Hispanicized group, with a long period of documented history behind them.

<sup>1</sup> Published 1953, after this report was in press.

Field research into the nature of Chamorro culture is a logical extension of the anthropological investigation of modern Hispanic-American cultures. As subjects for study, the Chamorros are of more significance in the frame of reference of culture change among Hispanicized, New World societies than in purely Oceanic ones. The first purpose of this report is to bring the Chamorros into the comparative study of Hispanicized, non-European peoples more specifically than has been done heretofore. It is primarily for this reason that the first part of this report is concerned with the historical antecedents of contemporary Saipan. This subject has been competently treated by Joseph and Murray in the introduction to their own volume on Saipan, but an attempt has been made in the present work to deal at somewhat greater length with the events of the Spanish period in the Marianas.

The second point of interest of this report lies with Saipan as a war-devastated island. The Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan lay directly in the path of World War II. The field research on which this report is based was conducted six years after Saipan was invaded, five years after peace was made with Japan. During this period, the Chamorros and Carolinians have attempted to reconstitute their society and to seek again an orderly existence. Part II is devoted to an analysis of various facets of post-war Chamorro and Carolinian social organization, in the attempt to determine what is stable and what is unstable and in flux. The Chamorros and Carolinians remain a dependent society, and the analysis of relative stability and instability in their social organization allows a fuller comprehension of the nature of their dependence, and a partial answer to the question: What are the characteristics of dependent societies?

Part III of this report continues more intensively the analysis of social organization and is concerned specifically with Chamorro family and kinship organization. I have attempted to define the Chamorro kinship system as a type, in order to facilitate comparison with other Hispanicized societies, particularly those of the Philippines. At the same time, various additional aspects of Chamorro culture, as these are related to kinship, are incidentally examined to illuminate the past influence of Spain in the fashioning of what has become Chamorro custom. Change and stability, as reflected in familial organization, are also analyzed for their relevance to the questions raised in Part II.

The report concludes with a section devoted to an outline of Saipan Carolinian kinship, in order to provide data paralleling but

yet contrasting with the treatment of Chamorro kinship. The principal theoretical point of significance of the Saipan Carolinian material lies in the nature of the kinship change that has occurred in this group. It provides one more case of a society in which the breakdown of lineage as an organizing principle apparently has been accompanied by a shift in kinship pattern to a different and yet definable type.





PART I  
HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF  
CONTEMPORARY SAIPAN

## II. Discovery

### Chamorro Culture at the Time of Discovery

When Europeans first arrived in the Marianas, they found the islands inhabited by a single people, speaking one language and possessing a homogeneous culture. These people came to be called Chamorros—the derivation of the word is uncertain—and they are called by this name today.

What is known of pre-contact Chamorro culture links the Chamorros with the remainder of Micronesia and with Malaysia. The prehistory of the Mariana Islands is still far from clear, but a few facts are beginning to emerge from the archaeological work that has been undertaken. To date, the earliest evidence of human occupation of the Marianas comes from the Chalan Piao site on the west coast of Saipan. Here, a large oyster shell found associated with potsherds in undisturbed indurated sand beds has been dated by the radiocarbon method. The date obtained was 1527 B.C.  $\pm$  200 (Libby, 1952). The conditions at the site indicate that the oyster shell and the potsherds were deposited at the same time, shortly after the death of the oyster, which was probably eaten by man. On the basis of this Carbon 14 date, the inference is that man first arrived in the Marianas some 3,500 years ago.

For early voyagers to have reached these remote islands, they must have possessed a form of transportation adequate for open-sea sailing. From the widespread distribution of the sailing outrigger canoe in Micronesia, and its presence in the Marianas at the time of discovery, it was probably this type of craft on which the first seafarers reached Saipan and the other Mariana islands from the Malaysian area. It is also probable that these people brought with them two tropical plants of undoubted antiquity in Malaysia—taro and the yam—and possibly also the coconut, the banana, and the breadfruit.

Until archaeological work progresses further, however, the culture of these earliest comers must remain largely a matter of conjecture. It is not until the period of discovery by Europeans, and just prior

to this time, that our knowledge allows a fairly full reconstruction of the ancient Chamorro culture. This knowledge is based on ethno-history (Thompson, 1945), combined with the results of archaeological work in late sites. Archaeological survey and excavations have been conducted principally by Hornbostel, whose work has been summarized by Thompson (1932), and by myself.

At the time of European discovery the Chamorros were living in villages and small hamlets. Except for small settlements in the interiorly located Marpo Valley on Tinian and in the fertile parts of the interior of Guam, most of these hamlets were along the coasts, in locations that combined suitable farm land with access to the sea and its supplies of fish. Subsistence was derived both from cultivated plant crops and from fish and sea food. Yams, taro, bananas, breadfruit, sugar cane, and coconuts were important vegetable foods. In addition, the Chamorros grew rice, the Marianas marking the farthest eastward extension of rice-growing into the Pacific islands in pre-contact times. The evidence for rice-growing comes principally from the accounts of early travellers, who mention it so frequently that their identification was probably correct.

For protein food the Chamorros relied on fish, taken with hooks, nets, and spears. They were expert fishermen, competent canoe-builders, and skilled sailors. Their facility with outrigger sailing canoes was often marvelled at by the early explorers. The first missionaries used Chamorro canoes in their various trips from Guam to the northern islands of the chain.

Domesticated animals seem to have been conspicuous by their absence. There is no certain evidence of the dog or pig, and whether the Chamorros had domesticated fowl is open to question (see Thompson, 1945, p. 30). The only wild animals important as food were the large fruit bat (*Pteropus* sp.) and the coconut crab (*Birgus latro*), both well liked today.

The Chamorros possessed no metal, and so they were forced to make their tools of stone, shell, bone, and wood. An extensive assemblage of stone and shell adze blades, stone pestles and mortars, pounders, shell fishhooks and gorges, stone and shell net sinkers, bone spear-points and other artifacts has been recovered from early historic and prehistoric Chamorro sites. Pottery was much used and was manufactured locally; every late archaeological site is marked by the presence of numerous sherds scattered on the surface.

The most distinctive feature of archaeological sites in the Marianas is double rows of stone columns, usually in sets of eight or ten,

called *latte*. The accounts of early observers, as well as the archaeological evidence, make it certain that these were house posts, supporting superstructures of wood and thatch (Thompson, 1932, 1945). As Thompson (1945, p. 37) points out, there are insufficient *latte* to have provided housing for the entire population, and it is probable that many settlements consisted largely of houses with wood rather than stone posts. Yet some villages consisting mostly of stone-pillared houses did exist. The houses were strung end to end, in either a double or a single line, paralleling the shore. Examples are the famous Taga site on Tinian, now largely destroyed (Thompson, 1932); the Blue site on Tinian, which I excavated; and large sites at Agingan and Unai Bapot (the former completely destroyed, the latter mostly so) on Saipan. Unfortunately, during and following World War II, military construction work resulted in the destruction of the major *latte* on Saipan and Guam. Rota, the least disturbed of the southern islands, has today most of the surviving *latte* in the Marianas.

In the villages consisting of houses of the *latte* type, the largest and most impressive structure is at the center (Taga and Blue sites on Tinian are examples). These buildings may well have served either as men's clubhouses—whose existence is documented in the early literature—or as the residences of chiefs. Apart from their size, there is little to distinguish them from other houses of the *latte* type. All have potsherds, artifacts, and the débris of daily life scattered in the ground and on the surface about them.

The social and political organization of the early Chamorros is but sketchily known. Society was stratified rigidly. The upper class formed a nobility that was probably endogamous. Ranking below them came a middle and a lower class, though whether these together formed a commoner group or whether the middle class was a kind of lesser nobility is not known. In Micronesia as a whole, hereditary class systems are widespread, and Chamorro society apparently conformed to this pattern of stratification.

The kinship system is even less known, as the early form has long since given way to patterns deriving from Spanish influence. Matrilineal descent prevailed and some form of matrilineage or matriclan probably existed, consonant with groupings found elsewhere in Micronesia. The relatively large size of many *latte* suggests that they were occupied by an extended family, no doubt based on maternal descent. Marriage involved, as it does today, an elaborate series of reciprocal social obligations between the parental groups.

Adoption of children, found everywhere in Micronesia, was likewise common in the Marianas.

Political organization was not highly developed. Thompson (1945, p. 12) states that each island was divided into districts, each containing one or more villages, united under a chief. In each village, the men's clubhouse served as an assembly hall and no doubt as a focal point for political activity. None of the districts of the main islands were united into a larger, well-knit, political organization. Rivalry and warfare among the districts of a single island were the rule, and during the Spanish conquest the Chamorros were never able to organize for a concerted, sustained, and united offensive against the Spanish military. Warfare was usually conducted by stealth and ambush by small parties armed with slings and spears and not subject to a large degree of organization and central authority.

For further information on the ancient Chamorros, the reader is referred to Thompson's account (1945), which is the authoritative compilation of ethnohistorical sources on early Chamorro culture.

### Discovery of the Marianas

On March 6, 1521, Magellan sighted the Marianas on his voyage westward across the Pacific. Secondary sources often state that Guam was the island he discovered and landed upon. Actually, the evidence is not this conclusive. Antonio Pigafetta, Magellan's chronicler, noted that "we discovered to the northwest a small island, and two others to the southwest. One was higher and larger than the other two." The islands were probably Saipan to the north and Tinian and Aguijan to the south, and Magellan may have sailed between Saipan and Tinian and landed on the latter. This possibility was recognized by Lord Anson (1748, p. 337), who thought that Magellan first sighted Saipan and Tinian. Burney (1803-17, vol. I, p. 57) likewise felt that the three islands Pigafetta described were Saipan, Tinian, and Aguijan. The question is a minor one and probably will never be settled. It is mentioned here because Magellan may well have been the first European to see Saipan.

In 1526, another group of Europeans arrived from the west. This was the Loyasa expedition, whose pilot was Sebastian del Cano, who had successfully brought Magellan's ship around the world and who was on his second trip across the Pacific. Both Loyasa and Cano died before the expedition reached the Marianas. The Span-

iards re-provisioned on Guam and picked up one Goncalo de Vigo, a Galician who had been living on Rota. De Vigo had deserted from Magellan's ship, *La Trinidad*. After Magellan's death in the Philippines, *La Trinidad* attempted to sail from the Moluccas to Mexico by a northeasterly route, but failed, and in returning touched at the Marianas, where De Vigo deserted with two companions, both of whom died.

Although in the following year (1527) Saavedra sighted the Marianas, the next major event in the post-contact history of the islands took place in 1565 with the arrival of Legazpi. The navigator of the expedition was an Augustinian sailor-monk, Andres de Urdaneta, famous in his day, who had previously seen the Marianas as a member of the Loyasa party. In secondary sources, Legazpi is often mentioned as having landed at Saipan, but he specifically states that on January 21, 1565, he sighted Guam, and the various accounts of the expedition make it clear that Guam was the provisioning island for the expedition. The party procured water, vegetables, and fruit, marvelled at the speed of the Chamorro canoes, were exasperated by Chamorro attempts to pilfer iron from the ships and to trade baskets of rice loaded with stones and straw, and revenged the murder of a Spaniard on shore by burning houses and killing several Chamorro men, though one can only speculate as to whether the murdered Spaniard had committed a serious breach of Chamorro custom. Several members of the Legazpi expedition — Urdaneta, Gaspar, Grijalva, and Legazpi himself — wrote ethnographic notes of importance for the anthropologists that followed them centuries later.

Legazpi formally proclaimed the Marianas to be Spanish territory and then sailed west to establish Spanish claims to the Philippines. To his navigator, Urdaneta, credit is given for thereafter discovering the route from the Philippines eastward to Mexico by way of the prevailing westerlies. A feasible route for regular transportation between Mexico and the Philippines was thus discovered. On the voyage, westward ships could follow the trade winds, stopping at the Marianas for water and provisions. On the eastward trip, they passed north of the Marianas, in the belt of the westerlies. With the growth of the Spanish colony in the Philippines, the Marianas accordingly became important as a way stop, and thus the Chamorros were brought into increasing contact with Europeans.

However, for a century after Legazpi's visit, Spain made no attempt to colonize the Marianas. They were simply a welcome

break in the long voyage from Acapulco to Manila. The number of ships making the voyage was never great and was confined largely to the annual galleon that brought gold from Mexico for the support of the Philippine colony. Yet over a period of a century the Marianas became well known to the Spanish, though the result of this contact on Chamorro culture must have been slight. Iron was eagerly sought from passing ships by the Chamorros, and this transient trade appears to have consisted primarily of the exchange of iron for water and Chamorro-grown fruits and vegetables.

The source materials for this century-long period are short and sketchy. Francisco de Sande notes that he sailed from Acapulco on April 6, 1575, and took 72 days to reach the Ladrones, where the water-butts were filled and where "I took on board a large anchor that I found that had belonged formerly to the flagship lost there by Ffelipe de Sauzedo." Francisco Gali (Burney, 1803-17, vol. II, p. 59) touched at Guam in 1582 on his way to Manila. In 1596, a Franciscan spent a year on Guam (Thompson, 1947, p. 179). In 1600, the merchant ship *Santa Margarita* left Manila for Mexico, met with storms and, after the death of the captain and most of the crew, put in at Rota. Some of the survivors were killed, and the others were distributed among various Chamorro villages. The next year the galleon *Santo Tomas* arrived on the annual trip from Mexico and picked up five survivors, but the captain, Maldonado, refused to wait until the other twenty-six could be located. One of his company, Fray Juan Pobre, jumped ship and remained on Guam. Another account mentions the wreck of the galleon *Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion* during a storm on September 20, 1636. The ship is supposed to have gone ashore on Tinian. Many of the ship's company drowned or were killed by the Chamorros, the survivors escaping to Guam and Rota. The friendly Chamorros on Guam gave the Spaniards two outrigger canoes, and in these, six Spaniards and two "Indians" (probably Chamorros) sailed to the Philippines in two weeks. Twenty-two Spaniards were left behind, those that did not die being picked up by later ships or remaining as permanent residents in Chamorro villages.

Although the ships touching at the Marianas were predominantly Spanish, visitors of other nationalities also arrived. In 1588, Thomas Cavendish, the third circumnavigator of the globe, sighted Guam and traded iron for fresh provisions from the Chamorros (Burney, vol. II, p. 90). Drake is sometimes thought to have touched at Guam, but the account of his voyage makes it more probable that

he stopped at an island to the south. Burney (vol. I, p. 356) believes it to have been the Palaus; Yap would fit the Drake account even better. Three Dutch explorers — Van Noort in 1600, Spilbergen in 1616, and Admiral Schapenham, commander of the Nassau Fleet, in 1625 — all stopped at the Marianas to reprovision their ships (Burney, vol. II, pp. 225–226, 350; vol. III, pp. 33–34).

The part that Saipan played in this thin trickle of trade with passing ships is not known. Guam, as the largest island in the Marianas, was the principal port of call. Yet Spanish ships must have stopped at Saipan. In a brief mention of the Chamorros, Antonio de Morga wrote in 1609 (Blair and Robertson, 1903–09, vol. 16, p. 202) that “. . . some Spaniards and religious have lived among them, because of Spanish ships being wrecked or obliged to take refuge there.” Bowers (1950, pp. 59–60) notes that Sebastian Cabot’s 1544 map of the world shows Saipan and Tinian placed with approximate correctness with respect to Guam. One can conclude that the Spanish early knew about Saipan, even if the date of their first arrival on the island is a matter of conjecture. The first clear reference that I have been able to find is contained in a letter from a Jesuit missionary, Peter Coomans, written in 1684, in which Coomans described an expedition which he accompanied to Saipan. On this expedition, the party raised the guns of a wrecked galleon from the sea at Agingan, on the south coast of the island. The galleon, according to Coomans, was wrecked in 1636 (Repetti, 1940c). It is possible that this was the *Concepcion*, as there is only a two-year discrepancy in dates between Coomans’ account and that cited by Blair and Robertson. Thus, 1636 is the earliest date that a contemporary observer has given to tie Saipan to our own calendar and to the stream of European colonial history.



### III. Conquest

The landing on Guam in 1668 of the first officially sponsored Spanish mission among the Chamorros opened the next epoch in the post-contact history of the Marianas. This period, which lasted for thirty years, was distinguished by the conversion of the Chamorros to Christianity and by their complete political subjugation to Spain. It was a time of continuous strife and unrest, interspersed with brief phases of peace. By the close of the period, the Chamorros had been decimated and subdued by years of violence.

Our knowledge of this thirty-year epoch derives almost entirely from the Jesuit missionaries. As was characteristic of their missionary efforts elsewhere, the Jesuit padres carefully documented their work in numerous letters and reports. These formed the source materials for two important works, those of Garcia (1683) and Le Gobien (1700), which provide us with most of what is known of this period in the history of the Marianas. Important supplementary information is contained in a number of seventeenth century Jesuit letters translated and published by Repetti (1940a, b, c, 1941a, b, 1945-46, 1946-47), as well as in later secondary sources (Murillo Velarde [1749], Freycinet [1829-37], and Corte [1876]). The Jesuit missionaries recorded events in the Marianas from their own particular point of view, and in the absence of other first-hand accounts it is often difficult to arrive at a balanced historical interpretation. Certain of the principal events of the period are outlined below.

In 1662, Luis de Sanvitores, a Spanish Jesuit, stopped briefly at Guam on his way to the Philippines. His glimpse of the Marianas led him to resolve to form a mission among the Chamorros. After overcoming numerous difficulties he was finally able to obtain the necessary support, and he set out for the Marianas with a small company of fellow Jesuits and secular companions. On June 15, 1668, their ship arrived off Guam, and the company landed on the island.

At first the padres were hospitably received. They made Agaña their headquarters and commenced the construction of a church and a house for their company. But it was not long before resistance

developed. To judge from the missionary accounts, Chamorro antagonism toward the missionaries centered around baptism, particularly of infants and children. Enough cases occurred where baptism was followed by the death of the child for the Chamorros to infer that baptism was the cause of death. Also, by this time, the infant mortality rate may have been boosted by the introduction of new diseases.

As far as the missionaries were concerned, the devil's advocate in the Chamorro resistance to baptism was a Chinese named Choco, who had been shipwrecked in the Marianas in 1648. For twenty years prior to the arrival of the Spanish missionaries he had lived among the Chamorros and in 1668 was residing in a village in the southern part of Guam. According to the missionaries, it was Choco who spread the belief that baptism caused death, and who encouraged the Chamorros to resist. Sanvitores himself sought out Choco and, having succeeded in getting him to agree to being baptized, performed the ceremony on the spot, though the earnest padre was embarrassed to have his two Filipino secular helpers run amok during the service. Choco's baptism did not stick, however, and soon he was again encouraging the Chamorros to oppose the Spanish.

Although baptism was a focal point around which resistance crystallized, it may well be somewhat over-emphasized in the accounts of Garcia and Le Gobien. It was attempts at baptism that resulted in the killing of a number of Spanish priests and helpers, including Sanvitores himself, who became a martyr to his cause when he was killed on Guam on April 2, 1672. Baptism was the occasion for open Chamorro hostility. However, it must not be forgotten that the missionaries' opposition to the sorcerers; to prevailing pre-marital sex practices and the apparently brittle marriage tie; to methods of disposal of the dead, which involved the display of ancestral skulls in the men's houses; to the men's houses themselves; to the custom of wearing little or no clothing; and probably to other undescribed facets of Chamorro custom, affected a series of institutions at the core of the local society and culture. The net effect is described by Garcia, who noted the commencement of armed opposition to the Spanish in the following words (Garcia, 1683, Higgins' translation):

Certain villages of the island of Guam were uneasy, and there was unrest because of the inconstancy of those natives, who change just for a change, and because their shoulders, unaccustomed to the weight of law or reason, felt the yoke of Christ too heavy, although it is light and easy for those who love him.



FIG. 3. Sanvitores (from Garcia, 1683).

Once antagonism toward the Spanish had broken out into open hostility, the secular power of Spanish colonialism was set into force. At first it was most inadequate, as only a small group of secular helpers and soldiers accompanied the priests, a force that was slightly replenished from time to time with the annual arrival of the galleon from Mexico. In 1676, the first governor of the Marianas was appointed, Don Francisco de Irisarry y Vivar, who took up residence on Guam and supported a strong secular policy. We are told (Garcia, 1683, Higgins' translation) that Irisarry

... made it obligatory for all baptized *indios* to attend church on Sundays and fiesta days, and to send their sons and daughters not only to learn the things of our Faith, but also to perform certain offices and duties necessary to the formation of a Christian and political republic.

The Spanish troops in the Marianas were never very numerous but the Spaniards finally prevailed, through their uncompromising zeal. The situation was such that it is doubtful that they could have remained in the islands without constant recourse to armed force. The man responsible for breaking the back of Chamorro resistance was José de Quiroga, who arrived on Guam in 1679. Thereafter he directed most of the armed expeditions against the Chamorros. Completely fearless, highly aggressive, thoroughly cognizant of Chamorro methods of warfare, physically tough as nails, and quite unscrupulous, Quiroga was in the tradition of the typical Spanish conquistador. He spent nearly twenty years in pacifying the islands, in which effort he finally succeeded. Thus, in the Marianas as in the New World, the sacred and secular aspects of Spanish colonialism were firmly bound together. The policy cannot be described better than in the words of Garcia's account of the conversion of the Chamorros:

It has been necessary in this spiritual conquest, as experience has shown us that it is always necessary among barbarians, that our Spanish zeal carry in its right hand . . . a plow and the Evangelical seed; and in its left hand . . . the sword, with which to prevent embarrassment to the religious labor.

Certain other features of the thirty-year period of conversion and conquest deserve brief mention. The Spanish were aided by the lack of a high degree of political organization among the Chamorros. The latter were accustomed to fighting each other before the Spanish came, and inter-district warfare continued to be a feature of Chamorro life, even though opposition to the Spanish no doubt created a common bond. Thus, in 1669, Sanvitores was influential in effecting a peace on Tinian between Marpo, an interior district,

and Sunharon, a coastal one, which seem to have been traditional enemies.

Also, during the period, the missionaries slowly succeeded in gaining converts among the Chamorros, so that a group of Christianized Chamorros was created to assist the Spanish effort. It is at this time that marriages of Spanish men and Chamorro women were first described. In one such instance, occurring in 1676, Garcia records that the father of the bride made an attempt to kill the bridegroom but was frustrated by the Spaniards, who hanged the father publicly in Agaña.

The Spanish centered their efforts on Guam. Their headquarters were at Agaña, where they built a church, a parish house, a seminary and a small presidio. From Agaña, they ventured to other parts of Guam and to the northern islands. The latter, however, were visited only periodically, though in the first few years the padres explored the chain as far north as Maug, apparently landing on all but two of the smallest islands—Farallon de Medinilla and Farallon de Pajaros. To the remaining thirteen, Sanvitores also gave Spanish names, though Asuncion is the only island name that has persisted. In the other twelve cases the original name has been retained. The list of names is given below:

<i>Chamorro name</i>	<i>Spanish name</i>
Guam.....	San Juan
Rota.....	Santa Ana (in the Jesuit accounts, Rota is also referred to as Zarpana, which sounds very much like a phonetic modification of Santa Ana)
Aguijan.....	San Angel
Tinian.....	Buenavista Mariana
Saipan.....	San Joseph (Saipan—spelled Saypan by Garcia—is today sometimes said to be of nineteenth century Carolinian origin. This is incorrect, as the name is found as far back as the sixteenth century)
Anatahan.....	San Joaquin
Sariguan.....	San Carlos
Guguan.....	San Phelipe
Alamagan.....	Concepción
Pagan.....	San Ignacio
Agrihan.....	San Francisco Xavier
Asonson.....	Asuncion
Maug.....	San Lorenzo

Sanvitores also established the name “Marianas” for the islands as a whole, in honor of Marie Ana of Austria, thereby superseding

the names "Ladrones" and "Islas de Latinas Velas" which had been in previous use, though "Ladrones" continued to be used as a synonym. Also during this period, the first reasonably accurate chart of the Marianas was drawn by Padre Alonzo Lopez. Lopez arrived on Guam from Mexico in 1671. He was sent by Sanvitores to Aguijan, Tinian, and Saipan, and he spent some time on Tinian, where he established a small seminary.

It is interesting to note that the exploration carried out by the padres was done entirely by outrigger canoes, manned by Chamorros. These were the accepted method of transportation and required a high degree of hardiness. In October, 1668 in the typhoon season

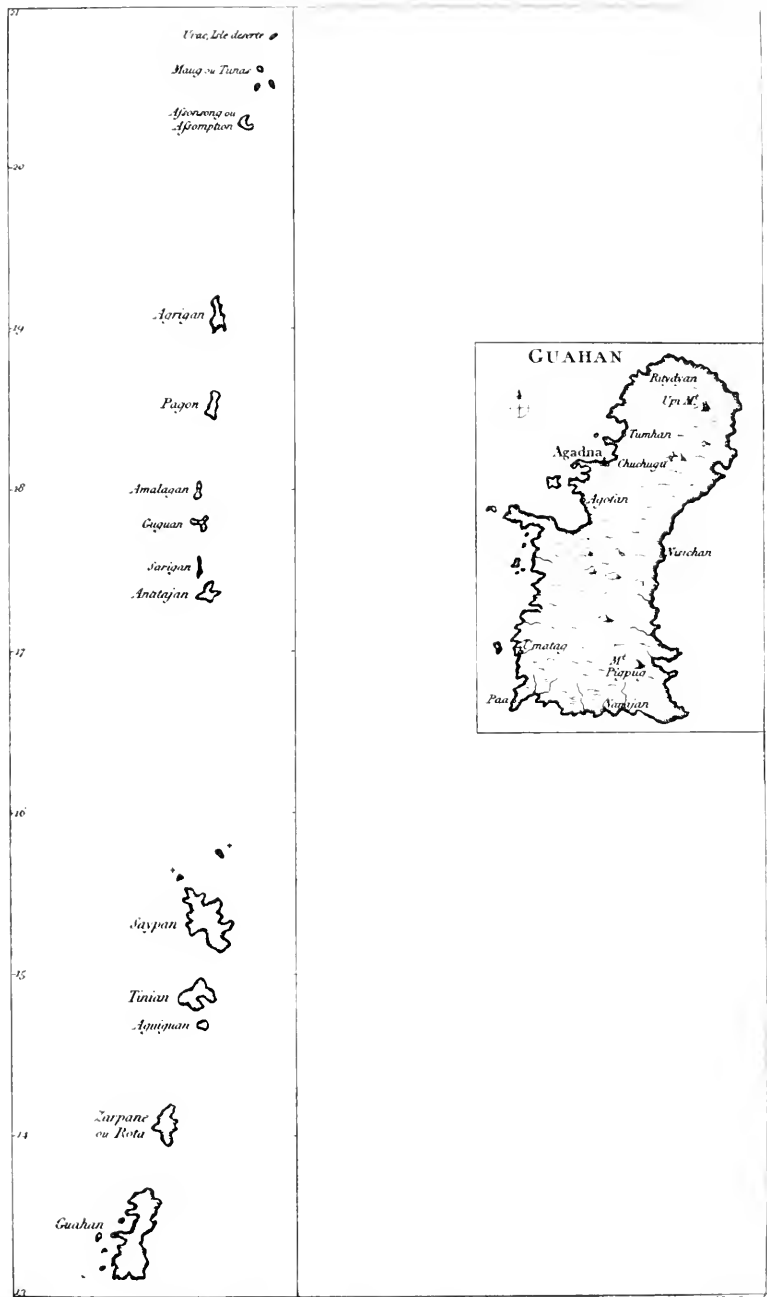
Padres Sanvitores and Morales set out from Guam for the northern islands. Sanvitores went as far as Saipan, and Morales continued on to Anatahan, Sariguan, Guguan, Alamagan, Pagan, and Agrihan, returning to Guam six months later. In July, 1669, Sanvitores went even farther north to Asuncion and Maug, returning to Guam in four and a half months. Trips to Rota, Tinian, and Saipan seem to have been relatively routine. A Spanish comment on these outrigger trips gives an indication of what they were like (Garcia, 1683, Higgins' translation):

[On a canoe] . . . the greatest happiness that one may dare to hope for, not being a fish . . . is to escape with his life, for death is always before him, the imminence of it not permitting him to eat or sleep, and when dire necessity makes him take some sustenance, the fare is nothing more than a few roots, which together with seasickness, serve more to alter the condition of the stomach than to succor his needs.

Guam was the center of Spanish colonization in the Marianas, and the islands to the north were decidedly peripheral. By the end of the seventeenth century the northern islands had been conquered and all the Chamorros forced to move to Guam, with the exception of a few who managed to stay on Rota. The following chronology, covering the period of conquest and conversion to Christianity, outlines the principal events affecting Saipan and the other islands north of Guam. The chronology makes only brief mention of the course of local history on Guam, which, though it was the base of Spanish operations, is subsidiary to Saipan as the principal subject of this account.

### Chronology of Events Affecting Saipan

*1668:* On June 15, Luis de Sanvitores arrived in the Marianas. He landed on Guam with four other Jesuit priests, Fathers Medina,



ISLAS MARIANAS. Par Palenzo Lopez.

FIG. 4. Chart of the Marianas, by Alonzo Lopez (1700; from Burney, 1803-17, vol. III).

Cassanova, Cardenosa and Morales; one novitiate, Lorenzo Bustillos; and a small group of secular helpers and soldiers—Spanish, Filipino, and Mexican—commanded by Captain Juan de Santa Cruz. Contact was made with a survivor of the *Concepcion*, named Pedro, who assisted the Spanish. [In the Garcia account, three other *Concepcion* survivors are mentioned: Lorenzo, from the Malabar Coast; Francisco Maunahun, a Filipino; and one Macazar, a “Christian *Indio*,” probably from either the Philippines or Mexico. Lorenzo and Maunahun became secular assistants to the padres. Lorenzo was killed on Anatahan in 1669; Maunahun, who was found living on Alamagan, was killed on Rota in 1672. Macazar sided with the Chamorros and was later captured by the Spanish.]

Sanvitores was at first confined to Agaña by the wishes of the chiefs, but Medina was sent to visit all the villages of Guam. Cassanova was sent to Rota, and Cardenosa and Morales were ordered to proceed to Tinian. Morales went on to Saipan, but in August, he returned to Guam with a severe wound in the leg received from hostile Chamorros while he was administering baptism. Sergeant Lorenzo Castellanos and Gabriel de la Cruz, his Tagalog servant, were attacked and “died in the sea near Tinian.”

On October 20, Sanvitores and Morales, his wound healed, left Guam for Tinian and Saipan. Morales continued on to the northern islands, while Sanvitores remained on Saipan, where he “travelled over the entire island . . . , and there was not a single village, either on the beach or in the hills that he did not visit.” He also went to Aguijan and Tinian, where he established a residence with one padre (presumably Cardenosa) and returned to Guam on January 5, 1669.

In the meantime Morales was making his way north by canoe. He reached Agrihan in December, 1668, and then returned to Guam, the entire trip taking six months.

1669: The church at Agaña was dedicated, and construction of the college of San Juan de Lateran on Guam was commenced. In July, Sanvitores, with two secular companions, started from Guam once more for the northern islands, as he believed Morales had not discovered them all. He went to Rota, Tinian, and Saipan and then made his way northward beyond Agrihan to Asuncion and Maug, arriving at the latter in August. Morales had not reached either of these two islands, both of which were inhabited. According to the Spanish sources, apparently all the islands which Sanvitores re-named had Chamorros living on them. Sanvitores then turned back to Guam. On his way back, he stopped at Anatahan and it



was here that Lorenzo, the *Concepcion* survivor, was killed while attempting to administer baptism to a child. Sanvitores continued on to Tinian. Here he found Medina and Cassanova trying to settle a local civil war. Unable to calm the unrest, Sanvitores decided on a show of force. Returning to Guam on November 15, he set out for Tinian ten days later with an expedition consisting of ten soldiers (eight of whom were Filipinos), under the command of Captain Juan de Santa Cruz, and accompanied by the "general de artilleria," Antonio de Alexalde, who had one field piece, the size of which can be inferred from the fact that the gun, along with the entire personnel of the expedition, was carried by three or four canoes. The party arrived on Tinian and a peace was negotiated. During the negotiations Medina visited Saipan briefly and returned to Tinian.

1670: With calm restored on Tinian, Medina crossed over to Saipan once more. He landed on the south coast of the island, at Obian (Objan) and with two secular companions walked northward to the town of Laulau, on Magicienne Bay. The three then proceeded to an interior village called Cao. On January 21, while attempting to enter a house to baptize a crying child, Medina and one companion were both killed by lance thrusts. The bodies were recovered by Captain Juan de Santa Cruz and his soldiers, who came over from Tinian. On Santa Cruz's return to Tinian, the Tinian Chamorros rose against the Spanish, but were routed by the field piece and two muskets. The island was pacified, and in May Sanvitores went back to Guam.

1671: On June 9, the galleon *Nuestra Señora del Buen Socorro* arrived at Guam from Mexico en route to the Philippines. Four new padres arrived with her: Francisco Ezquerria, Francisco Solano, Alonso Lopez, and Diego de Norega. A few soldiers also disembarked. Sanvitores sent Cassanova, who had returned from the northern islands, Morales, and Bustillos on to the Philippines, so the mission gained only one padre.

Shortly after the departure of the galleon, the Guam Chamorros staged an uprising, ascribed by the Spanish to the opposition of the Chamorro sorcerers (*makahnas*) to the padres. At this time the Spanish garrison consisted of thirty-one soldiers (twelve Spaniards and nineteen Filipinos), armed with muskets and bows, and with, of course, their small but impressive field piece. They had also taken the precaution of stockading the Agaña church and parish house. The Chamorros attacked at Agaña but were repulsed, and intermittent fighting continued until October, when peace was made.

After the uprising, the padres again set out for the other islands. Ezquerra went to Rota, and Lopez to Aguijan, Tinian, and Saipan, the latter island not having been visited since Medina's death there the previous year. Lopez established himself on Tinian at Sunharon—located at the harbor area on the west coast—and built a small seminary for the teaching of Chamorro children. Apparently no attempt was made to establish a mission on Saipan; in these early days, efforts were concentrated on Tinian.

1672: Norega died of illness on Guam in January, and, shortly after, Ezquerra returned from Rota. In March, unrest broke out on Guam, and Diego Bazan, a secular assistant from Mexico, was killed. Sanvitores ordered all members of the Spanish group to Agaña, though word could not be gotten to Lopez on Tinian. Before the company could be concentrated, four of the Spanish were killed in various parts of Guam. Sanvitores allowed himself, as superior of the mission, more freedom of movement. On April 2, while attempting to baptize a child near Tumhon, Sanvitores and his Filipino assistant, Pedro Calangson, were killed.

After Sanvitores' death, the southern villages on Guam remained friendly to the Spanish, but the northern ones were hostile. A punitive expedition was carried out against the Tumhon area. Unrest spread to Rota, where Francisco Maunahun, a Filipino survivor of the *Concepcion* wreck and helper of the Spanish, was killed with another Filipino on June 5. Solano, Sanvitores' successor as superior, died on June 13. The unrest on Guam continued.

In the meantime, Lopez remained on Tinian, unaware of Sanvitores' death. Tinian continued quiet, and Lopez went on with his work. However, Ezquerra, who had succeeded Solano, sent a message to Lopez to return to Agaña. Unrest was spreading and no doubt would soon have reached Tinian. Lopez accordingly returned to Guam, avoiding Rota, which was in open rebellion.

1673-81: During this period, the Spanish were so occupied on Guam that they hardly concerned themselves with the other islands. It was a time of intermittent outbreaks, of sporadic killing of padres, secular assistants, and soldiers by the Chamorros; and of the burning of villages and the killing of Chamorros by the Spanish. The first governor of the Marianas was appointed in 1676, and he proceeded with punitive expeditions "to restrain the pride of some villages and castigate the insolence of others." One brief expedition of this type was carried out against Rota in 1675. José de Quiroga arrived in 1679 and assumed command of the soldiers in 1680. Stringent

measures were taken against the Guamanians and a plan was initiated to concentrate them in a few villages. In 1681, Quiroga undertook a punitive expedition to Rota, which "served as a place of retreat and asylum for the seditious, who came from time to time to the island of Guahan [Guam] in order to pervert their compatriots and to inspire in them a spirit of revolt."



FIG. 5. Excavations at Obian (Objan). View from above, showing a house site in process of excavation. This house formed part of the village attacked by Quiroga in 1684.

1682-94: By 1682, Guam was sufficiently quiet, at least outwardly, so that the Spanish could turn their attention once more to the northern islands. In his annual *relacion* for the year June, 1681, to June, 1682, Solorzano, the superior on Guam, reported that a missionary had gone by canoe to Rota, Aguijan, Tinian, and Saipan and that "good results were obtained at every place." (Repetti, 1940a.) Presumably this was Padre Peter Coomans, a Belgian Jesuit from Antwerp, who went to Rota in March, 1682 (Repetti, 1940b). Le Gobien (1700, p. 300) notes that Coomans, after indicating the site for a church which was to be built on Rota and leaving three fervent workers there, proceeded "to visit the northern islands, with

some officers who had received orders from the governor." After returning, Coomans apparently remained on Rota, for in a letter written from the island in May, 1683 (Repetti, 1940b), he reported that a church and parish house had been constructed on the west side of the island and that a second church and house had been started in the northern part of Rota at the village of Agusan.

In 1684, the Spanish determined to make a major effort to subjugate the islands north of Rota. On March 22, 1684, Quiroga left Guam for the northern islands with twenty canoes and a small frigate (*Le Gobien*, 1700, p. 302). He stopped at Rota and left on April 12, with Padre Coomans, for Tinian (Repetti, 1940c). They arrived at Tinian two days later and found the Chamorros friendly. The next day they set out for Saipan, taking some canoes and crews from Tinian. The subsequent events are taken from Coomans' letter (Repetti, 1940c).

The expedition landed, judging from the letter, on the west coast of Saipan and immediately met armed resistance. For several days it fought its way along the shore, and then marched south to the village of Agingan, located on the shore at the point nearest Tinian. The friendly Tinian Chamorros were sent to the nearby village of Obian, also on the south coast, to offer peace, as the people of Obian on previous occasions had been friendly to the Spanish. On April 20, peace delegates arrived from Obian, though in the meantime the Spanish were fighting another group, and "brought back a Chamorro head as a trophy." By April 30 all was peaceful, and the Chamorros were asking that their children be baptized. On May 7, Coomans left Saipan, leaving "a sufficient garrison," which, judging from *Le Gobien's* account, included Quiroga. Coomans stopped at Tinian, and also at Aguijan, which, he noted, had a few inhabitants. On May 11, he set out for Rota.

Coomans' general description of Saipan is unfortunately very brief, and merely consists of a statement that "all the land is fertile and gives abundant crops of grain and roots throughout the wide plains that surround a single mountain."

For the remainder of the story we must depend on *Le Gobien*. He notes that, after arriving on Saipan, Quiroga sent on to the islands to the north an expedition consisting of some twenty-five soldiers. It is stated that Padre Coomans accompanied the party. Coomans must have gone back again to Saipan.

With Quiroga, the strong man of the Marianas, absent on Saipan, the latent unfriendly elements among the Guam Chamorros

staged a major revolt, in July, 1684. They killed forty or fifty soldiers, a priest, and a lay brother, and wounded the governor and two priests. The Spanish retired to their fort. The governor sent a letter to Quiroga, but the messenger would go no farther than Rota. Padre Strobach on Rota then set off with the letter but was killed on Tinian, where the Chamorros revolted and also killed seventeen other Spaniards—presumably from Quiroga's group—on the island. Next, the Chamorros attacked Quiroga on Saipan. His force consisted of only thirty-six men, but, characteristically, he took the offensive and made a number of forays, burning several villages and attacking the two main camps of besiegers. He sacked Obian village and then demanded canoes to take him to Guam. This the Obian villagers were glad to do, as they "ardently desired to be delivered of so terrible and dangerous a neighbor." On the night of November 21, 1684, Quiroga and his men left Saipan in eight canoes. Three of these, containing fifteen Spaniards, were wrecked on Tinian, for it was the typhoon season, and the sea was very rough. In two days' sailing, Quiroga made Guam. Perhaps because the Chamorros on Tinian were afraid of reprisals for their killing of Strobach and the other Spaniards, they received the fifteen shipwrecked men from Quiroga's party hospitably and sent them on their way to Guam.

The expedition that Quiroga had sent to the northern islands was less fortunate. It met no resistance, but on the return trip the Chamorro pilots overturned the canoes in order to drown the party. Padre Coomans, however, seized his pilot before the canoe could be capsized and put in at Alamagan, where a Chamorro noble gave him protection; Coomans later proceeded to Saipan, where he was killed in July, 1685 (Le Gobien, 1700, p. 367).

On his return to Guam, Quiroga immediately took the offensive again and before long had the situation under control; but until 1694 no further attempts seem to have been made to conquer the Chamorros of the northern islands.

*1694-98:* Quiroga had been handicapped by having as a superior a governor of weaker character than he, but in 1694, D'Esplana, the governor, died and Quiroga became governor. In October, 1694, he went to Rota. No resistance was encountered and the island was peaceful. Through the following winter and spring Quiroga prepared for a campaign to conquer the northern islands finally and completely.

In July, 1695, Quiroga's expedition set out in a small frigate and twenty canoes. A sudden storm arose and the canoes put in at

Rota, but Quiroga in the frigate continued on to Saipan. Here he met armed resistance, but the fire of the Spanish was so heavy that the Chamorros dispersed. We are told (Le Gobien, 1700, p. 388):

Some who were brought before Quiroga were punished, and he explained to them that . . . he came to live peacefully with them. "I ask but one thing," he said to them, ". . . that you listen to the preachers of the gospel and show yourselves docile to their teachings." The people of Saipan liked these propositions and promised him everything he wished.

Quiroga then returned to Tinian, but he found that the people of Tinian had retired to the nearby island of Aguijan to make a stand. There is not a harbor or even a satisfactory landing place at Aguijan, and its inaccessibility, with steep cliffs rising from the sea, is most impressive. Despite this, Quiroga stormed the island and managed to climb the cliffs. The Chamorros surrendered and asked quarter. Quiroga granted it, on condition that the people move to Guam. Le Gobien further notes that the move "was done the next day," a highly improbable statement.

The report of Quiroga's victories on Saipan, Tinian, and Aguijan spread to the northern islands, and Le Gobien states that their inhabitants were ordered to go to Saipan. In 1698, the Saipan Chamorros, too, were forced to move to Guam. As the seventeenth century closed, Saipan's green slopes were deserted. The Marianas had been conquered.

## IV. The Formation of a Hispanicized Chamorro Culture

The next period in Chamorro history saw the formation of a Hispanicized culture—one that was neither indigenous nor imported, but a blend of old and new. The resulting culture growth was the end product of a process similar to that which has taken place in Latin America, where new culture types have formed from the impact of Spain on indigenous peoples. The Marianas provide an important example outside Latin America of the tremendous influence of Spain in refashioning the cultures within her former empire.

The decision as to where to set the terminal points of this period of Chamorro history must be somewhat arbitrary. The process of Hispanicization started during the conquest of the islands but was not all-pervasive until their inhabitants had been subjugated. The process continued throughout the period of Spanish administration, until the end of the nineteenth century. Within this two-century span, change continued, even after the new culture had emerged as a distinct type. This culture, however, received its primary patterning during the eighteenth century and particularly prior to 1769, when the Jesuits were expelled from the Marianas. Largely as a matter of convenience, the period of Hispanicization is here taken to include the time span from the conquest of the Marianas until the Chamorro re-settlement of Saipan in the nineteenth century.

In the early years of this period, there were a number of factors that facilitated the culture change brought about by Spanish control. These factors are noted briefly below.

(1) The first point of significance is population size. As a result of the Spanish conquest and of the introduction of new diseases there was a terrific decimation of the Chamorro population. Thompson (1947, pp. 32-43) has reviewed the principal changes in population trends and only the main points need be recapitulated. The total Chamorro population at the time of arrival of the Spanish missionaries was estimated by Sanvitores at nearly 100,000. Various

other estimates for this period from seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth century sources range from approximately 33,000 to 73,000. I believe that Sanvitores' figure was considerably too high. The large number of archaeological remains in the Marianas has suggested to Thompson that the population was once relatively dense, but the unknown time span covered by these remains makes this sort of evidence of doubtful value. Yet even with a drastic revision of Sanvitores' estimate, a conservative guess would still put the Chamorro population at 40,000 or 50,000 at the time of Sanvitores' arrival in 1668.

Less than a half-century later, when the first population records were inaugurated, the Chamorro population for the first census, in 1710, is given by Freycinet (1829-37, vol. II, p. 331) as 3,539; by Corte (1876, p. 150) as 3,678; and by Marche (1891, p. 244) as 3,197. Despite the variation in these sources, they differ little when measured against the decimation of population that had occurred. After 1710, the Chamorro population continued to decrease. In subsequent census counts, an attempt was made to distinguish full-blood Chamorros from those of mixed Chamorro and Filipino or European parentage. It is doubtful that the figures are anything but approximations, but even then they are revealing. Freycinet reported a low point of only 1,318 full-blood Chamorros on Guam in 1786 (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. II, p. 337). During the next forty-five years the curve started to climb upwards. In 1816, there were 2,559 Chamorros (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. III, p. 91) and Marche gives the Chamorro full-blood count on Guam as being 2,628 by 1830 (Marche, 1891, p. 246). During this period Rota had only a few hundred—467 in 1710, and 233 in 1763 (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. II, p. 357). In any case, the depopulation attendant upon the conquest is striking.

The hybrid group, made up primarily of Chamorro-Filipinos and Chamorro-Spanish, numbered 95 in 1725 (Marche, 1891, p. 244) and then increased rapidly. By 1753 it numbered 764 (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. II, p. 334), and by 1830 had grown to 3,865 (Marche, 1891, p. 246). According to Marche, after 1830 the census was taken without attempting to distinguish mixed-blood and full-blood persons. The Chamorros as a racially mixed group became a recognized entity.

A principal point to be derived from this brief survey of population trends is that during the eighteenth century there were but a few thousand people on Guam. The small size of the Chamorro



group was a factor that favored Spanish control and the inculcation of new beliefs and practices. At the same time, the growing mixed-blood group likewise must have facilitated culture change through the influence of Filipino and Spanish fathers on their offspring.

(2) A second factor facilitating change was the concentration of the Guam population in a few villages, a process which commenced during the conquest of the islands (Repetti, 1945-46) and which allowed a greater measure of supervision by the Spanish padres and the secular authorities over the lives of the people. Also, in contrast to the New World, there was really no way for a large segment of the population who tired of Spanish control to move away to an isolated area outside the spatial limits of Spanish administration. There was no major hinterland of wide extent, such as the interior of the Yucatan peninsula or the Petén area of Middle America, into which the hard-headed, independent-minded could retreat to form their own communities. It is true that some Chamorros sailed to the Carolines, but the number was probably small. The only group left isolated was the handful of people left on Rota, among whom the old customs did persist longer and who are still considered by the Guamanians somewhat as "country cousins." Yet, after the conquest, even the Rota people had a Spanish-appointed *alcalde*.

(3) A third important factor is found in the specific points at which the Spanish attempted to induce change. The Spanish, particularly the padres, had very definite ideas as to what they intended to do. The first objective was of course the Christianization of the Chamorros, coupled with a new system of political administration and control. But, in addition, the Jesuits and political governors introduced crafts, schools, specific changes in methods of farming, and a variety of other features of culture content.

(4) A fourth point facilitating change was that the Spanish established themselves firmly in a position of authority and developed among the Chamorros a virtually unquestioning acceptance of this position. Respect for authority has been described as a Chamorro personality trait, even by the Chamorros themselves. It is a trait that tends to persist to the present day. Thus Sablan (1929, p. 9), a well-educated Chamorro, noted that it is Chamorro nature to believe everything without questioning. This attitude of mind undoubtedly developed out of the conquest. Once the Spanish had established their position, their efforts at change must have been made easier.

With these factors in mind, we may next review briefly the events of the period as they bear on the question of culture change, and

then examine the principal characteristics of the Hispanicized culture that emerged.

In spite of the intermittent turmoil of the conquest period, the Spanish early attempted to introduce new culture traits, as well as to abolish old ones they considered pernicious. For the year 1675 it is noted by Garcia (1683, Higgins' translation):

In order that they [the Chamorros] may be well occupied for the improvement of these islands, they are taught to grow corn, cotton, and other necessary crops for their use. The girls are taught to spin cotton and the boys to weave it . . . . Whatever is shown them they learn easily.

A letter from Guam, written in 1678 by Padre Solorzano, not only gives a concise description of the Chamorro public house for unmarried men, but of Spanish attempts to abolish it as an institution (Repetti, 1946 47, p. 432):

The Urritaos, or unmarried men, are the most unrestrained and offer the most resistance until totally subdued by arms . . . . These Urritaos have very pernicious vices, namely, to buy girls for their infamous practices. In each village there is one house, in more populous villages two, of Urritaos. Those who live in these communal houses come to the father of some girl and give him a pair of iron barrel hoops, which they buy from some ship in exchange for turtle shell, or one or two swords, whereupon the father joyfully turns over his daughter as if he were placing her in the best of positions, and they take her with them to the communal house and after some time she remains married to one of them and they build themselves a house that they may live apart. Many of the houses of the Urritaos have been destroyed by us and in place of them we have established orphanages for boys and girls in which they are trained with great care in religion, deportment and other accomplishments needed in a Christian commonwealth.

And for 1679, we have the following statement (Garcia, 1683, Higgins' translation):

They now eat pork and are becoming fond of corn although they do not make bread of it because they do not have the utensils with which to prepare or bake bread. They grow many watermelons and much tobacco but they do not know how to prepare or roll the latter.

From Solorzano and Le Gobien, we learn that in 1681 the Spanish governor of the Marianas called a general assembly on Guam at Agaña and proposed that the people should take an oath of allegiance to the king of Spain and recognize him as their sovereign, which they agreed to do (Repetti, 1945 46, pp. 434 435; Le Gobien, 1700, p. 294). Le Gobien continues with the following remarks:

From this time on, the Mariana Islanders began to acquire the customs of the Spaniards and to conform with their usages. They were taught to cover themselves and to make their clothes, to sow Indian corn, to make

bread, and to eat meat. Artisans were sent to the different villages to show them how to weave, sew, make canvas, prepare the skins of beasts, do iron-work, hew stones, build in European fashion, and exercise various other trades . . . that had been utterly unknown to them. The children brought up in the seminaries became skilled in all these crafts and afterwards acted as instructors for their companions . . . . Up till then the islanders had been far from reasonable with regard to their dead . . . . They buried them near their houses . . . . They accompanied these burials with mournful songs and extravagant ceremonies. They renounced all these vain superstitions . . . . The question of marriages gave much more trouble . . . . The indissolubility of marriage seemed to them an insupportable burden . . . . But they had to yield nevertheless . . . . Everywhere in the island were published the regulations for marriage prescribed by the Council of Trent, and everybody was obliged to observe them . . . . One had the satisfaction of seeing the whole island of Guam profess the Christian religion.

During the same year, Solorzano, the superior of the mission, commented in his annual report (Repetti, 1945-46, p. 437):

Cotton seeds have been planted and they give a good crop . . . . There has been a satisfactory increase in the cattle, goats, and sheep brought there from the New World by the governor. Most prolific of all were the pigs.

Finally, there is the statement in Garcia's concluding chapter:

Many old superstitions have been uprooted; many thousands of baptisms accomplished; the frequent attendance of the sacraments established; public houses destroyed; and marriages have been performed according to the rites of the church.

Garcia and Le Gobien, fellow Jesuits of the padres in the Marianas, were a bit over-enthusiastic concerning the extent of the changes reported, but their statements do show that changes were being initiated. It is also true that the Jesuits in the Marianas were undoubtedly the most important contact agents. It is interesting to note that they were not entirely of Spanish origin. Coomans, writing from Rota in 1683, gives the national origin of the fourteen priests and three brothers—all Jesuits—then in the Marianas. Of these, five were Spanish, including the superior, but the others were from Austria, Bohemia, Upper Germany, Naples, French Belgium, Flemish Belgium, and Mexico (Repetti, 1940b, p. 320). It seems clear, however, that the Spanish influence tended to be dominant.

With the end of the conquest period, the Jesuit missionaries did not relax their efforts. In addition to building churches and following purely religious pursuits, they maintained the seminary of San Juan de Lateran in Agaña, founded during the conquest, as well as several farms. They introduced a whole series of new food plants

— mostly from the New World—cattle, horses, and probably pigs, and new tools for agricultural purposes. In addition, they were responsible for bringing a knowledge of many of the principal crafts of contemporary Europe to the Marianas. Much of the technological change of the period was directly due to the Jesuits. As a group, they appear to have been highly literate, and as Safford (1905, p. 22) notes, even the lay brother in the kitchen kept a library. In 1769, the Jesuits were expelled from the Marianas by royal decree. Thereafter, mission work was assumed by the Augustinians, who remained in the Marianas until the end of the Spanish period. The Augustinians never devoted the personnel and energy to the islands that their predecessors had done, and often the Marianas suffered neglect. In 1819 there was only one priest in residence (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. II, p. 393). The groundwork of a new culture pattern, however, had been thoroughly laid by the Jesuits.

On the secular side, an administrative organization was established whereby Guam and Rota—the only islands inhabited in the eighteenth century—were divided into municipalities, each in charge of an *alcalde* with a number of subordinate officials. At the top of the hierarchy was the governor. The system is concisely described by Thompson (1947, pp. 58-64). The money for defraying expenses for running the colony was brought to Guam each year by the galleon from Mexico.

The only real significance of the Marianas continued to be their convenience as a way stop on the route from Mexico to the Philippines. Throughout the eighteenth century, the annual galleon regularly passed through Guam. With the revolt of the Spanish colonies in America in the 1820's, Spain's empire began to crumble and the Marianas were no longer important to the Spanish. The galleon ceased to run. Political control of the islands was shifted from Mexico to the Philippines, and the appropriations for the government of the Marianas were reduced. The nineteenth century was for Guam a period of stagnation, enlivened only by the visits of a few notable exploring expeditions, in particular those of Kotzebue, Freycinet, and Dumont d'Urville, by a few American merchantmen in the developing China trade, and, particularly during the middle years of the century, by numerous whaling ships, which stopped at the Marianas to provision.

In addition to the priests and the Spanish political officials, elements in the population that must have been important as agents of culture change were the Filipinos and Mexicans who settled in

the Marianas. Unfortunately we know little of these people; most of them seem to have been brought to the islands either as soldiers or as secular assistants to the missionaries and the governor. Some were convicts from the Philippines. A few other persons—mostly sailors—were the kind of wanderers characteristic of the Pacific islands, such as the young Englishman, Robert Wilson, who met Kotzebue's ship and showed him the entrance to Apra harbor. "Wilson" is a well-known Chamorro name today. An interesting statistical picture, whose accuracy is not to be taken too seriously, is given by Chamisso (Kotzebue, 1821, vol. III, p. 91) as to Guam's population in 1816, according to the figures of the Spanish governor. The governor was the only native Spaniard on the island.

*Population of the Marianas, 1816*

Civil and military officers . . . . .	147
Spaniards and mestizos . . . . .	1,109
Natives of the Philippines and their descendants . . . . .	1,484
Indians (Chamorros) . . . . .	2,559
Mulattos . . . . .	38
Indians from the Sandwich Islands and the Carolines . . . . .	52
Total . . . . .	5,389

Today, the Chamorros are such a physically mixed population that it would be virtually impossible to conceive of a "mestizo" group arising from them. They nevertheless evolved their own distinctive culture from many roots and continued to maintain their own Chamorro language. In this fact lies their special interest to the historical ethnologist.

In summary, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Marianas formed a quiet, out-of-the-way corner of the Spanish colonial empire. When this empire disintegrated, with the loss of the New World colonies in the nineteenth century, the economic condition of the Marianas tended to regress as financial support from the mother country dwindled, and as the position of the islands on the Mexico-Philippines route no longer was of any real importance to Spain. A number of governors sincerely attempted, with little or no success, to improve the economic position of the islands. Yet the very isolation of the Marianas tended to stabilize the hybrid culture that emerged during the century and a half following the conquest period.

### The Hispanicized Chamorro Culture

"Hispanicized" is here taken in a very broad sense, and refers to changes in Chamorro culture occurring during the period of Span-

ish administration of the Marianas through the medium of contact agents brought to the islands under the sponsorship of the Spanish authorities. Many introduced culture elements were actually not Spanish in origin. They came from either the Philippines or Mexico. It must be remembered that by the eighteenth century the Spanish in Mexico had been considerably acculturated through contact with Mexican Indians. It seems very likely that many inhabitants of Mexico—Indians, mestizos, and Spanish whites born in Mexico—came to the Marianas under secular or church auspices and were the agents through which much change was directly initiated. The Filipino immigrants that settled in the Marianas were Christianized and undoubtedly relatively acculturated. They were probably mostly Tagalogs, with some Visayans and Pampangans.

The following brief outline describes certain outstanding characteristics of the hybrid Chamorro culture, which became relatively stabilized by the time of the resettlement of Saipan in the nineteenth century. Guam was the locale where this culture was formed. Rota, with but a few hundred inhabitants, was much less important. It is this culture which the Chamorros today consider traditional and which they refer to when they speak of *costumbren Chamorro*. The data that follow are derived partly from eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century sources, partly from Safford (1905), who was an observant reporter of the Chamorros at the commencement of American administration, and partly from Thompson (1947). In addition, I have projected into the past, data obtained through my own field work in cases when they refer to long-established customs. Certain points mentioned only briefly below, such as the system of land inheritance, of family organization, or of the concept of "hot" and "cold" are described in greater detail in later chapters.

The local unit was a village or hamlet, on Guam subsidiary to the single town, Agaña, which grew in relative importance when the Spanish established it as the capital of the island. A simple system of roads and trails connected these villages with Agaña. On Rota, there were only trails. Transportation was by foot, or by *kareta*, the two-wheeled, Spanish, ox-drawn cart. The water buffalo was also used for transportation. Horses were introduced by the Spanish but never thrived in the Marianas.

Agaña, the capital town, contained most of the population. It was further distinguished by having a number of stone buildings—particularly the church and *convento* and government structures. The Spanish introduced stone masonry and tile roofs as architec-

tural features, and these were first incorporated into the churches, parish houses, and government buildings. The more important subsidiary villages also possessed masonry churches and parish houses. Masonry, however, penetrated the domestic architecture to a much lesser degree and was the mark of the upper class. Wood houses with mat sides and thatch roofs, raised on posts, formed the usual type of domestic dwelling. Separate cook-houses were built at the side or rear of the main house.

The Chamorros lived by subsistence agriculture supplemented by fishing. An extensive series of New World food plants was introduced into the Marianas. Of these, the most important was maize. Safford (1905, p. 24) points out that on the basis of Garcia's account maize was being grown on Guam as early as 1676 by the Spanish. It took hold among the Chamorros rapidly and became a staple crop. In addition, the sweet potato was an important new plant. Other food plants introduced from the New World and Europe included squashes, pumpkins, red peppers, cucumbers, tomatoes, onions, garlic, beans (*Dolichos lablab*), eggplant, pineapple, cantaloupe, watermelon, lemons, limes, oranges, peanuts, coffee, cacao, and cassava.

The Chamorros did not abandon their former food plants. Rice, taro, yams, bananas, breadfruit, coconuts, and sugar cane continued to be grown and used. Safford (1905, p. 359) notes that two new varieties of wet rice were introduced from the Philippines. To a degree, however, maize seems to have supplanted rice as a locally grown staple. After the resettlement of Saipan, rice was little grown by the Chamorros who migrated back to the island. Maize gives a more certain yield under the climatic conditions in the Marianas, though it has always been subject to the depredations of the introduced Norway rat, which was a pest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as at the present time.

With these food plants came associated methods of planting and cultivation. Even today, most corn is planted in hills. Agricultural tools were simple, consisting primarily of the *fosiños*, or scuffle hoe, and the machete. Both were Spanish introductions, though Chamorro machete forms often resemble Philippine *bolos*. Slash-and-burn agriculture was practiced, with the necessary accompanying field rotation, but the land resources were adequate for the small population.

The Spanish introduced the water buffalo, cattle, pigs, goats, cats, dogs, horses, mules, and probably chickens. The deer was intro-

duced on Guam in the eighteenth century, multiplied rapidly, and was hunted for meat. These introduced animals increased markedly the sources of protein foods, which in pre-contact times were largely restricted to fish. However, beef and pork were primarily festal foods.

Fish continued to be a significant part of the diet and were procured by reef and shore fishing, principally through the use of nets, weirs, and hook and line. Philippine types of weirs, called *gigau*, were introduced and are still used today. However, it is interesting to note that the Chamorros lost touch with the sea. Their famous sailing outriggers were no longer built, and there was almost a complete loss of the skills associated with canoe-building, seamanship, and navigation. Only a small, paddling outrigger for inshore work continued to be made. By Freycinet's time (1819) the boats used for open-sea sailing were all built and manned by Carolinians who had come to the Marianas from the central Caroline atolls.

The pre-contact, locally used narcotic was the betel nut, chewed with lime and the leaf of *Piper belle*. Tobacco was introduced by the Spanish and supplemented, but did not supplant, the betel nut, which is still in favor at the present time.

Numerous craft technologies were brought by the Spanish. The blacksmith, the mason, the carpenter, the gold- and silversmith, the tailor, the cobbler, all became recognized craftsmen. Yet apparently specialization did not proceed to the point where men lived by these crafts alone. Perhaps there was a regression from a greater degree of specialization that once existed, but in the middle of the nineteenth century Governor Corte (1876, p. 74) commented:

Each person makes only the ropes and nets which he needs for his own use, and even the more indispensable duties, such as cultivation . . . are performed each for himself. Because of this there are no carpenters, nor masons, nor stoneworkers, nor shoemakers, nor tailors, nor blacksmiths who are these exclusively, but there are many who work in these capacities for themselves, or for others when it occurs to them to do so.

Thus the introduction of these crafts, while enlarging the body of available techniques, did not really lead to the full specialization of labor that might have been expected. In Corte's time there were no stores, though he notes that "each house, more or less, is a selling establishment." In keeping with the rudimentary development of craft specialization, the market as a prominent feature of village or town life apparently never crystallized as an institution.

Some old crafts were lost. One of these, the making of sewn plank, outrigger sailing canoes, has already been mentioned. The



making of pottery was another craft that disappeared. In 1819 Freycinet noted that pottery-making had been almost entirely abandoned on Guam, the art of firing having been lost (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. II, p. 454).

Within the hamlet, village, or town, the elementary family of parents and children was the residence unit. For subsistence, this unit was largely self-sufficient. Corte (1876, p. 37) noted that the Chamorros

. . . live isolated in their own families; each one plants what there is to eat, brings from the field what is needed, makes his house, his clothes, cares for his animals, or hunts or fishes . . . and if anyone needs anything from a relative or neighbor, he asks for it, he begs for it as a favor, or he pays for it more dearly than if he had bought it, even if it be from his father or his brother.

Within the family the man was the farmer and fisherman, the wife the housekeeper. Together with maize-growing, there diffused the techniques of its preparation for food. The three-legged Mexican metate of stone—or, in later years, concrete—was used for grinding the corn, often with a prehistoric pestle serving as a *mano*. This was women's work, as was the making of tortillas, tamales, and ensaladas, all favorite foods. The earth-oven tended to be abandoned in favor of a raised hearth set in the cook-house. The *hotno*, a beehive-shaped oven for baking bread, likewise was adopted.

Land became individually owned, and a pattern of commuting between the village or town house and the farm developed. On the farm there was often a small shed or simple building, used as protection while spending a night or two. Land was inherited through the institution of *partido*, a formal division of land among a couple's children. Surnames passed down in the paternal line, and whatever formalized clans or lineages that may once have existed passed away. Kinship was nevertheless widely extended and came into play particularly at the time of crisis rites. Of these, baptism, marriage, and death came to be especially emphasized. Through their celebration, the sacred link of the family and individual to the church was affirmed; and by a system of inter-familial, reciprocal giving of gifts and services, the tie with relatives was renewed. The institution of *compadrazgo* became firmly established as a form of ritual kinship.

The most conspicuous building of the settlement was the church, and Roman Catholicism was the accepted religion of all. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the religious establishments on Guam tended to be understaffed. Corte (1876, p. 35) states that in the early

years of the nineteenth century, the population was distributed in Agaña, Umatac, Agat, Inarajan, Merizo, Pago, and Rota, that all had churches, but that rarely were there priests for all. The particular characteristics of the religious life of the period are little reported. The Virgin Mary occupied a special position of honor and esteem. The family novena became well established. The secular aspects of the celebration of novenas and crisis rites seem to have developed more than these same aspects associated with calendrical religious feast days. Marriage was celebrated as a church rite. The pre-contact men's house was abolished.

Although Catholicism was the accepted religion, a strong belief in the potential danger of ghosts of the dead remained and became crystallized in the concept of the *taotaomona*, the spirits of the ancient and pagan Chamorros. Thompson believes that this was a post-conquest formulation, but undoubtedly it was a rephrasing of ancient concepts. Those aspects of magic associated with the curing of disease continued in existence, though much curing was based largely on the use of herbs, and was practiced principally by old women called *suruhana*. In addition, the Spanish brought concepts of humoral pathology—in particular the division of foods, plants, medicines, disease, and human nature into “hot” and “cold” categories, with the concept of health equated to a balance in the body of “hotness” and “coldness.” Pregnancy and menstruation were conceived to be dangerous states, and various restrictions on conduct were imposed on women at these times.

The first missionaries decided that the Chamorros should adopt western clothing, which was one reason cotton was brought to the islands. But the growing of cotton and its weaving into cloth was finally abandoned, and cloth was imported. Men wore a shirt and trousers, and women wore a skirt and blouse, though while working it was customary for men to wear only shorts. On Rota, life was simpler, and clothing was at a minimum even in the nineteenth century. The festive Filipina mestiza dress for women was introduced from the Philippines and is still worn by older women today.

The Jesuits brought musical instruments, and the Chamorros likewise adopted Spanish dances. The *Chamorríta*, the Chamorro folk song, was a much-used vehicle for expressing everything from moral precepts to sentiments of love. Cockfighting on Sundays after mass became a favorite amusement.

The Chamorro language was reduced to writing by the priests for purposes of religious instruction. It is doubtful that many

people were literate, however, though prestige was accorded to literacy. Great numbers of Spanish loan words were borrowed, including the Spanish number system and the Spanish system of weights and measures, which superseded that of the Chamorros. Yet, despite this extensive borrowing and despite the great decimation of the full-blood Chamorro population after the conquest, it was neither Spanish nor Tagalog that became the language of the islands. Probably because few Philippine, Mexican, or Spanish women migrated to the Marianas, the mothers of each succeeding generation were Chamorro-speaking, a fact that Safford believes to have been responsible for the survival of the language. Chamorro is the language of the Chamorro people today.

## V. Resettlement of Saipan

For more than a century the islands north of Rota remained uninhabited. They were not completely deserted, for hunters from Guam visited Tinian periodically, searching for wild cattle. A full account of this activity is given by Walter, the chaplain and chronicler of Anson's voyage. In 1742, Anson landed on Tinian, with his crew in desperate condition through the ravages of scurvy. He spent several months on Tinian, where he found great numbers of cattle, hogs, and fowl, as well as large supplies of sour oranges, limes, lemons, coconuts, and breadfruit. Tinian's abundance allowed Anson's men to recuperate, and the island has never before or since been described in such glowing terms as those contained in Anson's account.

When Anson landed on Tinian, he captured a small Spanish bark of about fifteen tons, lying at anchor in Tinian harbor, a Chamorro sailing outrigger canoe, and a Spaniard and several Chamorro men. The Spaniard was a sergeant in charge of a party of twenty-two Chamorros who had come to Tinian to kill cattle and hogs, the meat of which was to be dried and taken to Guam to supply the garrison. Whether Tinian's cattle and hogs were introduced prior to the abandonment of the island or early in the eighteenth century is not clear. In any case, they multiplied rapidly, for in the Anson account the cattle alone were estimated as numbering at least ten thousand head (Anson, 1748, p. 309).

Tinian continued to be used as a provision storehouse for Guam through the remainder of the eighteenth century. The island was visited by Byron in 1765, Wallis in 1767, Gilbert in 1788, and Mortimer in 1789. Mortimer (1791, pp. 65-66), who landed on Tinian to secure provisions and water, stated that his party "found several huts erected by the Spaniards, who came here annually from their settlement at Guam to procure beef . . .," though Mortimer found no one actually living on the island. Whether Saipan was used in similar fashion is not known. Probably because it had a more accessible harbor and had become known through Anson's account,

the few non-Spanish ships passing through the Marianas found it more expedient to stop at Tinian than at Saipan.

In the early nineteenth century, however, attempts were made to settle Saipan, as well as Agrihan. Chamisso notes that in 1810, a Captain Brown, commander of the ship *Derby*, with one Johnson and several Hawaiians, sailed for Agrihan but missed the island and turned south to Tinian. Here two parties formed: one consisted of Johnson, four other white men, and the Hawaiians, who were to build a boat and sail north to Agrihan; the other consisted of the second mate and three other men, who received their discharge from the ship, bought a longboat from the captain, and prepared to overhaul it for "commercial purposes," possibly intending to use it for trading with passing American vessels, which were beginning to stop at the Marianas. Captain Brown presumably went on his way. The two parties moved from Tinian to Saipan, which had better supplies of timber. When the mate finished his longboat, the Hawaiians rose up and killed the mate and one other white man. In the meantime, the Spanish governor heard of the presence of strangers on Saipan and in June, 1810, brought Johnson, four other whites, two negroes, and twelve Polynesians—seven men and five women—to Guam. Johnson thereafter made Guam his home (Chamisso, in Kotzebue, 1821, vol. III, pp. 87-88).

In 1815, the Spanish broke up a settlement on Agrihan, consisting of some forty persons, including three Englishmen, one American, and the remainder Hawaiians. At the time of Chamisso's visit in 1818, another settlement had already formed on Agrihan (Chamisso, *op. cit.*, p. 88). Arago speaks of an American vessel that had been wrecked on Agrihan, the survivors being taken to Guam by the Spanish; this account may refer to one of these groups (Arago, 1823, p. 10).

These attempts to resettle the islands north of Guam were transitory. The actual resettlement of Saipan was part of a quite different series of events, which concern the trading voyages and migrations of Caroline Islanders northward to the Marianas. It was the Carolinians, who, in the nineteenth century, resettled Saipan.

Among the most adventurous and competent sailors and navigators of Micronesia were the inhabitants of the low-lying atolls of the central and western Carolines. Don Luis de Torres, vice-governor of Guam during the early part of the nineteenth century, was a careful observer of both the Chamorros and the Carolinians who visited Guam. De Torres himself made a trip to Ulithi in 1804. The Carolinians told de Torres that "they had previously had com-

mercial intercourse with the inhabitants of this island [Guam], and only given it up on hearing of the settlement of the white men, and having themselves been witness of their cruelty." (Kotzebue, 1821, vol. II, p. 240.) It seems probable that the Spanish conquest forced a break in relations long established between the Caroline islanders and the Chamorros of Guam. The Carolinians returned in 1788, but on the trip back their fleet of canoes was lost in a storm and it was not until the turn of the nineteenth century, in 1805, that they again made regular trading trips by canoe to Guam (Kotzebue, *op. cit.*, pp. 241 ff.).

The commodity that drew the Carolinians to Guam in the nineteenth century was iron, which they traded for their own handiwork. In addition, by this time the Chamorros were no longer canoe-builders and navigators. The canoes described by Anson in 1742 were apparently built and sailed by Chamorros, but Freycinet, who visited the Marianas in 1819, noted that "the boats that are used to sail between the islands today are built in the Carolines and are handled by sailors from that group." (Freycinet, 1829-37, vol. II, p. 459.) The Carolinians eventually provided the principal transportation between Guam, Rota, Tinian—the latter still valuable to Guam as a source of meat supplies—and eventually Saipan.

The accepted date for the settlement of Saipan by the Carolinians is 1815. The Carolinians are said to have requested permission to settle on Saipan because their home islands were devastated by a typhoon. Their request was granted, provided they would transport dried beef and pork from Tinian to Guam. The source of this information is Corte (1876) and as he was generally well informed there is little reason to doubt his statement. Chamisso has listed Carolinian islanders who were living on Guam in 1816 (in Kotzebue, 1821, vol. III, p. 91) while Freycinet (1829-37, vol. II, p. 327) stated that on Saipan in 1819 houses were just beginning to be built, four already being occupied by Carolinians from "Lamoursek" (probably Lamotrek). Freycinet himself did not land on Saipan, though Gaudichard, Arago, and Bérard of his party visited Tinian, where a few Carolinians were staying, as well as a Chamorro *alcalde*, and confirmed the fact that Saipan was being settled (Arago, 1823). There is no doubt that by the early years of the nineteenth century the Carolinians were moving to Saipan as well as to Guam.

The Carolinians continued to maintain regular trade relations with Guam, as well as to migrate to the Marianas. In 1849, a canoe arrived at Guam from Satawal, and next day two more from Lamo-

trek, the crews and passengers being permitted to settle at *Maria Christina*, a small Carolinian village near Agaña. By this time, the Carolinians had founded the town of Garapan on Saipan's west coast. In 1851, the population of the island was 267 (*Diccionario historico*, 1851). When Sanchez (1865-66, pp. 258, 298) visited Saipan some years later, in 1865, he reported that Garapan had 424 Carolinian inhabitants and 9 Chamorros, one of whom was the *alcalde*. Sanchez was much impressed with the appearance of the Carolinians and with their skill as canoe-builders and sailors.

Tinian had been by-passed by this movement of Carolinians northward to Saipan, though Tinian continued to be used as a source of meat supply for Guam. Corte (1876, pp. 82-83), governor of the Marianas from 1855 to 1866, stated that only about 20 persons were on Tinian, including a number of lepers. Cattle and hogs were killed on Tinian, and the meat was dried and shipped for sale to Guam on Carolinian canoes. Corte estimated that there were 800 cattle and about 3,000 hogs running wild on the island. Sanchez (1865-66, p. 212) visited Tinian in 1865 and stated that the village of Sunharon, at the harbor, had about a half-dozen houses, containing 15 persons, who came from Agaña and were employed in killing cattle and drying meat. These people were rotated back to Agaña every two years. In addition, Sanchez noted on the eastern side of the island a "hospital" for lepers, containing "three wretched mortals," attended by the same people engaged in killing cattle. The United States Trust Territory's colony for the treatment of Hansen's Disease, presently located on Tinian, thus has had less distinguished predecessors.

In 1869, however, an attempt was made to establish a more permanent settlement on Tinian, when one H. G. Johnson obtained a concession that gave him the usufruct of Tinian for eight years. He imported some 230 Caroline islanders from Namonuito. The baptismal records of the Chalan Kanoa church on Saipan show a considerable number of baptisms of these Carolinians performed on Tinian in July, 1871. The colony, however, was not successful. Johnson died in 1875 and a number of years later the people moved to Saipan. On Saipan today the village of Tanapag is largely inhabited by descendants of these islanders, who have held themselves socially somewhat apart from the Garapan Carolinians.

The Chamorros did not return to Saipan in any number until the Carolinians had long been established there. If Sanchez is correct, there were only nine Chamorros on Saipan in 1865. The Cha-

morros migrating to Saipan also settled at Garapan. Corte wrote that Garapan was divided into three *barrios*, one of Chamorros and two of Carolinians, but it is not clear to what year this condition is to be referred. Ibañez (1886, p. 142) noted that the census of 1872 gave Saipan 425 inhabitants, though he gave few other details. Governor Olive (1887, p. 52), reporting for the year 1886, stated that there was one town on Saipan—namely, Garapan—divided into three *barrios*, the northern one being Chamorro and the southern two Carolinian; that there were 145 houses in the town; and that the total population numbered 849, of which two-thirds were Carolinian. This figure was confirmed by Marche (1891, p. 251), who visited the island in 1887. The general trend in the population growth on Saipan is also given in an official report on the Marianas in 1885 (*Islas Marianas, Informe . . .*, 1885), which gives the following population totals for Saipan: 1835, 128; 1863, 420; 1881, 751; 1885, 797. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the number of Chamorros on Saipan slowly increased, with a marked influx in the early years of the German regime.

These two groups—the Carolinians and the Chamorros—who resettled Saipan in the nineteenth century maintained their separate social and cultural identity. As Joseph and Murray (1951, p. 29) have pointed out, each group preserved its own language and customs. By this time the hybrid Chamorro culture had crystallized, and though there were numerous individual culture traits shared by the Chamorros and their Carolinian neighbors, the cultures of each had markedly different configurations. The Carolinians clung to their own dress, their house types, and their canoe-building. The women were taro-, yam-, and sweet-potato-growers; the men were fishermen. The Carolinians also preserved the essential features of their social organization, including maternal lineages and clans, the men's house, patterns of sex relationships, the widespread practice of adoption, and their system of chieftainship. They continued their ancient dances. They remained only superficially affected by the forms of Catholic ritual. In all these features of life they differed from the Chamorros.

Chamorro culture, westernized in a seventeenth and eighteenth century sense, also included attitudes of superiority towards the Carolinians. The Spanish administrative system, extended weakly to Saipan, was nonetheless in the hands of the Chamorros. Sanchez (1865-66, p. 258) remarked on the simplicity and docility of the Carolinians and their respect for the few Chamorro residents, who



were really in authority. There was apparently little tension and relations were amicable enough, but there is little doubt, from statements that go back to Chamisso's day, that the Chamorros considered themselves decidedly superior to their unacculturated neighbors. A reflection of this was caught by Safford (1933-34) on Guam in 1900, during the first year of American occupation, when he observed:

The Guam people treat the Caroline islanders kindly, but look upon them as savages and heathen. On one occasion I asked a Chamorro lady why the ladies of Guam do not wear flowers in their hair when going to a fandango. She replied, "Why señor, do you take us for Carolinas?"

Nevertheless, though the two groups of Chamorros and Carolinians preserved their separateness, they both lived on one island, in one principal town—Garapan (and later a small subsidiary village, Tanapag)—and formed a single Saipan community. If Guam was a remote corner of the Pacific world, Saipan was even more so. During the mid-nineteenth century and just before, the Marianas were frequently visited by whaling ships, but this was a transitory phase in the nineteenth-century history of Saipan. Sanchez, for 1865, stated that "no one visits the Marianas except perhaps some English or American whaling ship," and, with regard to Saipan, "... scarcely a single vessel comes here." (Sanchez, 1865-66, p. 365.) Except for the Carolinian canoes, there was no inter-island transportation.

A few contemporary notes fill out the picture of Saipan in the nineteenth century. Most of these relate to the Carolinians. They maintained a canoe-building yard, where Sanchez saw two vessels being built and several others careening, and where the pilots had an informal school for the young. Every year in the spring months the Carolinians made trips to Guam during the good weather. On these trips they brought dried meat from Tinian, as well as some pigs, a little tobacco, and coconut line cables and ropes, made locally on Saipan.

Corte (1876) provides the following description of the island:

The island is covered everywhere by a luxuriant forest growth with many coconut palms and breadfruit trees, while *ifil*, *dago*, and other timber trees of the same type as those in Guam grow sparingly. All the different types of plants which grow on Guam are found on Saipan or can be raised there, while some things—tobacco, for instance—grow better. No produce, however, is cultivated in quantity because the people, being very few in numbers and of simple wants in the midst of great abundance, are satisfied to plant a few *camotes* and to raise a few pigs and chickens for the occasional whaling ships

that pass by . . . The islanders also grow a small tobacco crop which they bring to Guam for sale or barter.

Corte noted that the houses on Garapan were arranged on either side of broad streets that made it the best town of the islands, after Agaña. The town included a timber chapel or church, a residence for the *alcalde* and one for the missionary, though at the time of Corte's visit there was no priest in residence. Periodically, priests came to Saipan from Guam to baptize children and perform marriages. The oldest baptism recorded in the Chalan Kanoa church records is dated 1856. In 1865, Sanchez (1865-66, pp. 260-261) noted that the Carolinians "have scarcely any notion of Christianity." Toward the end of the Spanish period, however, Augustinian priests were in residence, and the Catholic missionaries were more active. Elderly Chamorros remember Padre Thomas Queba, who built a masonry church at Garapan. At the end of the century, Tanapag village, a few miles north of Garapan, had become established, and here too a small masonry chapel was built.

The Spanish-American War at the close of the nineteenth century marked the final disintegration of the Spanish colonial empire. Guam passed to American hands, and Germany purchased all the Mariana Islands north of Guam. With this event, the Marianas entered a new phase in their history. Thereafter, the cultural influences affecting Guam largely stemmed from contact with Americans, while German, and, later, Japanese influences were important on Saipan.

## VI. German Colony

In November, 1899, Germany formally took over the administration of the Mariana Islands north of Guam. During the first years of the German administration, the Marianas formed a separate district in the *Südsee Gebiet*. In 1907, the islands were combined with the Palaus and the western Carolines into a single district, with headquarters on Yap. A station director resided on Saipan, and he, together with a small staff, administered the Marianas.

At no time during the German regime was there more than a handful of German nationals on Saipan. Yet the arrival of German officials brought marked changes in the administration of Saipan and the other islands under German control. Although the Germans were primarily interested in the copra resources of the islands, they introduced a series of measures that altered very considerably the type of administration under which the Chamorros and Carolinians lived.

Public health measures under the Spanish regime had been virtually non-existent. The German administration immediately started wholesale vaccinations for smallpox, which in the centuries past had been a scourge of the Chamorro population. The Germans also provided the regular services of a government doctor. After a visit from the famous Koch, yaws ceased to be diagnosed as leprosy, and it was recognized locally that the former should not be confused with syphilis.

At the same time, in the first years of German administration an attempt was made to establish schools on Saipan. The first government report notes that two schools were started on Saipan—one at Garapan and one at Tanapag—and one on Rota, under Chamorro teachers. These efforts were not entirely successful until 1905, when a German teacher arrived on Saipan to take charge of the administration's educational program. In the second year after his arrival, 254 pupils attended school on Saipan—179 Chamorros, 74 Carolinians, and one Spaniard—with an advanced class of nine pupils (German Govt., 1906-07, p. 4137). By 1912 the school had

grown to 385 pupils, with an additional special school for interpreters (German Govt., 1912 13, p. 181). Subjects included the reading and writing of German, arithmetic, Biblical history, geography, music, and calisthenics. Formal instruction was undoubtedly on "fundamentals," but judging from the number of middle-aged people on Saipan today who speak German and who still know "*Ich weiss nicht was soll es bedeuten*," the instruction was thorough. The learning of English was not encouraged, and according to a statement by Fritz, the governor of the Marianas, the speaking of English was prohibited.

The Germans also sent a few young men off the island to secure vocational education. Several Chamorros, three of whom are living today, went to the German colony at Tsingtao to learn the crafts of carpentry, blacksmithing, and shoe-making, while one, Gregorio Sablan, became a school teacher and a remarkably well-educated man, with a full command of at least five languages. Two other young Chamorros went to Germany for schooling. Four were sent to the Yap headquarters to be trained as cable station operators.

In political affairs, the German administration retained for the most the Spanish system of *alcaldes* and subordinate officials, but the functions of these became largely a matter of carrying out the instructions issued by the German officials. Judicial matters were taken out of the hands of the local people. Each village had a local resident as its head and the village was in turn divided into districts, each headed also by a resident, who reported cases of illness, kept the census records, collected taxes, secured laborers for construction of public works, and reported unusual occurrences. These officials were appointed, but their choice was influenced by popular preference, so that an attempt was made to gain community confidence in the system of administration. The various officials also received a small salary for their services. There is little doubt that the German administration was much more efficient and better organized than the casual Spanish one that had preceded it. It was a system designed for order and efficiency, however, and not primarily for training in local self-government.

The Germans also established a police force. At first a few Malaysians were brought to the Marianas for this purpose, but they were early replaced by Chamorros and Carolinians. The German administration recognized that the peaceful nature of the population hardly made the police force necessary, but through the inculcation of "habits of punctuality and obedience, of co-operation, and

of comradeship between Chamorros and Carolinians" among the members of the force, it served a worth-while purpose (German Gov't., 1900-01, p. 1951). Fritz (1904) noted that petty thievery, especially as regards food and fowl, was widespread, but that offenses against life were very rare.

The German administration levied a yearly poll tax of three marks and continued in a more effective manner a work tax inherited from the Spanish regime. Under the Spanish, all men between the ages of eighteen and sixty were required to work for the government fifteen days a year, though the required period was apparently never worked off, or the work was performed only nominally. With the Germans, every male between the ages of fifteen and fifty was required to aid in the construction of public works; married men worked for twelve days and bachelors for twenty days a year, without remuneration (German Gov't., 1899-1900, p. 1006). Saipan's first adequate road system was built under this regime.

In addition to setting up yearly records on vital statistics and instituting a series of minor ordinances, the German administration focused its attention on land problems and policy. The major German effort in the Marianas was directed toward copra production. In stimulating copra exports the Germans found it necessary to rely on the Chamorros and Carolinians, so that the relation of the local population to its land resources was an important consideration. Accordingly, a number of measures were instituted, certain of which are briefly noted.

During the Spanish period, a few Chamorro families on Saipan obtained very large grants of land for grazing purposes, though there is no evidence that these lands were ever put to use. When the Germans assumed control of the island, they revoked these grants but allowed the holders to retain sufficient land for their needs, in amounts that they could handle. The remainder of these grants was incorporated into the public domain, which was then opened to homesteading by Chamorros and Carolinians. The German government recorded all titles to land and issued certificates covering such titles to individual owners. They also allowed the leasing, though not the homesteading, of public domain to German colonists on very reasonable terms, but were unsuccessful in drawing more than a very few adventurous souls of German nationality to the Marianas. Finally, in 1904, all foreign real estate, consisting principally of a few Japanese holdings, passed into the hands of the German government or the Chamorros.

At the same time, the Germans attempted to maintain subsistence agriculture by decreeing that any person owning a piece of land was obliged to set out one-quarter of a hectare in food plants. Governor Fritz reported that this edict was necessary, for many owners neglected to make adequate plantings of maize, sweet potatoes, and other food crops. A similar decree had been passed by the Spanish, though probably it was never enforced. Copra plantings increased in German times, but Fritz noted that the great majority of persons preferred to harvest the numerous wild coconuts and to buy imported rice with the proceeds. Saipan never became a really large-scale copra-producing island, and the entire Marianas never produced more than a few hundred tons a year.

At least partly because of the German homestead plan, the early years of the twentieth century saw a steady migration of Chamorros from Guam to the German Marianas, particularly to Saipan. This immigration was complemented by a surplus of births over deaths, so that the German period was one of marked population increase. The following figures on population totals for the German Marianas reflect this trend (German Gov't., 1900-01; 1903-04; 1911-12).

	1901	1904	1912
Chamorros.....	1,330	1,686	1,920
Carolinians.....	772	897	1,109

The migration from Guam included some 100 Carolinians. The new American administration on Guam made a misguided effort to induce the Carolinian colony on Guam to adopt Western clothing and customs; the colony accordingly moved north and joined its fellow Carolinians on Saipan. Also, in 1902 there were some Carolinians on Rota, some on Tinian, a few copra workers on Agrihan, Sariguan, and Alamagan and about 100 Carolinians on Pagan (U. S. Navy Department, Handbook, 1944, p. 34). During the German period there were two terrific typhoons, one in 1905 and another in 1907, in the Carolines and some of the population of the devastated atolls were temporarily placed on Saipan. Also on Saipan for a time was a group of banished Samoans, numbering between 60 and 70. They are remembered today for their large stature and equally large appetites.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Japanese traders extended their activities to the Marianas, consequent upon the development of the copra trade in the Pacific. In the ensuing German period, shipping and trade were primarily in the hands of the Japa-

nese. In 1906, there were two Japanese firms operating in the Marianas: the Hiki Company and the Murayama Company. In 1907, the two firms combined to form the Nanyo Boeki Kaisha, which became a large and important concern in Micronesia (U. S. Navy Department, Handbook, 1944, pp. 28-29). Most of the shipping, varying from some sixteen to thirty ships a year, was Japanese, and the whole Marianas trade gravitated toward Yokohama. In addition, three German and German-Chamorro firms were organized: the Marianas Handelsgesellschaft, which leased the northern bird islands; the Tinian Gesellschaft, which exploited Tinian's livestock; and the Pagan Gesellschaft, which leased the four principal northern copra-growing islands in order to increase copra exports. Though the economic development of the Marianas during the German period was very modest, it did result in an inflow of imported goods. The ships that called at Saipan, together with the official German mail boat, which called about every two months on its run through German Micronesia, Hong Kong, and Sidney, also increased very considerably the contacts of the Marianas with Japan and other parts of the Pacific.

What was the effect of the German administration on Chamorro and Carolinian society and culture? An important point is the set of values and attitudes that the handful of German administrators brought with them. The principal source of the period is the monograph on the Chamorros and a series of related papers by Fritz, the first German governor. As Joseph and Murray (1951, pp. 42 ff.) have so well pointed out, Fritz's writings are as illuminating for the insight they give into German attitudes as they are for the ethnographic information they contain. These same attitudes tend to be reflected in the official German government reports and in the papers of other German visitors and officials. Briefly, the following axioms that governed German attitudes deserve comment:

(1) Work in itself is a virtue. It should further be directed toward the earning and saving of money. The first government report states (German Gov't., 1899-1900, p. 1006): "Our task as regards the education of the natives is clear . . . [they] must be trained to work; they must be encouraged to earn and to save money." In another place, the report states: "Unfortunately, the desire to earn and to save money is not very strong in either of the two groups [Chamorros and Carolinians], and this . . . hampers their development. Natural resources supply them with everything they need for their very simple way of living, so that very little work is

needed; a great deal of the work, it should be mentioned, is performed by women."

(2) Order and efficiency, as reflected in punctuality, obedience, and technical knowledge, are desirable ends. Again, the first official report notes that the first school was more successful in training children in orderliness and punctuality than in teaching them the content of the instruction. The local police force was considered primarily of value in inculcating habits of punctuality, obedience, and co-operation. The laxness of the Spanish regime is commented on and the efforts taken to tighten the administration are described.

(3) Progress toward civilization in the Marianas is to be measured in large degree in economic development and in higher standards of living. Coupled with this, the local residents should be taught the German language, and respect for German traditions and customs.

What was the effect of these attitudes of members of the controlling power on the Chamorros and Carolinians? First, so far as one can tell, the Carolinians were much less affected than the Chamorros. The marked social and cultural differences between the two groups continued, and though skills such as canoe-building and navigation seem to have declined among the Carolinians, and though cultural change occurred among them, they appear to have remained attached to their own way of life.

The Chamorros were certainly more affected. Costenoble (1905, pp. 80-81) remarked that the Chamorros showed an "unmistakable urge toward progress" but the Carolinians displayed none. It was the Chamorros who were sent to Tsingtao, Germany, or the Yap headquarters for special training in various skills. It was from the Chamorros that the principal response came to urgings to work and save. Among the Chamorros were a few who worked to amass land holdings through the homestead plan, who started a soap factory, who seriously specialized in craft skills, and who became school teachers. It seems reasonably certain that the German period saw a widening of the range of Chamorro material wants, an increased acceptance of a money economy, a greater receptivity to foreign ideas as Saipan's contacts widened, and probably a more pronounced equating of wealth to status. In the attitude toward work as a virtue in itself, the Chamorros today are much closer to Germans and Japanese than are the Carolinians, and it is possible that the German administration stimulated change in this direction among



the Chamorro group. Work in itself, however, is not the pronounced and emphasized virtue among the Chamorros today that it is among the Germans and Japanese, as well as in other parts of Europe and in parts of America. Among many South Sea communities, the value of work is judged according to the immediate ends involved, a fact that few foreigners have realized, as the significance of the particular ends in the local cultures is seldom appreciated.

As Joseph and Murray have pointed out, the German period on Saipan is now regarded as the "good old days." No doubt this is partly the result of looking at the past through rose-colored glasses—a characteristic of all humans. Yet on post-war Saipan today there are certain rather obvious comparisons that the middle-aged can easily make. In German times, no bloody invasion with all the modern instruments of destruction had passed over the island. The resources were still intact. There was ample fertile land. Life was leisurely. The German regime maintained order and stability. There was a modest outlet for those who wished to strive for wealth and knowledge. The Chamorros, used to being under authority, could not have found German colonialism particularly oppressive. In the words of Gregorio Sablan (1926, p. 371), who lived on Saipan in this period, "From the very beginning of the German administration the natives of Saipan were quite contented, because the Germans have shown themselves to be highly cultured and of refined education."

Although there was a widening of off-island contacts, an expansion of world-view, and developing differentials in wealth, literacy, knowledge, and social status among the Chamorros, the essential configuration of Chamorro culture and the major outlines of their social organization do not appear to have been greatly modified in German times. From Fritz's monograph, we learn that surviving elements of early forms of material culture, such as the head rest, were disappearing, and that new items, such as sewing machines, were coming into widespread use. Yet the Chamorros continued as a folk society, maintaining their traditional *costumbren Chamorro*—that core of usages centering around family, farm, and church. As for the latter, the Spanish Augustinians were replaced by German Capuchins. Fritz was not impressed with the piety of the Chamorros, pointing out their continuing belief in ghosts and spirits, yet such apparent contradictions are of common occurrence in missionized societies and the fact does not negate the acceptance of Christian ritual and basic dogma. Chamorro culture on Saipan represented a

continuation into the German period of the hybrid form crystallized in previous years, with some modification and addition to culture content through contact with German residents.

## VII. Japanese Mandate

The relatively brief period of German administration in the Marianas came to a close with World War I. In October, 1914, the Japanese navy took possession of Saipan and the other German islands in the Marianas. The remainder of German Micronesia was likewise seized by the Japanese. A naval administration was established, with headquarters at Truk and with a number of subordinate administrative districts, of which the former German Marianas was one, with Saipan as the local headquarters.

After the end of the war, Japan, firmly established in Micronesia, was awarded a League of Nations mandate over the former German Pacific possessions north of the equator on terms advantageous for the extension of her empire. In accordance with the mandate agreement, Japanese armed forces were withdrawn from the islands and in 1922 a civil administration, the South Seas Government, replaced the navy as the administering authority. With the inauguration of a civilian administration, the economic development of the limited resources of the Micronesian islands received increased impetus that steadily intensified until World War II. Under the South Seas Government, the headquarters were shifted from Truk to Koror. The Marianas remained a district, administered from Saipan.

I do not propose to document in detail the history of the Japanese mandate, but rather to sketch the major events of the period as they affected Saipan. For further information the reader is referred to sources listed in the bibliography.

During the period of Japanese naval administration on Saipan, the outward appearance of the island did not change radically. Crampton (1921), who visited the island in 1920, found that Garapan was inhabited by less than 3,000 people, of whom a few score were Japanese officials and traders and the remainder Chamorros and Carolinians. The latter still wore their traditional dress. The town extended along the shores for a mile or so; the houses for the most part were built of wood and thatch with a few stone buildings. In

the countryside were to be found some Japanese plantations, as well as the small farms of the Chamorros and Carolinians. The introduced coconut beetle was raising havoc with the coconut palms. However, Saipan's agriculture resources were not yet heavily exploited.

The Japanese early realized the suitability of Saipan for the growing of sugar cane. Their first ventures were not particularly successful, but, with the formation in 1922 of the Nanyo Kohatsu Kabushiki Kaisha (South Seas Development Company, or more popularly "NKK"), plans for large-scale sugar production crystallized. From this date until the coming of World War II, Saipan became more and more intensively developed as a large-scale producer of sugar. By 1940 the exports of sugar from Saipan were valued at 6,644,000 yen (Oliver, 1951, p. 34). The growing and processing of sugar cane dominated the lives and activities of Saipan's population.

An important role in the development of the sugar industry was played by the Japanese government, who leased public domain to the South Seas Development Company. For the first years this land was leased rent free; later, as operations expanded, a charge was made. The sugar company built a large mill and town for the mill workers at Chalan Kanoa and installed a narrow gauge railroad around the island to haul the cane from the fields to the mill. Eventually, virtually all arable land was cleared for fields. The coconut palms were by this time in very bad condition due to the depredation of pests and were largely removed. Most of the land leased by the sugar company was in turn rented out to tenant farmers, who produced cane under contract and under the supervision of the company. Saipan was the first island to be developed as a sugar producer, but the industry was soon extended to Tinian, whose production exceeded that of Saipan by 1940. A mill was also built on Rota shortly before the war, and that island was in process of development when the war terminated further activity.

On Saipan, Japanese enterprise extended into other fields of agriculture. Coffee, cassava, and pineapples were all cultivated, though on a minor scale compared to sugar. During the latter part of the Japanese period, commercial fishing also became important, the principal catch being bonito. Commercial fishing was entirely in the hands of Japanese nationals, primarily Okinawans.

In the economic development of Saipan, the Japanese followed a policy radically different from that of the Germans. The latter

had attempted to develop a copra industry based on Chamorro and Carolinian labor, organized essentially on the basis of a household economy. The Japanese by-passed the Chamorros and Carolinians completely and brought thousands of Japanese nationals to the island. The Japanese policy involved none of the difficulties in changing the work habits and values of a subject population that the Germans had experienced. In addition to simplifying labor problems, the migration of Japanese nationals provided an outlet, albeit a minor one, for Japan's surplus population. The growth of the Japanese population was remarkable. In the Marianas north of Guam there were 1,758 Japanese in 1920; 15,656 in 1930; and 42,547 in 1937. The Japanese population on Saipan increased from a mere handful at the beginning of the Japanese regime to 20,696 in 1937 (U. S. Navy Department, Handbook, 1944, pp. 34-35). This increase continued until the outbreak of World War II, though statistics are not available. The bulk of the immigration came from Okinawa, which supplied most of the farmers and fishermen. The Japanese from the home islands were principally government officials, sugar company officials, and tradespeople.

As a result of the economic development of Saipan and the immigration of Japanese to the islands, the Chamorros and Carolinians became a small ethnic isolate in what was essentially a part of Japan (or perhaps more accurately, of Okinawa). They were of minor importance in the economic productive organization of the island, though their presence caused legal complications. The Japanese respected their obligations under the mandate agreement and provided medical facilities and an education program for Chamorros and Carolinians. They also subsidized the Catholic mission. To the Japanese, however, the island existed as a resource to be developed to the utmost as an integral part of the empire; the Chamorro and Carolinian population was incidental and entirely secondary to this major effort.

As Bowers (1950) has pointed out, the economic development of Saipan was accompanied by a radical change in landscape. The road system started by the Germans was extended and developed. A narrow gauge railroad was built. Extensive harbor improvements were undertaken. Garapan changed from a predominantly Chamorro and Carolinian village to a predominantly Japanese town and port of some 13,000 people, with numerous stores and shops. Motor transport and many bicycles were imported. Small Japanese villages grew up in other parts of the island. The countryside was

dotted with farm houses. Virtually all the land was laid out to sugar cane, which was interspersed with small plots of subsistence food plants. Local areas were devoted to special crops, such as rice in the low-lying regions around Lake Susupe and coffee and pineapples on certain of the slopes of Mount Tapochau. The cultural landscape was completely altered.

How did this change affect the Chamorros and Carolinians? The contact milieu was of course completely different from that of the preceding German regime. Then there was only a handful of German contact agents. Under the Japanese, there was only a handful of Chamorros and Carolinians among the thousands of contact agents, the Japanese newcomers. The numerical relationship of contact agents and the population being acted upon was reversed.

The relationship between the Japanese and the Chamorros and Carolinians can be examined with respect to a number of features basic to the social organization and culture of the latter two groups. One of these was the relationship of the Chamorros and Carolinians to their land resources. During the German period, there was more than enough public domain of good quality for homesteading. With the development of the sugar industry and the influx of Japanese nationals, homesteading was not allowed and public domain was allocated to Japanese agricultural development, while in addition an intense demand developed for the leasing of Chamorro and Carolinian land to small Japanese farmers and the sugar company. The result was that both Chamorros and Carolinians leased most of their land and lived on the proceeds, retaining enough farm land for a farm house, with a garden and possibly a bit of pasturage. Bowers (1950, p. 114) states that at least 75 per cent of the Chamorros and Carolinians rented the greater part of their land. I would estimate an even higher percentage. Also, as it was no longer possible to increase land holdings through homesteading, the amounts of land individually owned tended to become frozen. As rents steadily rose, those with large land holdings tended to prosper; those with little or no land could not easily increase their holdings and had to be content with what they had. Land became valuable in the eyes of Chamorros and Carolinians for the rent that could be obtained, not as a resource to be developed by their own efforts.

The Japanese validated the ownership titles recorded during the German regime and respected Chamorro and Carolinian rights in real property. The principal exception to this statement is the taking of land for military installations just before and after the

outbreak of war. The Japanese conducted a careful cadastral survey of the island, clearly establishing boundaries and settling disputed titles. At first, although no restrictions were placed on the sale and transfer of land among Chamorros and Carolinians, no alien other than the government could enter into a contract for sale, purchase, or mortgage of land owned by an islander. In 1931, this provision was changed to permit Japanese individuals or corporations to purchase or mortgage private land with government permission. Although adequate figures are lacking, at the end of the Japanese period a process of land alienation had commenced that affected small land-holders particularly. One informed Chamorro estimated that approximately one-third of the Chamorro and Carolinian families had no farm land at the time of the invasion during World War II. Undoubtedly, under the pressure of Japanese industry, the process of land alienation would have been accelerated had not the war intervened.

In addition to living on their rents, both Chamorros and Carolinians obtained income from employment. The latter worked largely as stevedores, whereas Chamorros learned a variety of skills. They became hospital technicians, nurses, school teachers, policemen, and mechanics, and they also practised their traditional crafts such as blacksmithing and carpentry. Bowers (1950, p. 114) is entirely correct in noting that the majority, particularly among the Chamorros, came to regard employment rather than agriculture as the principal path to material advancement, despite the fact that the Japanese reserved office jobs for their nationals.

In political affairs, the Japanese continued the German system of appointing prominent men to act as representatives of the islanders. There were one *alcalde* and five subordinate district *concierges*, the latter chosen from four districts in Garapan and from Tanapag village. At the outbreak of the war, one *concierge* was a Carolinian and another was part Carolinian, though he considered himself a Chamorro. The Japanese officials issued instructions to the *alcalde*, who in turn relayed the instructions to the district leaders. Communication was primarily one way—from the Japanese officials to the Chamorros and Carolinians. Land problems were referred directly to the Japanese land office. Local laws and ordinances were enforced by the Japanese police, who employed some Chamorros as policemen. After 1936, the Japanese instituted a change in that the Chamorro and Carolinian *alcalde* and *concierges* were elected rather than appointed.

In connection with the system of administration, it should be noted that the Japanese classed both Chamorros and Carolinians as *santo kokomi* or "people of the third class," ranking below both Okinawans and Koreans, not to mention the Japanese from the home islands. In reference, Chamorros and Carolinians were called "*toming*" (the equivalent of "native"), though the Japanese also used the term "*kanaka*" to distinguish the Carolinians. All three terms had distinct connotations of inferiority, and the first two were bitterly resented by many Chamorros. The term "native" continues to be used by American personnel. "*Kanaka*" is recognized as an invidious term and is seldom heard today. This point is mentioned because sensitivity to status is particularly a feature of Chamorro culture. Presumably this sensitivity was sharpened under the Japanese. The Chamorros were very conscious of the fact that they were segregated into *toming* schools and that vocational instruction that might lead to competition with Japanese was not given.

After the Japanese assumed control of Saipan in 1914, they interned and removed the German Capuchins. Until 1921, the island was without priests, but by an agreement between the Japanese government and the Vatican Spanish Jesuits were sent as missionaries to the Marianas. Five Spanish nuns were also sent to Saipan in 1928, to aid in teaching Chamorro and Carolinian children. The form of Catholicism taught by the Spanish Jesuits was extremely austere. Dancing, in the form originally brought by the Spanish, was discouraged and in many cases prohibited. Relations between the sexes, particularly the unmarried, were believed sinful under circumstances that in most countries would be considered quite innocent. The priests themselves remained aloof from convivial occasions among their parishioners. It is interesting to note that after 1932 the Japanese government subsidized both Catholic and Protestant missions in the mandated islands. In the latter thirties, however, relations between the church and Japanese officials on Saipan began to deteriorate. Exercises required for children at the Shinto temple were set at the same time as mass; in the Chamorro and Carolinian school the Japanese teachers expressed attitudes hostile to the church; and missionary replacements of priests were discouraged or prohibited.

The specific cultural changes in the Chamorro and Carolinian communities are not easy to reconstruct, but certain points are relatively clear. The social cleavage between Chamorros and Carolinians continued; intermarriage between the two groups occurred,



particularly at the mixed Chamorro-Carolinian village of Tanapag, but on the whole it was not frequent. The Carolinian group exhibited a number of important changes in social organization. At the beginning of the Japanese period, the Carolinians maintained four men's houses on the beach at Garapan and one at Tanapag. As an institution, the men's houses gradually disintegrated, as did the organization of chiefs and elders associated with it. Clan and lineage likewise weakened. Outrigger-canoe building and navigational knowledge largely disappeared. Additional features of change are more fully discussed in that part of the report concerned with Carolinian social organization.

Among the Chamorros, increasing differentials in wealth developed, and a few of the families with large holdings of real property became well-to-do, with large and well-furnished houses. Living standards generally rose among the Chamorro group, and the increasing range of wants was matched against the influx of trade goods from Japan. Some Chamorros sent their sons to Japan for schooling. Many other Chamorros, as well as numerous Carolinians, took advantage of government-sponsored special rates to visit the Japanese home islands.

Apart from items of material culture content, such as adopted foods, bicycles, Japanese tools, and footwear, it is difficult to determine deeper-lying levels of change in both Chamorro and Carolinian life during the Japanese period, as the documentation is not adequate. Chamorro sensitivity to status probably was affected by Japanese concepts.<sup>1</sup> The following is a post-war example:

A Chamorro hospital technician had his wages reduced ten dollars a month because a previous hospital administrator had allowed him an unreasonably large salary increase. The hospital budget was reduced and it was necessary to bring the technician's salary into line with those of other technicians and the nurses. The technician resigned, although the matter had been explained to him, for he felt that the cut was an affront to his status and position. His interpretation was based on pre-war Japanese conditions, where government positions were often high in prestige but low in pay and cuts in the latter were rare.

Probably most of the changes in Chamorro and Carolinian life were effected more through the numerous friendly relationships established with individual Japanese than through the more formalized aspects of political, economic, and educational organization. A number of Chamorro-Japanese marriages took place, though the

<sup>1</sup>I am particularly indebted to Mr. Kan Akatani for his assistance on this point.

children were more often assimilated to Chamorro culture than to Japanese, partly no doubt because of the strength of the church, which retained its place at the core of Chamorro culture.

Virtually all Chamorros except the aged learned to speak Japanese, though the reading knowledge of most was very limited. Respect for Japan and her culture was emphasized in the schools, as respect for Germany and her culture had been emphasized during the preceding regime. Yet if we are to judge by the Chamorros today—in religion, in familial organization, and in many other ways—they retained a set of usages, a body of custom, and a framework of social organization that remained distinctively Chamorro. The language they spoke among themselves was still Chamorro. As a group they in no way lost their identity.

With the outbreak of World War II, the military construction that had already commenced on Saipan was expanded. As the war proceeded, consumer goods declined in abundance and quality. The tempo of military activity increased. Chamorros and Carolinians were conscripted for construction work. The church was commandeered as a military storehouse, and the priests had a difficult time with the ever-suspicious police. In February, 1944, the Marshalls fell to American forces. The Marianas now lay directly in the path of war. They were as vital to Japanese defense as to the American offensive across the Pacific. At this time the Chamorros and Carolinians were ordered to their farms, and their houses in Garapan were used for troop billets. Military defenses on Saipan were rushed. Two airfields had been built and a third was under construction. More than 20,000 troops were now on the island. In June, 1944, the expected American blow fell on the unfortunate island, bringing to a close the Japanese regime on Saipan.

## VIII. Holocaust

On June 11, 1944, the first pre-invasion attacks by American carrier aircraft swept Saipan. On the same day the last of the 209 ships required to transport the American landing force of more than 77,000 men left Eniwetok Atoll in the Marshalls. At this time the Japanese had approximately 29,600 troops on Saipan. The installation of their shore batteries had not been completed, while the need to disperse their available forces at the several possible landing points weakened their defense.

Carrier aircraft attacks continued on June 12. On June 13 and 14, the island was subjected to heavy bombardment by battleships, cruisers, and destroyers. During this time under-water demolition teams and minesweepers cleared under-water obstacles. On June 15, the American assault forces commenced landing on the southern lagoon beach on the west coast of the island. In the first twenty minutes 8,000 men were put ashore. Despite the intensity of the pre-invasion bombardment, it had not been crippling, and fierce resistance was immediately encountered by assault troops. In the first forty-eight hours there were 4,000 American casualties. After five days of heavy fighting, American troops seized the Japanese airfield at As Lito and penetrated across the island to the east coast. Thereafter, the assault forces moved against the Japanese cornered on Naftan Point and also pushed northward against the main body of Japanese troops defending the island. On July 9, after heavy fighting, organized Japanese resistance came to an end and the island was declared secure. Nevertheless, months of mop-up operations were necessary to reduce isolated pockets of resistance. (For accounts of the invasion of Saipan, see Hoffman, 1950; Hough, 1947; Isely and Crowl, 1951.)

Saipan was one of the bitterest battles of the Pacific war. Official American casualties from June 15 to July 9 were listed at 14,224, with 3,144 killed in action. Of the Japanese force, 23,811 were killed and 1,810 taken prisoner. Civilian loss of life among the Japanese was heavy, as civilians had been told that they would be tortured and killed if taken prisoner, and many committed suicide.

At the time of the invasion the Chamorros and Carolinians were dispersed on their farms, together with the Spanish priests and nuns, who had been forced to leave Garapan. The Saipanese were skeptical of Japanese statements that civilians would be tortured, the women raped, and the men killed, if they fell into American hands.



FIG. 6. Reminder of war. Burned-out American tank on Saipan, 1950.

During the three weeks of terrific fighting, the Chamorros and Carolinians tried to avoid the ground battle, air attack, and naval gunfire by seeking cover in caves, and often by shifting their hiding places. They particularly tried to avoid the company of Japanese soldiers who they knew would sooner or later be engaged in battle. As opportunity offered, they made contact with American marines and soldiers and were transported to rear areas.

For every Chamorro and Carolinian family, the invasion was a harrowing experience. Apart from the danger, they soon ran out of food and water, and their clothing was shredded to rags; they were in wretched condition when they finally reached the safety of internment camps. Many were wounded; over 300 were killed.



FIG. 7. Reminder of war. Ruins of sugar mill, Saipan, 1950.

In the invasion battle, only the sugar mill village of Chalan Kanoa was spared destruction. Garapan was demolished. The Chamorros and Carolinians lost all their material possessions. The larger society in which they existed as a small part was destroyed. The economy of Saipan was utterly devastated.

To many Chamorros and Carolinians, their wartime experiences remain as well-springs of anxiety. In 1950, with the outbreak of the Korean war, the community became extremely jittery. Stocks of rice in the stores were bought up as families attempted to lay in food; rumors of every sort ran through the island. The people did not calm down until it became apparent that Saipan was not under imminent attack.

The anxiety over war is seldom expressed by these people but occasionally it comes out. I was talking with a Chamorro friend about his corn crop. Suddenly he said, "I tell you, señor, I am afraid. I never say anything, but in my stomach I am afraid of war. We have seen it once and many people are anxious. When we hear talk of war, there is fear in us. We wonder whether it is worth-while to clear the land and plant our crops. Yes, we are anxious and afraid."

After the invasion Saipan was built into a huge American military base, but with the surrender of Japan the tides of war receded from Saipan's shores and military activity was cut back, until in 1950 the last military installation was closed. During this period, the Saipan people experienced a variety of vicissitudes. After the capture of the island, they were kept in a camp separate from those containing Japanese and Korean civilians, and in November, 1944, were moved into Chalan Kanoa, where some new housing units were constructed to relieve the congestion. They were, however, kept behind barbed wire until after the repatriation of the nearly 14,000 Japanese and over 1,300 Korean civilians in the spring of 1946. After this they were granted freedom of movement. They were in demand for government employment. Houses and stores were built; abandoned jeeps reconditioned; Chamorro boys began to wear aloha shirts and the girls learned to use lipstick and read American fashion magazines. A school was opened in 1944. The church was early re-established. Political elections for community leaders were held, and in 1947 the municipality was instituted. Much was accomplished to form again an orderly pattern of existence. Yet by 1950, the date of this field study, deeper and more basic adaptations were still to be made. The organization of com-

munity life in post-war Saipan and the manner in which it reflects successful adaptation to changed circumstances are the subject of the following section.





PART II  
**POST-WAR SAIPAN**

## IX. The Total Community

It would be misleading to describe the Chamorros and Carolinians as though they formed the only community on Saipan, or as though they live in complete social and spatial isolation from the non-indigenous people residing on the island. Actually the Chamorros and Carolinians are part of the larger total island community. They are not, as they were before the war, only a numerically small element in a much larger population made up primarily of Japanese. The Chamorros and Carolinians now form the majority on Saipan, but there is still a larger total community that must be briefly described in order to provide a realistic context for the material that follows.

The total community on Saipan consists of two groups: the permanent residents and the transients. The permanent residents are the Chamorros and Carolinians. The transients are the official American personnel and their families, and they in turn could be divided in 1950 into two groups: official military personnel and official administrative personnel. The duties of the former were not directly concerned with the administration of the Marianas. Between the close of World War II and 1950, American military installations were maintained on the island, but they were gradually reduced until in the late spring of 1950 they were closed down completely and all purely military personnel departed, leaving the administrative group behind.

The military personnel lived and worked largely within the boundaries of the military reservations. Although Saipan is a relatively small island, there was a spatial separation of military transients, and Chamorros and Carolinians. There was also social separation between the two groups. The social contacts between them were controlled by two factors: the extent of Chamorro and Carolinian paid work on military projects and as domestic labor, and the amount of off-the-job contact.

With the end of World War II came the rapid demobilization of military personnel in the Pacific area. As just mentioned, however,

military facilities on Saipan were not immediately closed down. As a result there was a heavy demand for the extensive employment of Chamorros, and to a lesser extent Carolinians, in a variety of capacities: as office workers; as domestic help; and as skilled and unskilled labor on base construction and maintenance projects. This wage work, though it proved to be relatively short-lived, provided the opportunity for Chamorros in particular to widen their range of skills in such varied occupations as those of typists, mechanics, bar-tenders, and truck drivers. Along with this transference and widening of skills went a flow of culture content that included such familiar facets of American culture as a liking for hamburgers, Coca-Cola, and juke boxes. At the same time there was a considerable diffusion of the knowledge of English.

Off-the-job contacts were purposely limited by the authorities. Enlisted personnel were restricted from Chamorro and Carolinian living areas except under special circumstances and were allowed to roam only the single paved street of Chalan Kanoa. This street soon became lined with soft-drink and beer stands and various other small retail establishments, all operated by Chamorros and catering primarily to enlisted personnel. Off-the-job relations with officers and their families were more limited, and except for a few formal and informal social contacts the officer group and the Chamorros and Carolinians remained largely apart in their leisure hours.

The small administrative group, numbering about twenty families and thirty single men, mostly enlisted personnel, has always maintained closer relations with the Chamorros and Carolinians. This follows from the fact that their official duties are connected with the welfare of the permanent residents. In addition to the contacts during working hours, off-the-job contacts at parties in the village and occasional social gatherings in the administrative living area bring together Chamorros and Americans. Each group has its own residence area, and there is spatial and social distance between the groups, but it is considerably less than was the case with purely military personnel.

It should be noted that there is not a general attitude of suspicion and avoidance of administrative personnel by Chamorros and Carolinians. The two groups are not isolated from each other by the pronounced barrier of antagonism that is sometimes found in such circumstances. On the other hand, Americans temporarily resident on Saipan vary greatly in their interest in and desire to know about Chamorro and Carolinian culture, while it is primarily

the more socially prominent Chamorro leaders who maintain the closest relations with Americans.

The official duties and functions of the administrative group on Saipan are controlled by the objectives of American administration in the Trust Territory as a whole. These objectives in turn derive from the obligations embodied in the American trust agreement with the United Nations. Among the more important of these objectives are the improvement in medical care and health of the citizens of the Marianas; the establishment of a system of public education; the establishment of courts, judicial procedures, and an insular constabulary; the extension of the political competence of the citizens of the Marianas to handle their own affairs; and the reconstruction of the local economy after the destruction and dislocation caused by the war. It is primarily in the pursuit of these objectives that the American administration impinges at various points on the community life of the permanent residents of Saipan. These points of contact and the activities that are involved are outlined below.

### **Medical Care and Public Health**

The most important function of administration is probably that of medical care. The district hospital, serving all the Marianas north of Guam, is located on Saipan. This hospital is staffed by American naval medical and hospital corps officers and a small number of enlisted administrative assistants, but the nurses and technicians are Chamorros and Carolinians. The hospital is located at the administration area and not in the Chamorro or Carolinian village areas. In addition, a dispensary is maintained at Chalan Kanoa, the principal village. The dispensary is under the immediate supervision of a Chamorro medical aide, whose original training under the Japanese has been supplemented by additional post-war experience under American medical officers. The latter are in close touch with the community and have a wide range of contacts and personal acquaintances.

The administration medical department also has general supervision over public health measures. In 1950, the municipality employed one Chamorro sanitary inspector; a member of the Insular Constabulary was also detailed to this duty, under the supervision of American personnel. Public health measures include water purification and inspection of sources of drinking water; inspection of latrines in village living areas; inspection of sanitation in retail

food-handling establishments; and periodic inoculation against smallpox.

The most serious medical problems on Saipan derive from the high incidence of tuberculosis and intestinal parasites. Death rates from tuberculosis are very high, particularly among the Carolinians, among whom one out of every fifty males dies of the disease every year. The death rate is lower among Chamorros and has not blocked their relatively rapid recent population increase. Measures taken to combat tuberculosis include complete chest X-rays taken of the entire population in 1950, frequent subsequent examinations of suspected cases, and hospital isolation of patients. Intestinal parasites, particularly *Ascaris*, infect most of the population. It has proven very difficult to reduce the degree of infestation, largely because of the casual toilet training of children.

Western medical practice is accepted by most of the Chamorros. Virtually all Chamorro mothers have their babies in the hospital and receive pre- and post-natal examinations in the dispensary. The Carolinians are much less receptive and maintain to a much greater degree their traditional therapeutic system in the treatment of disease.

### Public Education

A single large school, located in Chalan Kanoa, serves the entire island. Buses bring Chamorro and Carolinian children to school from the outlying villages and districts. The school is divided into an elementary section, which in 1950 had 875 students divided into six grades, and an intermediate section of 83 students divided into three grades. The municipality council has made school attendance compulsory at the elementary level. Students whose performance is judged satisfactory are encouraged to attend the intermediate school. For further training, a number of boys and girls were sent to the school operated by the navy for children of families of military personnel. This school closed down after military facilities were disestablished in 1950. A few Chamorro students from Saipan also attend high school on Guam.

The Chalan Kanoa school is supervised by an American educational administrator, a professional civilian, who has under his direction all the schools in the Marianas north of Guam. A well-educated Chamorro acts as principal of the school. In addition, the teaching staff consists of one Carolinian and eleven Chamorro teachers for the elementary section of the school, and six American

teachers, usually wives of administrative officials, for the intermediate section, with two additional Chamorro teachers for vocational work.

In the curriculum, English is stressed and is taught, in so far as the limited facilities allow, through the medium of history and geography. Although some instruction in farming and carpentry is given, thorough teaching in the rudiments of tropical agriculture and in crafts useful to the island children remains an unfulfilled dream of the educational administrator. Progress in this type of instruction is handicapped by lack of available instructors. The Chamorros themselves are greatly in need of assistance in improving their agricultural competence, and except for a knowledge of carpentry and mechanics they have little skill in crafts. One of the most successful courses has been that of sewing for girls.

Not only has the educational system as a whole had to be established, but a group of teachers has had to be trained as well, for there has been little carry-over of trained personnel from the Japanese period. In pre-war times, teachers in the Chamorro school were almost all Japanese, and there is now only one competent teacher who could be recruited from the persons who taught before World War II.

In order to enlist the support of the parents, a Parent-Teacher Association on the American model has been introduced. At monthly meetings, accomplishments of the school are demonstrated and projects involving the parents are discussed. It is certainly one of the few Parent-Teacher Associations where the men do all the talking.

### **Courts, Judicial Procedures, and the Insular Constabulary**

During the period of naval administration, the Trust Territory has been governed largely through a body of Interim Regulations which outline the framework of administrative organization and its principal functions, and contain a series of regulations affecting various matters such as criminal codes, municipal governments, conservation, and alien property. An important part of the Interim Regulations deals with the establishment of a court system, judicial procedures, and a criminal code.

For the Trust Territory as a whole a uniform series of courts has been established, and their constitution, competency, and procedure have been defined. The lowest of these is the municipal court, intended to operate at the local level and in so far as possible

in accordance with local customs. On Saipan the mayor of the municipality is the judge of the municipal court. The court recorder is also a Chamorro. The building used for the court is located in the administrative area and is also utilized for such higher courts as may be convened.

The municipal court is competent to try civil cases where the amount at issue does not exceed \$100, and criminal offenses the lawful punishment for which does not exceed a fine of \$100 or six months' imprisonment or both. The greatest volume of court cases is handled at the municipal court level. These are, in the main, criminal rather than civil cases. The Chamorros and Carolinians have not often resorted to court action in civil cases, but the small number of such cases is probably due to uncertainty as to the correct procedure to take to institute a civil case rather than to a desire to avoid court action as such, for the Chamorros are by no means averse to the latter and the court as an institution is not new. It can be anticipated that the volume of civil cases will steadily grow with the wider dissemination of information as to procedures, particularly in regard to cases involving the sale and inheritance of land. These latter cases have been largely held in abeyance pending a solution of the land problem, but eventually they will become one of the principal causes of legal disputes.

An important role in island life is played by the Insular Constabulary. The Central Pacific Insular Constabulary for the Northern Marianas was established in 1948. In 1950 there were twenty-nine members of the constabulary on Saipan. The constabulary, made up of local males—twenty-eight Chamorros and one Carolinian—constituted the island's police force. A marine non-commissioned officer was assigned as officer in charge, but the constabulary as a whole is a well-trained group needing supervision primarily only in such new activities and projects as are from time to time instituted.

The principal functions of the constabulary include enforcing the island's laws and making necessary arrests and commitments, running the local jail, enforcing traffic regulations, enforcing tax collections and customs, and maintaining a fire prevention and fire fighting service. It might be thought that a small island like Saipan would have little need for a police force, but the presence until recently of American military forces, and the relatively widespread use on the island of motor vehicles alone make the constabulary essential.

### Local Self-Government

The Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan are organized politically into a municipality that includes the principal village of Chalan Kanoa, the satellite villages, and the outlying farming districts. The municipality has an elected mayor who is the principal liaison official between the local political unit and the administration.

The activities of the municipality, whose organization and effectiveness will be considered in detail in a later section, are related to administrative functions at a number of points. The administration is responsible for over-all supervision of matters such as preparation and approval of budgets, municipal ordinances, and co-operative municipal projects. The administration maintains the island water system and provides running water as well as electricity for the municipality, which pays for these utilities from its tax-supported treasury. The administration likewise supports public works projects such as maintenance of island roads, and through the constabulary provides police and fire protection. On its part, the municipality operates a telephone system servicing administration needs and a few subscribers. These are the most important ways in which the local governmental organization and that of the administration are inter-related.

### Economic Reconstruction

A major obstacle in the establishment of an agricultural economy on Saipan has been the extremely complex tangle of land ownership. When Saipan was invaded the public land records were destroyed, and during the construction of American base facilities, most of the property markers were bulldozed, picked up as souvenirs, or otherwise carried off. As a result, land ownership and farming rights are highly troublesome questions, and a land office has been established by the administration to deal with them.

The administration is also concerned with various other economic questions. The most important of these is the stimulation to improvement in agriculture. To this end a small farm is maintained, partly as a demonstration project and partly as a means of distribution of various forms of economic plants and livestock. Assistance is also given the local people in procuring equipment, livestock, and building materials, and to some degree in marketing produce.

Until 1950, a branch of the Bank of Guam was maintained by the administration on Saipan. The bank was operated for the con-



venience of military personnel and Chamorros and Carolinians. Actually little or no commercial banking was done in the sense of loaning working capital to Chamorro or Carolinian enterprises. In 1950, a mainland American bank took over the Bank of Guam and its Saipan branch. With the departure of military forces from Saipan, the feasibility of maintaining a branch bank has become questionable.

The navy also operated a fleet post office on Saipan. This was much used by Chamorros, who have done their part in helping to maintain the thriving business of the principal American mail order houses.

In summary, then, the Saipan community of Chamorros and Carolinians is neither self-contained nor self-sufficient. The American administration is intimately connected with community life at the various points just noted. Any examination of the Chamorros and Carolinians as a community in process of reforming after the dislocations of World War II must take this fact into account.

A second point is that the administration has not been a stable and unchanging element in its personnel, in its policy, or in its activities. The length of the stay of administrative officials varies from a few months to two years, with a normal tour of duty of about eighteen months. The stability of the administration as a system would not normally be greatly affected by the rotation of personnel were it not that its policy and activities tend to fluctuate with personnel changes. In some departments of the administration, the sphere of activities was established rather early after the war and is relatively stable, with a considerable degree of diffusion of knowledge among the Chamorros and Carolinians as to what the functions of these departments are, or are desired to be. In other fields, policy has not yet crystallized at the local level, and activities remain sketchily co-ordinated toward uncertain objectives. The medical and educational departments belong to the former category. Here any shifts in personnel are counterbalanced by definitely established functions. Economic affairs tend to belong to the latter category, and in this field it has been only the efforts of a few capable administrators, working in a situation of flux, that have given purpose to administrative activities. The administration itself is thus to be seen as an organization in process of formulation and clarification of its functions and objectives, not in the higher levels applying to the Trust Territory as a whole as much as in the interpretation of administrative functions at the local level. On Saipan,

there are inevitable repercussions of this fact in the lives of Chamorros and Carolinians.

### Padres and Nuns

There is one small but important group on Saipan that is neither Chamorro nor Carolinian but yet contains essentially permanent residents. These are the priests and nuns of the Roman Catholic mission. Although a Baptist mission is located on Saipan, it serves principally as logistic support for mission work among the small Protestant group in the Bonin Islands north of the Marianas and among the Protestants at the Tinian leprosarium. In 1950 the Seventh Day Adventists were also making plans for a mission on Saipan. The community, however, is Roman Catholic in its religious affiliation.

The priests and nuns live in the village of Chalan Kanoa and not, as do the administrative group, in a separate housing area. At least one and usually two American priests of the Capuchin order are in permanent residence. Some seven Sisters of Mercy, of either Spanish or Latin American extraction, staff the *convento madres* and are in charge of the catechism school maintained for Chamorro and Carolinian children. Both priests and nuns expect to remain on the island indefinitely, the mother superior already having resided there for twenty-nine years. It should be noted that the priests and nuns use Chamorro exclusively in their dealings with the Chamorros and Carolinians, though priests newly arrived in the Marianas are often sent to Saipan from Guam to learn the language, as so many of the Guamanians speak English.

## X. Local Organization

### Place Names and Districts

Saipan has many place names, constantly used by the people in everyday speech to locate events of interest. These names are of two types: (1) names for particular topographic features, such as points of land, beaches, small valleys, and elevations; and (2) names for districts. The local place names have been collected and carefully plotted by Cloud (1949). Some of the more important district names have been reproduced in figure 8.

The origin of Saipan place names is obscure. Most of them are Chamorro (allowing for Spanish loan words), although a few are Carolinian. "Garapan" is a Chamorro alteration of the Carolinian "*arabal*," meaning a species of shrub common on the lagoon beach, while "Oleai" is also of Carolinian origin. To what extent the Chamorro place names antedate the removal of the Chamorros from Saipan at the end of the seventeenth century is uncertain. Obian (Objan) is mentioned in the seventeenth century letters of the padres as being a village on the southern coast of Saipan at the present location of a large archaeological village site, so presumably "Obian" is an old place name. The same is true of "Agingan" and "Laulau." There is some indication, therefore, that at least a few of the present place names have considerable antiquity. However, Tinian, from which the Chamorros were removed by the Spanish at about the same time they were removed from Saipan, has few Chamorro place names, which suggests that many contemporary Saipan place names originated in the nineteenth century, after the re-settling of the island.

All of Saipan is divided into districts, each of which has a name. In pre-contact times, the more important districts consisted of a major village, or several neighboring ones, together with the surrounding lands. Archaeological village sites on Saipan are primarily along the coast, so that there were probably uninhabited interior districts, but the district was an important social unit. On the basis of documentary evidence, Thompson (1945, pp. 12-13) notes that

the people of each district in the Marianas were composed of a group of related nobility, their dependents among the commoner class, and their slaves, with the highest ranking noble acting as the leader (*i magalake*). The district functioned as a unit in war and in intra-island rivalry. The scanty evidence indicates that in pre-contact times Saipan had no centralized political organization binding all the districts of the island into a single, cohesive, political entity.

Today the district has little social significance. The districts are not co-operating groups nor are they related particularly to the village organization. As social units they have no functioning importance. It is true, however, that in 1950 the local organization of Saipan was highly unstable. In time, if there is a dispersion of the people from the principal village of Chalan Kanoa to newly established smaller villages in more remote farming areas, the district may acquire more important social functions through its closer relationship to the modern village organization, though it is doubtful that the district will ever again conform to the pre-contact pattern.

The importance of the district at the present time lies in the fact that district names are at the core of the place name terminology for the island. District names function as place names for rather general areas delimited by topographic features, although the district itself has no definite boundaries. It should also be noted that the Chamorros use no general word of their own for the district; nor do they refer to it by the Japanese word, "*mura*"; nor do they use the Spanish-derived term "*lanceria*," which denotes several neighboring farmsteads. District names today are much-used, convenient designations to indicate in everyday speech where one's farm is, where one is going, and in other ways to locate verbally people, things, and actions.

### The Village

Apart from the household and farm, whose sociological nature as a local unit is mainly a reflection of the existence of the family, the most important component in the local organization of the island is the village. On Saipan there are six villages: one principal one, Chalan Kanoa; and five small satellites, Susupe, San Antonio, As Lito, Oleai, and Tanapag (fig. 8).

After the capture of Saipan by American forces in 1944, only the houses of the sugar company village of Chalan Kanoa remained intact. Chalan Kanoa was built by the Japanese to house sugar

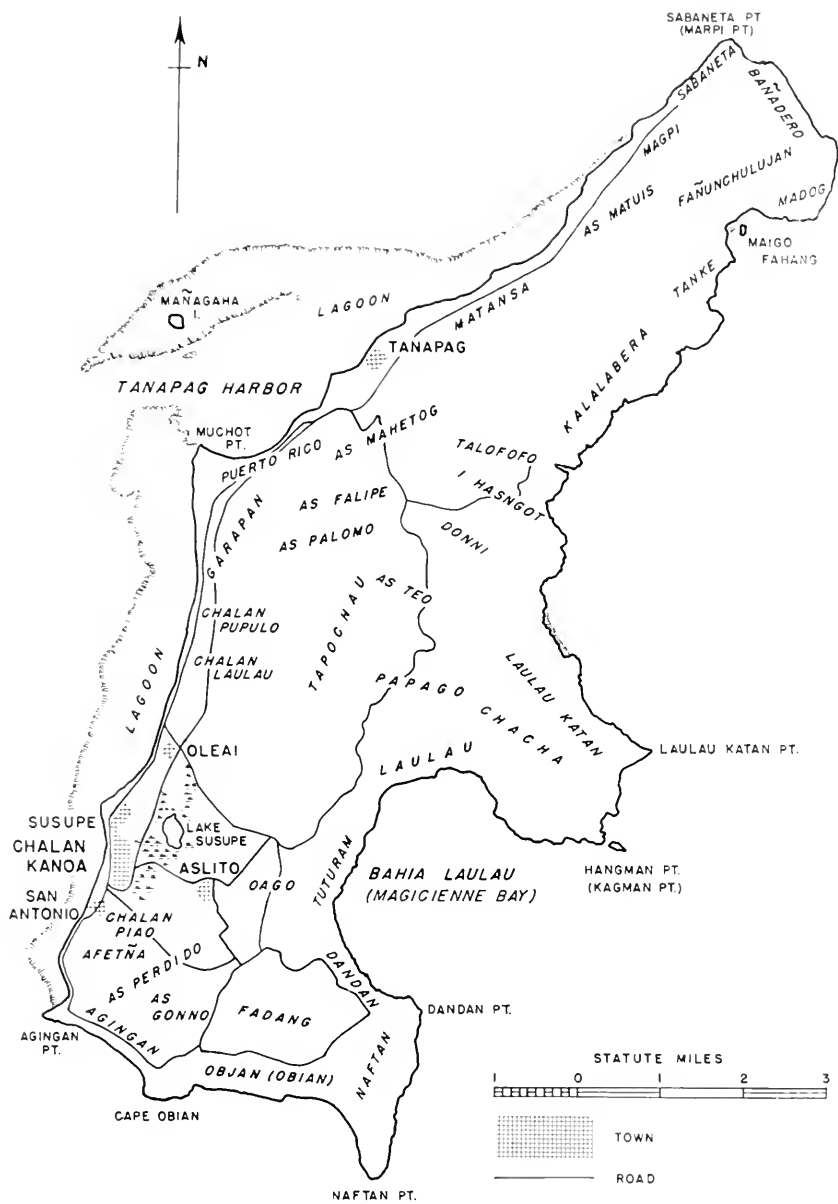


FIG. 8. Map of Saipan place names and districts (after Cloud, 1949).

company workers, principally Okinawans, and the large sugar mill was located at the north end of the village. The mill buildings were destroyed but the houses were fortunately spared, and, following the invasion, the Chamorros and Carolinians were assigned to Chalan Kanoa as a housing area. Although military government



FIG. 9. Church at Chalan Kanoa, Saipan, dedicated in 1949.

authorities constructed a considerable number of additional frame houses, Chalan Kanoa was very congested by the relatively large number of Chamorros and Carolinians confined to its limits. As soon as restrictions were lifted, a process of dispersion commenced. This dispersion took two forms: the enlarging of Chalan Kanoa by the building of new houses in the adjoining areas; and the establishing of small satellite villages. The congestion in Chalan Kanoa is now much relieved but the dispersion is continuing, though at a less accelerated pace.

The population of the several villages in 1950 was approximately as follows: Chalan Kanoa, 3,845; Susupe, 254; Oleai, 158; San Antonio, 290; As Lito, 109; Tanapag, 269. Total 4,925.

### Chalan Kanoa

Chalan Kanoa ("canoe road"), the principal village, takes its name from the district in which it is located. It is a compactly built settlement of modest houses, small stores and other commercial establishments, a school, several municipal buildings, and a large, newly constructed church with its associated mission structures. With one exception, the village streets are of gravel, are regularly laid out, and in the older sections of the village are lined with shade trees planted by the Japanese. Despite its pre-war origin, the village does not give an impression of long-established use and stability. Here and there are stores built only a year or two ago and now already closed, while near-by a new one is about to open. At the north end of the village lies the wreckage of the sugar mill—a reminder of war. Occasional abandoned and half-wrecked pre-war buildings are still to be seen. These are small indications that the village is a recent and not yet economically stable settlement.

Chalan Kanoa is divided into wards, called *distritos*, each containing about 400 persons. The *distritos* are post-war divisions, closely related to political organization, as each *distrito* elects a commissioner as its representative on the municipality council. Separate polling places are set up in each ward at the time of the annual elections. In other ways, the *distritos* are convenient units for organizing village activities. The church organization makes use of them in carrying out functions such as cleaning the church, which is done in turn by the women of the different *distritos*. Another example is the practice of the administration medical department in giving inoculations and vaccinations to the adults of each *distrito*. The *distritos* are useful divisions of the village and in time will probably become even more crystallized as local units. It should be noted that the Chamorros' use of the term "*distrito*" in this connection should not be confused with the island districts previously described. Also, surprisingly, "*barrio*" is not used in preference to "*distrito*."

The houses in the village are all small and modest. Before the war, there were pronounced differences in wealth within the community, and these were reflected in the large size and pretentious character of the houses of the wealthier Chamorro families. The destruction of war wiped out these wealth differentials and today the houses are much alike in size, though Chamorro and Carolinian houses show differences associated with differences in patterns of household life.

In the central part of Chalan Kanoa the houses date from Japanese times, have concrete walls with corrugated iron roofs, and usually have small frame rooms that have been added recently on one or both ends. Also, the Chamorros and Carolinians have all added separate cooking houses to the rear of the main house. In other parts of the village, the houses are of frame construction, built in post-invasion times of lumber mainly salvaged from areas used for housing American troops. These, too, have corrugated iron roofs and separate cooking houses. Most of the houses are neat and painted, when paint is available.

After the invasion, the congestion in Chalan Kanoa made it necessary for at least two families to share a single house, which was partitioned through the center, but today most houses are occupied by a single family. The family unit itself usually consists of an elementary family group. Extended families as household units were formerly common among the Carolinians, but most of these units have broken down into their component elementary families, each maintaining separate residences. Among the Chamorros, the elementary family is the long-established household unit.

An important feature of Chalan Kanoa is the separation of Chamorro and Carolinian living areas. The houses of the two groups are not interspersed one with the other. Instead, the Carolinian minority is concentrated in two *distritos*, with the Chamorros living in the others. The social distinctiveness of Chamorros and Carolinians is thus reflected in their residential separation.

Apart from the houses, there are certain loci of interest and activity in Chalan Kanoa that give the village its form as a social entity. At these focal points the people congregate in activity that is important in the economic, political, religious, and social organization of community life. They accordingly deserve brief comment.

*Beach Road.*—Beach Road, a two-lane, paved, military highway built during the war, runs through the west side of Chalan Kanoa and is the principal road into the village. As the visitor newly arrived on the island approaches Chalan Kanoa his first realization that he is entering the village comes with the abrupt appearance of a large, weather-beaten sign, "Welcome to Chalan Kanoa, the capital of the northern Marianas." Along both sides of Beach Road is a miscellaneous array of small stores, pool halls, soft-drink and beer joints, a restaurant, a popcorn stand, the quonset housing the village movie, a dentist's office, and a makeshift garage, while set back from the road stands the massive structure of the church.





FIG. 10. Upper: Street in Chalan Kanoa. Lower: Chamorro house in Susupe village.

The small retail establishments are primarily a product of immediate post-war years, when there were numerous military personnel still on the island. Beach Road was the point of off-the-job contact between enlisted personnel and the community, for sailors and soldiers spent their spare time and money in the stores along the road. By 1950 half of these stores had closed, but Beach Road nevertheless contains enough centers of purely Chamorro and Carolinian interest to retain a place in the village.

*Stores.* During 1947 the village acquired numerous small retail stores, most of which have since collapsed. In 1950 there remained a bakery, a meat and fish market, a popcorn stand, a restaurant, a movie, several barber shops, a cobbler's shop, a watch-repair shop, three pool halls, a blacksmith's shop, a garage, and a scattering of small general stores, most of which also dispensed beer. Most of the stores are concentrated along Beach Road, but a few are dispersed through the village. Many are built adjoining their owners' houses, or as part of the house. They are all small. The store signs outside are in English; the language spoken inside is Chamorro. The general stores sell a variety of canned foods, rice, soft drinks, candy, often clothes and dress goods, and usually beer. They are owned and operated by Chamorros. The Carolinians operated a few stores but they soon went out of business.

In 1950 the economic situation was depressed, and many stores were going bankrupt. Yet one or two new ones were opening—part of the process whereby a few store owners with the most capital and business knowledge were capturing the declining trade from weaker rivals. It will probably not be long before the village has only a half-dozen general retail stores.

Apart from their economic importance, the stores are significant in that they are centers for the dissemination of news and rumor. They are neighborhood meeting places and they facilitate the personal face-to-face contact that is the main communication channel within the village. The stores open early, many by 5:30 or 6:00 A.M., to catch the before-breakfast trade. In the morning or early afternoon women customers predominate. In the late afternoon or early evening the men drift in, often for a beer. Seldom does one go to a store without tarrying to pass the time of day and to indulge in a bit of gossip.

There is no established market in Chalan Kanoa. Through the stimulus of the administration, a small weekly farmers' market was commenced in order to give the farmers some cash income from the

sale of their products; but gradually the market faded away. If they have the money, people buy imported food in the stores. If they do not have the money, or credit, many prefer to start small garden patches. The weekly market is not embedded in Chamorro culture as an established institution.

*School.*—This is likewise a center of community interest. The pre-war Japanese school buildings have been repaired and added to, and serve for the present school. The school is large and the grounds are extensive. Here is the daily center outside the home for the children of school age. After school hours and on week-ends, baseball games are often played on the school grounds, for the school is also one of the few recreational centers in the village.

*Municipal Buildings.*—These include a building used for council and other meetings, one used for the 4-H club, a bandstand-like structure (the *kiosko*), and most important of all, the municipality offices. Except for the *kiosko*, all are of Japanese vintage, the municipality offices being housed in the pre-war dispensary. The buildings, except for the municipality offices, are used only intermittently. The council building is used once or twice a week for meetings, the 4-H club periodically lapses into complete inactivity, and the *kiosko* is used mainly for the play of small children, occasional informal boxing matches between the older boys, and, once a year, as a polling place at election time. The municipal offices, however, are the scene of daily activity, partly because they also include the village dispensary. In the morning the offices are crowded with mothers waiting outside the dispensary with their children, and with such other people as wish medical attention. Doctor Torres, the Chamorro medical aide, is the busiest man in the village. The mayor's office near-by is quieter. The mayor is a linguistic virtuoso, with a fluent command of Carolinian, Chamorro, English, and Japanese, and a considerable knowledge of Spanish and German as well. Behind his desk is an American flag and a photograph of the President, while he is flanked by a bookcase containing English, Japanese, Spanish, and German dictionaries, as well as a book on American municipal government. In a near office is the elderly municipality treasurer, and next door, the attractive Rosa is either figuring dues and taxes on her abacus or making the keys of her typewriter clatter. In a far corner of the building sits the telephone operator. People come and go, and until the quiet of the afternoon descends the scene is a busy one.

*Church.*—In Chamorro eyes, there could be no established village without a Catholic church. It is true that neither Susupe nor San Antonio have churches, but Susupe adjoins Chalan Kanoa on the north and could be considered part of the latter, while San Antonio is a weakly established village and is close enough to Chalan Kanoa for its people to use the church in that town.

At the north edge of the village, rising from the ruined buildings of the old sugar mill, is the new Chalan Kanoa church, the largest post-war structure on Saipan. It is built of typhoon-proof concrete and dominates the surrounding cultural landscape. Built and largely paid for by the Chamorros and Carolinians, it was designed and its construction supervised by the padre.

Next to the church is the new parish house. The old parish house is located near the center of the village. Also in the village is the *convento madres* of the nuns, a post-war structure surrounded by a quiet garden. Between the *convento madres* and the church are several buildings used for catechism classes, conducted by the nuns and lay assistants.

Back of the church is the cemetery. Along the north side of the cemetery are more than three hundred neatly aligned white crosses, which mark the graves of the Chamorro and Carolinian war dead, killed in the invasion of Saipan.

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Well before daylight many families are astir. If housewives are going to make tortillas—a task that the younger women tend to avoid—they are up by four o'clock. The first mass is at five o'clock, so persons who plan to attend it are up by at least 4:30 A.M. The early mass is generally well attended, primarily by Chamorros, though some Carolinians also are present. A second mass is held at seven o'clock. Originally the early mass was for the early-rising Chamorros and the late mass for the more leisurely Carolinians, but today there is no strict cleavage in the attendance of the two groups.

After mass, people return to their houses for breakfast, change into work clothes, and proceed with the morning's affairs. The Chamorros—even those who do not attend week-day mass—usually have had breakfast and are ready for the day's work by 6:30 A.M. The Carolinians are generally somewhat later risers.

Stores also open early, often between 5:30 and 6:00 A.M. for the small neighborhood stores, and between seven and eight o'clock for

the others. Government employees start work at seven o'clock. School classes commence at eight o'clock. Farmers leave for their *lancos* immediately after breakfast, and the rumble of the heavy-wheeled oxcarts leaving the village for the farms is a familiar sound.

One of the housewife's first tasks is to rake the yard outside, accomplished with a bamboo rake made on the island. Raking the yard is also one of the first household chores assigned to the children.

At noon the children walk home from school and many of the men return to their houses for lunch. Afterwards some people, particularly the women, take a brief rest, but the *siesta* is not observed by most Chamorros. Fritz noted that it was a common custom in German times, but as a culture trait the *siesta* is certainly not general today. The Carolinians, however, are fond of early afternoon rests and it is not unusual to see adults and children stretched out on the floors peacefully sleeping. But even with them, it is not an invariable custom and Carolinians often omit it, particularly if there is an immediate job to be done.

In the late afternoon the children return again from school, with some of the boys lingering for a baseball game. Then the children repair to the *convento madres* for catechism, taught under the supervision of the nuns. In the afternoon the matrons of the village do a bit of visiting, and after the men have finished work they, too, may drop into a store for a beer and gossip. Some of those who are employed by the government drive to their farms for a few hours' work before sundown. Finally, the church bell rings for vespers. The day's work is done.

Supper is eaten after sundown, though the hour may be quite variable. Farmers with oxcarts often do not return till long after dark. After supper there is a good deal of visiting. Three times a week there is a movie, to which the people flock, particularly if a western film, replete with cowboys, Indians and stagecoaches, is currently showing. Before the movie there is invariably a terrific blaring of music through a loud-speaker outside the movie house.

The Chamorros do not retire until late—ten or eleven o'clock or even midnight. Rising as early as they do, it is a wonder that they can work, with the relatively little sleep that they usually obtain.

The work days of the Chamorro week include Saturday. One may go to confession on Saturday to prepare for Sunday, but otherwise Saturday is not notably different. The termination of the week comes on Sunday, always a day of rest. Sunday starts early for those who go to the first mass, but their religious obligations are

completed sooner than those who go to late mass, so they have a longer day of relaxation ahead. After mass there is a leisurely breakfast. Sometimes the family goes to the farm or plans a picnic on a beach along the south or east coast of the island. In the village, during the day, phonographs and radios blare out from the few houses that possess them. Here and there piano music is heard — stilted little classical pieces, or jazz for the more popular-minded. Usually the young men and older boys have a baseball game in the afternoon on the school diamond. Cockfights are always scheduled for Sunday afternoon. Sunday, too, is the proper day for all civic events, such as elections and P.T.A. meetings. And always there are family parties in progress.

One event is always to be observed, regardless of the day of the week. At morning, at noon, and at sundown there are invariably a few people trudging up the highway to the administration area, carrying food for relatives in the hospital. The hospital has a galley and tries to prepare food that the patients like, especially rice and fish, but there is nothing that takes the place of food cooked at home.

The daily round of Chamorro life is of course adjusted to a yearly cycle of events. There is first of all the alternation of wet and dry seasons. With the advent of the dry season, Saipan's luxuriant plant growth changes radically and the countryside turns tawny. The dust blows down the hot, dry streets of Chalan Kanoa and coats the leaves of bushes and trees. In the country the farmers burn their fields as they have always done. As the fires kill the young rats and the eggs of the giant African snail, the bane of Saipan, the farmers are not too careful of their fires and nearly every day a fire goes out of control. The constabulary tries to extinguish them, with varying degrees of success.

The yearly cycle is also affected by the religious calendar of the Catholic church. The holidays of Saipan are the holy days of the church calendar. American secular holidays such as July 4 and Labor Day are holidays only in the sense that Chamorro employees of the government receive a day off. Occasionally a celebration is planned, but usually through the stimulus of the American administration. Otherwise it is the holy days that provide the break in routine.

### Satellite Villages

Beginning in 1947, the dispersion of people out of Chalan Kanoa resulted in the establishment of five small satellite villages (see fig. 8).



FIG. 11. Tanapag village. Upper: Church. Lower: Street.

Tanapag, a small coastal village in the northern part of the island, is built on the site of the pre-war village of the same name, which was totally destroyed during the war. The population of Tanapag consists of both Chamorros and Carolinians, with the latter predominating. There is a considerable background of intermixture between the two groups. The people have moved back to their old house plots and have built new frame houses. However, nearly half of the old village is within the limits of a military reservation and is not open to settlement, a fact that disturbs the people very considerably. Tanapag has a temporary church, and plans are under way to build a permanent one (see fig. 11).

Oleai, first settled in 1947, is a Chamorro community, though three Carolinian families also live there. It, too, has a church. Oleai was settled by people who wished to move closer to their farm lands.

In As Lito, a small Chamorro village to the east of Chalan Kanoa, most of the people have made use of abandoned quonset huts for their quarters, as well as for their own church. As in the case of Oleai, the inhabitants of As Lito moved out of Chalan Kanoa to be closer to farm land.

Susupe borders Chalan Kanoa on the north and is spatially a northward extension of the latter. The houses are new frame structures. There are several stores in Susupe, but no church, as the church in Chalan Kanoa is near-by. The community is predominantly Chamorro.

San Antonio, the most recent settlement, is an old quonset area. It is poorly located with reference to farm land, and it may never become established as a permanent village. It has no church.

These villages are all satellites of Chalan Kanoa, for Chalan Kanoa contains the greatest variety of retail stores, the few wholesale houses, the dispensary, the municipality offices, and the large permanent church. There is, consequently, continuous movement between the satellite villages and Chalan Kanoa.

### Village and Farm

Through long-established custom, village and farm bear a well-defined relationship to each other in Chamorro life. Ideally, every family living in a village has also a small farm, often at some distance from the village. On each farm is a modest structure (*lanco*), varying from a simple shed to a small house. During the week, the family, or often only the men, daily go to the farm, sometimes spending



the night but usually returning to the village in the evening. In German times, Prowazek (1913, p. 50) noted that Chamorro men generally spend the week at their *lanco*, while Fritz (1904, p. 46) stated:

Every Chamorro has, besides his residence within the village, a ranch on his plantation . . . . He and his family spend several weeks there, not so much because of the work that is to be done as because of the opportunity for leisure . . . . On Sundays they ride to the village . . . to go to mass and to attend cockfights. The houses on the plantations are built with less care and are smaller than those in the village, but the style is the same as that of the permanent residences.

Perhaps because in Japanese times the fast-growing town of Garapan acted as an attraction, most of the Chamorros today prefer to return to the village from the farm at night. Some, however, spend most of the week at the farm, and a very few have taken to living on their farms entirely, only coming in to Chalan Kanoa on Sundays for special occasions. The established pattern is for each family to have two residences, with the house in the village the more pretentious and more frequently used, and at the present time there is a definite preference for spending the week-ends and most week nights in the village. As one Chamorro said, "We like to have people about us." The following incident is also an indication of the strength of the village as a local unit:

In order to stimulate farming by encouraging the people to live on their farms, the administration started to run a school bus from Chalan Kanoa to the satellite villages and into the outlying country, so that school children could be brought to school daily while their parents remained on the farms through the week. One of the objections the people had made to moving out to their farms was the difficulty in getting their children to school. After the bus had been running for a short time, however, it was found that a number of people who had moved to the country shifted back to the village, for they could ride the bus to the farms in the morning and return to the village with the bus driver at night. Instead of bringing children in from the farms, the bus was taking adults out from the village.

The island road system consists of a number of paved highways and secondary gravel roads. When troops were stationed on the island, the roads were kept in excellent repair; now they are rapidly washing out, particularly the secondary gravel ones. The side roads to the farms are often mere tracks, traversable only by oxcart or jeep. Nevertheless, the road system remains good enough so that

even remote farms on the island are accessible without too much difficulty.

The traditional form of transportation is the *kareta*, a two-wheeled cart drawn by an ox. Oxen are also occasionally ridden, though not to the extent reported in German times. After the war, the Chamorros and Carolinians were able to obtain a relatively large number



FIG. 12. A Chamorro oxcart on the road to the farm (courtesy of Raymond M. Sato, Honolulu Academy of Arts).

of scrapped military vehicles, which, with considerable ingenuity, they have put into running condition. In 1950, there were 304 Chamorro- and Carolinian-owned motor vehicles, including 207 jeeps, 12 passenger cars, and 85 trucks. The large number of vehicles and the war-time road system have favored the continuance of the prevailing village pattern of local organization as opposed to a permanent dispersal of the people to their farms. By 1950, however, the people were beginning to be seriously pinched economically, so that it was doubtful how much longer the community could keep its vehicles running. A return to the oxcart seems inevitable, particularly as the gravel roads become less passable with each year's wet season. It seems probable that more time during the week will be spent at the farms, assuming that government employment is not available.

The village serves a number of functions that ensure its continuance as a local concentration of population. It is a religious center, to which most Chamorros come on Sundays to attend mass, as well as the periodic special holy day services. It is also the trade center, where purchases can be made in the stores and a certain amount of agricultural produce sold. It is a center for the dissemination of news and rumor. And it is a center for social occasions, ranging from baptism and marriage parties to purely informal gatherings. As a nexus of interest and activity, the village will inevitably continue as a focal point in the local organization.

### **Instability of Local Organization**

At the present time the settlement pattern of Saipan is in flux. As previously mentioned, after the war the Chamorros and Carolinians were concentrated in a single village, Chalan Kanoa; but with the enlarging of that settlement and the establishment of the satellite villages, the population was dispersed and the previous congestion was relieved. At this point the pattern might have become fixed except for the fact that the economy was largely based on government employment at military installations. When these were closed down, economic pressure forced—and continues to force—further dispersion of people to the farms. Although some people have moved permanently to their farms, the traditional Chamorro village-farm pattern is still so strong that the trend is toward the establishment of additional small satellite villages in areas of productive farm land. In 1950, two additional villages were under discussion, one at Matansa, north of Tanapag, and the other at Chacha, on the east side of the island. Complications hindering the establishment of these villages were the difficulties of getting school children to Chalan Kanoa, the problem of building a new church at each village, and, most important, the complex tangle of ownership and tenure and occupance rights that the war brought to Saipan. Economic pressure is forcing a dispersion of population into satellite villages, while the highly unfortunate land situation is at the same time impeding the trend.

Chalan Kanoa itself is not as well located as was pre-war Garapan to serve as the social and economic center of the island. There has been some discussion as to the desirability of moving back to the Garapan site if permission could be received. However, the new church has been built at Chalan Kanoa, and this in itself will

probably ensure the village's place as the focal center for the Chamorro and Carolinian community.

In summary, until Saipan has a stable economy and until the land question is resolved, the settlement pattern will not be permanent. Probably the traditional village-farm relationship will continue. This element of culture exhibits little disposition to change and has so far transcended post-war economic developments and uncertainties.

## XI. Basic Aspects of the Economy

The present chapter makes no pretensions to being a complete analysis of the economy of the Chamorros and Carolinians. Attention is focused primarily on the external adaptation of the community to its natural environment through the prevailing use of local resources, as reflected in economic organization. In consequence, production and exchange are the principal forms of economic activity that will be examined. Certain phases of consumption will be discussed in connection with the family and household patterns of Chamorros and Carolinians.

Although economics is not to be confused with technology, the latter is closely related to forms of economic organization, particularly in production activities. For this reason technological data, such as information on Chamorro agricultural tools and cultivating methods, are included in the following discussion when they are relevant to important aspects of the economy.

### **Institutional Framework of the Island Economy**

Chamorro economy is set in a framework of economic institutions that have been borrowed through the years of contact with the West and Japan and that are now completely accepted facets of Chamorro culture. In particular, the Chamorros are fully accustomed to the following concomitants of a Western price economy: (a) the full acceptance of money as a measure of value and as a medium of exchange; (b) an established system of weights and measures; (c) fully accepted concepts of private property, both personal and real, the latter associated with cadastral land surveys; (d) formal statutory law established by the successive governing powers in the Marianas and controlling property transfers, whether by assignment, sale, or inheritance; (e) familiarity with such concepts as capital, rent, profit, and wages, measured in terms of money.

Gallahue (1946, pp. 23-24) notes that the Chamorros became particularly impressed by the significance of private property, rents,

and trade, during the economic development of the island by the Japanese. He further states:

Chamorros are accustomed to dealing with basic institutions involved in a price and exchange economy . . . . Exchange of goods by sale is the common form of transfer in the Marianas. Formal, as well as implied contracts, are recognized not only in daily transactions and custom, but also in law and in courts . . . . Chamorros have been governed by formal law for generations . . . .

The Carolinian minority on Saipan does not display as complete acceptance of these economic institutions as the more sophisticated Chamorros. Among the Carolinians, subsistence income distributed according to channels organized on a relatively widely extended kinship basis and not making use of money is a common feature. Yet, the Carolinians became familiar in Japanese times with most of the economic institutions noted above.

### Post-War Economy

After the capture of Saipan by American forces, the island was built into an immense military base. Then came the end of the war and the rapid demobilization of military personnel. Base facilities, however, were not immediately closed down. As a result, there was a heavy demand for the extensive employment of Chamorros and to a lesser extent Carolinians, as office workers, and as skilled and unskilled laborers on base construction and maintenance projects. The arrival of the families of official personnel also created a demand for domestic help. A local economy soon developed that depended essentially on government employment. The extent of farming, on the other hand, was minimal.

The income derived by the community from government employment was spent on imported foods and other commodities. This very fact acted as a force to keep wage levels high, for imported goods were expensive because of the transportation costs and the government believed that relatively high wage levels were needed to keep the local labor force employed. As outlets for imported goods, small retail stores came into existence. They were owned and operated by Chamorros and a few Carolinians. These stores in turn were dependent on the established wage economy. The flow of cash into the community made for an appearance of outward relative prosperity, but the entire economy was of course extremely vulnerable and started to collapse as soon as military installations began to close down.

By the summer of 1950, both the army and navy base installations had closed, leaving only the navy's administration unit as a source of employment. As the district headquarters, the administration activities on Saipan will always offer a certain amount of employment to Chamorros, but by no means enough to carry the community. In 1950, therefore, the economy was in a very unsettled state. In a realistic report to the High Commissioner, an economic survey board (Bach, 1950) noted:

Saipan . . . is at present in the worst economic straits of the inhabited islands of the northern Marianas chain. Saipan's economy since the war has become established on a false, untenable basis, almost complete reliance on wages paid by the military for types of work that contribute nothing to the real wealth of the island. So few basic necessities are produced on Saipan that an excessive amount of foodstuffs as well as other commodities have to be purchased . . . .

The economy of Saipan in 1950 was, therefore, a *mélange* of opposing forces. On one hand was the sharply decreased amount of wage labor, coupled with the Chamorros' great reluctance to curtail consumption of the imported foods to which they had become accustomed. On the other hand, the administration's attempts to encourage farming and the exploitation of local resources were being impeded by a complex land problem, as well as by other factors. In the end, however, the future economy of Saipan must be based on the local resources if it is to achieve permanent stability. The remainder of this chapter is an examination of various facets of this basic problem, as seen in the context of economic flux and instability prevailing five years after the close of American-Japanese hostilities.

## Utilization of Local Resources: The Land

### DETERIORATION OF LAND RESOURCES

Economic reconstruction on Saipan, based on the use of local resources and in accord with the prevailing local competence in tropical agriculture, is seriously handicapped by depletion of land resources. This depletion applies both to native plant resources and to the soil itself. Depletion of plant resources followed in part upon the clearing of large areas by the Japanese for sugar cane. Today the sugar cane industry is destroyed, while its reconstruction and operation as a major industry are beyond the present capability of the Chamorros and Carolinians. The clearing of land may have been a step forward for the Japanese but not for the present popula-

tion. In addition, the introduction of the coconut beetle prior to World War II destroyed many coconut trees, and although a parasite recently has been introduced to combat the beetle, the few remaining stands of coconut trees have not yet regained their health and bearing capacity. New trees have been planted, but they will not mature for a number of years. Thus Saipan does not have in sufficient quantity that mainstay of Oceanic peoples, the coconut. There has also been serious depletion of trees suitable for structural timber, and of the breadfruit, a potentially valuable food source. Added to the depletion of trees is the burden imposed by the rat and the African snail—pests that seriously hamper subsistence farming.

During and immediately after the war large areas of agricultural land were taken by the American military for base facilities. Much of this land has been bulldozed and covered with crushed coral limestone and thus has been rendered permanently unusable for cultivation. Unfortunately, it comprises some of the best agricultural soil on Saipan, including much of the narrow coastal strip along the west side of the island. In other areas, the topsoil has been bulldozed into revetments and could be salvaged by their dispersal, but steps to salvage such land had not been taken by 1950. (For detailed information on the destruction of soil resources, see Bowers, 1950.)

Fortunately, Saipan's present population can be supported by the remaining good land, provided it is carefully managed. However, resettling available land and bringing it into productive use has been seriously hampered by a complicated ownership tangle which presents one of the most serious obstacles to the development of an agricultural economy.

#### OWNERSHIP AND TENURE COMPLICATIONS

Prior to World War II, the Japanese administration had completed a careful cadastral survey of land owned privately by Chamorros, Carolinians, and Japanese as well as land held by the government as public domain. Concrete boundary markers had been set at all major corners, and the island as a whole had been completely surveyed. Public records of ownership were maintained; records of sales and leases of real estate were kept up to date; and official titles of ownership were issued by the government to all private owners of land. As a result, the Chamorros in particular are accustomed to the sale and lease of land, to the public recording of all



land transfers, and to the validation by the administering authority of claims to ownership. The situation in the Marianas is quite different from that in the Marshalls and in many parts of the Carolines, where the people do not engage in the sale or leasing of land and where there is only a minimum of familiarity with legal documents and public records.

During the invasion of Saipan the public land records vanished and presumably were destroyed. The only land records that were salvaged from the destruction accompanying the battle were those of the South Seas Development Company (NKK). A number of individuals were able to preserve their government-issued certificates covering their land titles, but most of the Chamorros and Carolinians lost all such documents in the invasion battle, when mere survival was their only concern. All but a few of the concrete boundary markers were later bulldozed, carried away as souvenirs, or disappeared in other ways. Chamorro and Carolinian houses were all destroyed. The resulting confusion in determining land ownership can easily be imagined.

A first step in unravelling the tangle was taken by the military government authorities during the period from October 23, 1944, to February 24, 1945, when an investigation of real estate ownership was conducted and a report filed on the findings (Coburn, 1945). At this time, testimony was taken from Chamorros and Carolinians as to the extent and location of their privately owned land, and the NKK records that contained copies of instruments by which the company leased or purchased land from civilians and leased land from the Japanese government were collected and checked against the verbal testimony.

This commendable first step was not followed by further constructive action until 1950, and for five years the problem of settling ownership claims was not really faced. By 1950, an administrative land office had been established on Saipan and steps were being formulated to cope with the situation. At this time the NKK records were translated and the Chamorros and Carolinians were given some hope that their titles would eventually be validated. In the meantime, however, since the close of hostilities with Japan, American military forces have occupied and used much private land, including that on which a golf course for Americans has been built, with no compensation to the owners. Also, the Chamorros and Carolinians have received no legal assurance of their permanent occupancy of their houses, even though many of the houses were built by them-

selves. They have no assurance of retaining ownership of any real property. It is not surprising that the land situation has contributed to a general feeling of economic uncertainty. Five years after the cessation of hostilities with Japan, a clearly defined, explicit program for settling the land question, whereby local administrators, Chamorros, and Carolinians would be fully informed of the provisions of the program, and whereby the local administrative unit would be provided with adequate authority for attaining the ends of the program, had not been instituted. In all fairness to the time-consuming complexity of the work involved, and the fact that the administration has been caught between military exigencies and civilian needs, the degree of progress toward a solution of the land question has not been a credit to American administration. Fortunately, in 1950 this negligence was beginning to be realized and steps were being taken to correct the situation.

#### LAND OWNED AND LEASED BY CHAMORROS AND CAROLINIANS

There are no accurate figures as to the amount of land owned by Chamorros and Carolinians at the time of the invasion in 1944. It is known that most of the privately owned land on Saipan was in Chamorro and Carolinian hands, despite the pre-war process of land alienation that had commenced by the end of the Japanese regime. Probably two-thirds to three-quarters of Chamorro and Carolinian land was leased, and as the NKK records contain figures on the amount of land leased by the company from private owners, Coburn was able to start with these records, then proceed to take statements from all persons claiming to own land, and thereby to arrive at a reasonably accurate estimate of total Chamorro and Carolinian land holdings. The Coburn findings reveal that about 2,140 *cho* (1 *cho* is approximately equal to 2.5 acres) were claimed by 662 persons, of whom 384 were Chamorros and 278 were Carolinians. It should be remembered, however, that these figures refer to claimed, not proven, holdings.

Size of Holdings										
Less than 1 <i>cho</i>	1-2 <i>cho</i>	2-3 <i>cho</i>	3-4 <i>cho</i>	4-5 <i>cho</i>	5-6 <i>cho</i>	6-7 <i>cho</i>	7-8 <i>cho</i>	8-9 <i>cho</i>	9-10 <i>cho</i>	More than 10 <i>cho</i>
Number of Individual Holdings										
154	198	88	71	40	27	21	19	8	10	26

The size of individual land holdings is also important. The table (p. 130) indicates the predominance of small holdings. Only a few families on Saipan had land holdings of more than 10 *cho* (approximately 25 acres).

The amount of land privately owned by Chamorros and Carolinians in relation to the total arable land in the island is difficult to determine. At the time of the outbreak of the war, estimates place the total arable land at about 10,000 *cho*, most of which was under cultivation, primarily for sugar cane. It should be noted that this land varied greatly in quality. The Coburn report gives the Chamorros and Carolinians more than one-fifth of this total, but their land holdings were concentrated along the productive western coastal strip, the southwestern lower slopes of Mount Tapochau, and in the districts of As Lito, As Teo, and Laulau—all areas of relatively good land. The balance of arable land not owned by the Chamorros and Carolinians was mostly public domain leased to the NKK.

#### POST-WAR SYSTEM OF REVOCABLE PERMITS

In order to stimulate a return to farming and to allow those who wished to return to their land to do so, the administration in 1947 established a system of revocable permits.<sup>1</sup> According to this system, an individual was given a permit by the government to use a tract of land for farming purposes. The permit was revocable on thirty days' notice by the government and carried no assurance of permanent tenure. Revocable permits were issued to persons who wished to return to their own land and to those who wished to farm public domain. In the former case, even though an individual was on his land, he merely held a revocable permit to farm it. A formal deed or title was not issued to him because the administration did not wish to commit itself to validating ownership to tracts where boundaries might be in dispute. Also, the plans of the military services for future bases on Saipan were uncertain and it was not known what future military land requirements might be.

Until the postwar wage economy started to collapse, except initially there actually was not much demand for revocable permits. By 1950 the demand increased, as people realized they would have to depend more and more on locally produced food. Unfortunately, the administration previously had allowed a few individuals to take

<sup>1</sup> This system actually started in 1946, through the issuing of revocable permits for approximately 100 hectares of land. However, no permanent records of these permits were kept.

out permits for excessively large tracts. Also, boundary determinations were not looked into until the demand for permits had become large, and boundary disputes on revocable permit land became a troublesome feature of the system.

In the table below are given the amounts of land issued on a revocable permit basis between 1947 and mid-1950. The table shows the sharp rise in revocable permits, coincident with the decline of wage work, in 1950.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Chamorros</i>		<i>Carolinians</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Hectares</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Hectares</i>
1947	158	637.6	99	295.0
1948	59	325.3	8	63.0
1949	48	585.9	8	45.8
1950*	145	684.8	51	177.7
Total	410	2,233.6	166	581.5

1 *hectare* = 2.471 acres.

\*First six months only.

The system of revocable permits was and is a purely stopgap measure to encourage a return to agriculture. The system provides the holders of such permits with no security, about which the Chamorros complain. Thus, they were encouraged to plant coconuts, but at the same time they were given no assurance that after the seven years required for the coconut palms to mature they would still be in possession of the land. Also, the increasing number of permits issued will eventually entail more labor in adjustment of permanent land titles. The system, though worth while as a temporary expedient, has no value for the final settlement of the Saipan land problem.

#### SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF LAND OWNERSHIP ON SAIPAN

Although this is not an administrative report, it should be noted that a program to resolve the ownership problem on Saipan as rapidly and as fairly as possible must incorporate the following provisions:

(1) Establish the boundaries of usable privately owned farm land through mutual agreement of adjoining owners, record titles to such land, and issue some sort of official deed as a validation of ownership.

(2) Effect the equitable exchange of private land whose utility has been destroyed by the construction of military installations for

tracts of public domain of equal value, set the boundaries of the new tracts, record their titles, and issue deeds to the owners. Authority for this step has already been promulgated in an official Trust Territory policy letter.

(3) Initiate a homestead plan whereby persons who own no land or insufficient land to support their families may homestead limited tracts of public domain. A considerable number of families fall in this category. A homestead plan had already been instituted on Tinian and one was in process of formulation on Saipan during 1950.

(4) Convert land held under revocable permits to permanent title or leasehold according to (a) whether the land is the private property of the permit holder; (b) whether the permit holder wishes the land in exchange for private property whose value has been destroyed; (c) whether the permit holder wishes to homestead the land under permit, provided he is qualified to do so; (d) whether the permit holder wishes to lease the land from the government in cases where he has demonstrated his agricultural competence.

(5) Completely re-survey land-holdings, following the steps listed above. To attempt to re-survey Saipan prior to other steps would postpone major decisions far too long.

(6) Allow compensation to owners of private land still occupied and used by the government, and formulate a decision as to whether compensation will be paid on all private land occupied by the government following the close of hostilities with Japan.

(7) Establish effective procedures for the settlement of land disputes, particularly in cases involving the inheritance of real property. Many owners have died intestate since the war, and numerous disputes among the heirs can be anticipated. These disputes involve some form of codification of inheritance customs if the disputes are to be settled by court action.

#### CHAMORRO LAND TENURE AND INHERITANCE

The Chamorros of Saipan have long been accustomed to the individual ownership of land. During the nineteenth century there was abundant land on Saipan and no real pressure of population on the land resources. Each family cultivated its own fields and if more land was needed there was plenty to be had. In addition, some half-dozen families had received Spanish grants for grazing rights to large tracts on the island, though the land included under

these grants seems never to have been fenced and was only partially used. Administrative supervision by the Spanish authorities of land use and ownership on Saipan was at a minimum.

With the assumption of control by Germany, the government's supervision of land holdings became more systematic and rigorous. The German government recorded all titles to land on Saipan and all individual owners received certificates covering such titles. A homestead plan was initiated, and it drew considerable numbers of Chamorros from Guam. The Spanish grazing grants were revoked, and the holders of these grants were awarded ownership of tracts whose size was in keeping with their abilities to use the land productively. The remainder was allocated to public domain and opened to homesteading. There was plenty of land available for all who wished to bring it into agricultural use, particularly for the planting of coconuts.

As the population of the island slowly increased, the centers of settlement remained at Garapan and near-by Tanapag, on the west coast. Privately owned farm lands were also concentrated along the narrow western coastal strip, where the land was not only fertile but close to the two villages. In the German period, as the island road system improved, more distant agricultural districts were also brought under cultivation, particularly As Teo, Laulau, Chalan Kija, As Lito, and the southern and western slopes of Mount Tapochau. The land use and ownership pattern for both Chamorro and Carolinian lands were crystallized in the German period. It was also at this time that the larger private land-holdings of present-day Saipan were accumulated, largely by homesteading.

When the Japanese acquired control of Saipan, they officially validated the German-issued titles to the Chamorro and Carolinian owners. With the development of the sugar cane industry, however, a significant change took place, for public domain that was formerly available to Chamorros and Carolinians as a reservoir of unused land was no longer open to them. The inheritance of privately owned land became of relatively greater concern. Disputes among heirs were not uncommon and were frequently taken to the Japanese courts, which attempted to settle these disputes among Chamorros and Carolinians by recourse to traditional customs concerning the inheritance of real property prevailing among the members of the two ethnic groups. Unfortunately, the destruction of the Japanese court records during the invasion removed a fruitful source of data on Chamorro and Carolinian inheritance.

## INHERITANCE OF REAL PROPERTY

In obtaining data on Chamorro inheritance, I experienced difficulty in collecting case material because present conditions hamper the functioning of traditional inheritance customs. Having no clear title to farm land and conscious of the fact that neither their village houses nor the plots on which the houses stand are legally theirs to dispose of as they see fit, the Chamorros have held a considerable number of inheritances in abeyance until the questions of land ownership are more nearly resolved. The case material on which the following conclusions are based comes primarily from the pre-war period.

*Real Property: Farm Land and Sitio.*—Real property takes two principal forms: farm land, and the *sitio*, or town lot. Before the war, the *sitio* was located in Garapan or Tanapag and on it was built the town house of the family. Inheritance involves both farm land and *sitio*.

*Marriage and Allocation of Farm Land.*—Before the war, when a couple married, the ideal pattern was for them to establish themselves in their own house in the town. In later Japanese times, Garapan became so congested with Japanese that this often was not possible, and married children often lived with one set of parents; but it is still considered most desirable that newly married people should have their own house as soon as possible after marriage.

If the parents of the son are alive and active at the time of his marriage, the father will take the son to his farm and allocate a section of it to the young man for his own use. This section the son is free to cultivate for himself, and it is here that he will build his farm house (*lanco*). If the groom's father is dead, it is probable that a division of farm land has already been made and that the groom possesses a tract of farm land in his own right.

When a Chamorro woman who owns land marries, the land does not become her husband's and she retains ownership of it. But the husband becomes the manager of the land and it is he who decides the use to which it will be put.

*Partido.*—The Chamorros possess no unilineal kinship groups comparable to the clans and lineages of the remainder of Micronesia, where such groups generally function as land-holding, corporate units. Nor do the Chamorros practice primogeniture. Instead, before the death of the male parent, the family's land holdings are formally divided among the heirs. This formal division of land is

called the *partido*. It is by custom considered right and proper that every male head of a family should make a *partido* before his death. In actuality, it often happens that he does not, and that a division of the land is made by the heirs after his death. This division after the death of the male parent is also called a *partido*, but in the narrow sense of the term the *partido* refers to the division initiated by the father.

When a husband and wife become so old that they no longer are active, they call their children together. The father and husband, who has previously consulted his wife, tells each child what his or her share of the land is to be. If the father has previously allocated various tracts of farm land to the sons who are married, the formal announcement acts as validation of the previous allocation. Furthermore, the father's word is not to be disputed, there or thereafter. Parental respect is one of the major emphases of traditional Chamorro culture. The gathering of the family at the *partido* is a serious occasion; the children have come to hear the word of the head of the family. Generally included in the land so divided is any land the mother may have owned at the time of her marriage, as well as that owned by the father, together with land acquired during their married years. There are few exceptions to this statement.

Following the announcement by the father, his heirs may assume formal and sole control of their land, or the father may state that formal ownership is not to be assumed until his death. Sometimes the *partido* is put in writing, but this is not the usual rule. More often it is a verbal transaction.

The formal *partido* prior to the father's death is a traditionally sanctioned act preliminary to the inheritance of land by the heirs. In actuality, there are a considerable number of instances where either the father or both the parents have died without making a *partido*. In such a case, it remains for the surviving heirs to come to an agreement on the division of the property. In Spanish and German times, when there was plenty of public domain available, the lack of promulgation of a *partido* by the father apparently did not result in many serious disputes among heirs. In Japanese times, however, after the establishment of the sugar industry, there was no public domain available and there was also great demand by the NKK and migrating Okinawans to lease Chamorro land. Land came to have much greater value and the *partido* much greater significance. At the same time, parents who were receiving a cash income from the leasing of the family land were sometimes reluctant



to make a *partido* and hence possibly to lose their sole control over the family purse strings. The situation was conducive to intrafamilial disputes over land inheritance.

Regardless of the formal aspects of the *partido*, Chamorro custom dictates that the family land holdings should be divided at each generation. With Saipan's small Chamorro population and with public domain available for homesteading, the process of division did not at once result in smaller and smaller individual holdings. In Japanese times, however, these permissive factors were removed, and a trend was commenced toward smaller individual holdings, as well as toward a loss of family land holdings altogether. One factor leading to land alienation occurred in cases where a man's heirs sold their land inheritance on his death and divided the money proceeds, as they felt that division of the land would result in such small individual tracts that sale of the land to an outsider was desirable.

*The Division of Land.*—In discussing the division of inherited land with Chamorros, one tends to encounter two generalizations given by informants with regard to traditional Chamorro custom: (1) Farm land is divided equally among male and female children, irrespective of sex; and (2) farm land is divided equally among male children; the female children do not participate in the inheritance of farm land, but are compensated by receiving movable property, often at the time of their marriage, or a part of the *sitio*. When these generalizations are checked against case material, one finds that each is true under special circumstances, and that they represent poles of a continuum that includes a considerable variety of cases.

If a family has a relatively large amount of farm land, there is a greater probability of an equal division of the land among sons and daughters than if the family is poor. In no case, however, did my investigation reveal that a daughter received more land than a son, providing the latter was not an illegitimate child.

Joaquin P. had a large farm (for Saipan) of more than 15 hectares. He had three sons and two daughters. He divided the land equally among all of them at the time he made a *partido*.

It must be remembered that an equal division does not necessarily mean an equal division of acreage. Land on Saipan is very unequal in quality. Both quality and area are here included as factors, when it is stated that a land division is equal among the heirs.

The head of a family may make an equal division of land if the family is relatively land wealthy, but if its land holdings are modest

the chances are that the daughters will not participate in the distribution.

Manuel G. had five sons and two daughters, but only a small farm. When he made his *partido*, he divided the farm land equally among his five sons. The two daughters received no land, but when they married he gave each a cow, several pigs, and some chickens. The *sitio*, with its house, was given to the oldest son.

Ignacio C. had four sons and one daughter, and eight hectares of farm land. He divided the eight hectares equally among his sons. His daughter received no farm land. However, before and at her marriage she received a series of gifts of movable property from her parents to help her start her married life. This movable property included a sewing machine, a chest of clothes, jewelry, a metate, kitchen utensils, some furniture, a cow, and several pigs.

Thus, even though a daughter may not receive farm land as an inheritance, the parents will attempt to compensate her with movable property (*mobile*). The amount will vary with the wealth of the family. Livestock, particularly cows and pigs, always figures importantly, and additional items of wealth are sometimes included. It must be remembered that a married daughter is supported by her husband and that her non-participation in a land distribution may be affected by this fact. One informant said that if a daughter were married at the time of her father's *partido* she would have less chance of an equal division of land with her brothers than if she were single.

In another series of cases, sometimes in wealthy families, sometimes in those more modestly situated, there will be an unequal division of land, the daughters participating but not receiving as large a share as the sons. Several informants stated: "Many Chamorros like to give some land to their daughters, for then the daughters will not be too dependent for land on their husbands at the time of marriage."

Miguel P., who is still living, made a *partido* before the war. He had three pieces of land, consisting of 23 hectares, 4 hectares, and 13 hectares, respectively. He has three sons and three daughters. The division was as follows: The 23-hectare piece he divided equally among his three sons; the 4-hectare piece he divided equally among his three daughters; the 13-hectare piece he kept for his own use, and for that of his wife after he dies. When both he and his wife have died, this piece is to be equally divided among all surviving children, regardless of sex.

Miguel also helped each son purchase a *sitio* of his own and build his own house in pre-war Garapan. He did not so provide for his daughters, but he presented them with movable property.

Juan R. had six sons and three daughters. When he became old, he called his children together to announce the *partido*. He had about 30 hectares of land to divide. A small part of the land he divided equally among the three daughters. The remainder—a much larger and better area—he divided among the sons. He gave five of the sons equal shares, but to the sixth son, who was the youngest of the children and still a boy, he gave a larger share. Although the daughters received but a small part of the farm land, Juan divided his large *sitio* into three parts and gave one part to each of the three girls. He willed his house to one of the girls and for the other two he had houses built on their lots.

In the division of land among the children there is, therefore, a very considerable variation in the degree to which daughters share land with sons. To what extent this is a reflection of change in inheritance customs it is difficult to say. Testimony of older informants is by no means uniform, though many with whom the question was discussed felt that by “old” Chamorro custom farm land was divided principally among the sons, with the daughters occasionally receiving lesser amounts of farm land but being compensated principally by receiving movable property or a part of the *sitio*. There is also some evidence that the Japanese courts found it expedient to divide land equally among heirs in cases of disputes brought to court for settlement. It is possible that there has been a trend toward the equal division of land among siblings of both sexes who are heirs to an estate, and that this is a principal factor in the amount of variation found in case material. But the matter is by no means certain.

There are certain special factors that affect the division of land:

(1) Retirement of the parents: It has been mentioned that a father may make a *partido* when he and his wife retire from active work because of advanced age. If the father provides that the children may immediately thereafter assume formal control of their respective inheritances, the father and mother will continue to live in the family house at the *sitio*, and they may also retain the use of their farmhouse, and perhaps a little plot of land around it on which to raise a few chickens and cultivate vegetables. In the case of Miguel P., noted above, the parents retained a share of their land at the time of the *partido*. If the parents dispose of the bulk of their real property at the time of the *partido*, it is then incumbent upon the children to look after the welfare of their parents and to support them if necessary.

(2) Death of one spouse: At the time of a *partido* it may be stipulated that if the father dies before the mother, she will receive

her own share of the land. The mother may in turn make a *partido* of her share, or its final division may be decided at the time of the first *partido*.

Ricardo R. made a *partido*, dividing the land equally among his children and his wife. He died and his wife used her share of the farm land, continuing to live at the *sitio* with an unmarried daughter. The wife in turn made a *partido*, dividing her small tract of land equally among the children.

Even if the wife does not get a special share at the *partido*, it is the obligation of the children—not always observed—to care for her on the death of the father. In case a *partido* is not made before the death of the father, the wife will often take the land.

Antonio C., who had 30 hectares of farm land, died in 1919, before making a *partido*. Maria, his wife, took the land. In 1937, she made a *partido*, dividing the land equally among her nine children. By this time there were only 18 hectares left, as she had been forced to sell the remainder to meet the cost of living expenses in the intervening years.

If the wife dies before her husband, he retains ownership of the farm land and also has the right to make a *partido* of his wife's land, provided they have living children. I learned of no cases where a wife made a *partido* of her own land and a husband of his, and I was told that this procedure was not customary.

If a couple has no children and one spouse dies, the evidence is not entirely clear as to the disposition of the land, except that land originally inherited by either spouse will eventually go to their respective siblings; but land acquired by the couple, through purchase or homesteading, will eventually be divided more or less equally between the families—usually the siblings—of the man and wife on their decease.

In the case of a remarriage after the death of a spouse, or if man or woman has two sets of children by successive spouses, it is not clear as to what customary rules, if any, are followed. Two cases are given below:

Luis P.'s wife died and he remarried, thereafter having another set of children. When Luis made a *partido*, the land inherited and acquired by Luis, his first wife, and his second wife, was divided equally among all the children of both wives.

Francisco V. married a widow after the death of his first wife. Francisco has one set of children by his first wife, his second wife has one set of children by her first husband, and Francisco and his second wife have another set of children of their own. There are thus three sets of children to be considered as heirs. Francisco has not yet made a *partido*. However, it is clear that his

second wife's children by her first husband will not participate, as they inherited land from their own father. It is also fairly clear that Francisco's children by his first wife will receive more land than those by his second wife, because part of Francisco's land was owned by his first wife and will go to her children and not to the children of his second wife, who has no land of her own.

(3) Youngest child: Chamorro families are large, and it often happens that the youngest child is still economically dependent on his parents at the time the father makes a *partido*, or at the time of his death. In such case, the youngest child, if a son, may receive more land than his siblings, to compensate for the fact that he will need material support until he grows to adulthood and can earn his own living. If the youngest child is a female, similar compensation may be made, by awarding her a part of the *sitio*, or movable property.

Francisco P. made the following *partido* of his land: To the youngest child, a boy, he gave 5 hectares of his best land; to the oldest child, a son, he gave 6 hectares, but it was poor, stony land; to three other sons he gave 3 hectares apiece of average land; to his two daughters he gave 2.5 hectares apiece.

This division was approximately equal among the sons, with the girls receiving only a little less, except for the youngest son, who was given an appreciably greater share.

(4) Illegitimate children: It is the consensus of Chamorro opinion that an illegitimate child does not share equally in inheritance with legitimate children, and the case material I obtained completely supported this generalization with one exception—the child of unmarried parents who married each other after the child's birth. Such cases of illegitimacy are often conveniently forgotten and information is difficult to obtain. I suspect that in most cases the child is not considered illegitimate with regard to inheritance.

If an unmarried man has a child and then marries a woman other than the child's mother, he may give a piece of his land to the child at the time he makes a *partido*, even though his wife objects that the child is not hers and hence should not share in the inheritance. But the man is not obliged to make a settlement on the *bastardo*, and if the father is poor, the child will receive nothing.

Vicente is an old man, the illegitimate son of Felipe, a long dead Chamorro land-holder. Felipe gave Vicente 2.5 hectares, a much smaller share than that received by each of the legitimate children.

Similarly, if an unmarried woman has a child and later marries a man other than the child's father, her husband may give a share

of land to the *bastardo*, though the share will be smaller than that given to each of his own children. He is not obliged to make this settlement, and his decision will be dictated largely by his own kindness, generosity, and affection for his wife and the child. I was told that an illegitimate child cannot claim an inheritance from either his real or his foster father, but I have no case material to check the statement.

(5) Adopted children: Although adoption has not persisted among the Chamorros with the high incidence common in Polynesia and Micronesia, adoptions do occur. I have no case material where an adopted child does not share in the inheritance of a foster parent's estate. The adopted child's share may not equal those of the foster parent's own children and a generalization probably cannot be made on the point. I collected a few cases of inheritance involving adopted children, and in each instance the latter received less than the real children. I was told that if a couple had no children of their own, but had an adopted child, the latter's claim to the couple's land would be paramount to the claims of the siblings of the foster parents.

Juan and Maria had five sons and two daughters, and one adopted girl. In dividing their small farm at the time of the *partido*, they gave each of their children about 1.7 hectares. The adopted child received no farm land, but Juan and Maria gave her the family house and the *sitio*.

(6) Voluntary gift of land by one sibling to another: Two cases were recorded in which one sibling gave inherited land to another. In the first case, a brother gave a part of his land to his sister after the *partido* and death of their father, for the sister had inherited no land and was poor. The second case is given below:

David N. received 3 hectares of farm land as his inheritance. David and his wife worked hard and secured more land, which they then divided among their children at the time of the *partido*. However, the 3 hectares that David inherited he gave to his younger brother, who was poor and who had insufficient land, and whom David pitied.

(7) Unmarried men and women: In case a man or woman is unmarried and has no children at the time of death, his or her land will go to brothers and sisters, or, if they are not living, to their children.

(8) The *sitio*: The disposition of the *sitio* and of the house upon it is variable. If the *sitio* is large, the unoccupied portion may be divided among sons, daughters, or both. Its disposition depends

partly upon the distribution of farm land. The parents have the right to live in the family house built on the *sitio* as long as either lives. After their death, Chamorros say that the house should be inherited by the child who has lived longest with the parents in their old age and cared for them most. As all the houses in Garapan and Tanapag were destroyed and there is no clear title of private ownership for those now in use, contemporary case material is not obtainable, but the statement seems reliable, on the basis of pre-war data. "The house should go to the child who has served the parents longest," is a common Chamorro saying. This child is often the youngest. And it is often an unmarried son or daughter.

*Disputes.*—Conflict among the heirs may arise over the division of inherited land. If the parents both die without making a *partido*, the land is divided by common consent of the children, though the oldest son is the acknowledged head of the family and his word will carry most weight. In such a case, disputes may sometimes arise over the division of property. Disputes may occasionally arise even if the father has made a *partido*, but on this point Chamorro custom dictates that the word of the father is not to be challenged and that changes in the division of property after his death can take place only by consent of all the heirs.

Mariano, Vicente, and their three brothers received equal shares of their father's land when he made his *partido*. Mariano argued with Vicente over the fact that a spring was on Vicente's land. "For that reason you should take less land," Mariano said to Vicente, "or set the spring aside for all of us and leave the immediate area around it unfenced." But Vicente did not heed Mariano's complaints, for he felt he had a right to the spring and to the land around it too, as his father had divided the land that way.

Disputes among heirs may arise prior to the *partido*. As mentioned previously, when a son marries it is customary for his father to allow him to use a section of the father's farm where the son can build a *lanco* and where he can plant crops. If another son marries, the father will do the same for the second son. Perhaps the tracts of the two sons are adjoining. As a *partido* has not yet been made, the boundary between the two tracts may be indefinite, and the very indefiniteness may cause the sons to argue as to which land is theirs to farm. This type of dispute is settled after the *partido*, but the dispute may leave ill-feeling between brothers.

Juan and José were brothers who farmed adjoining tracts on their father's land. No *partido* had been made by the father. Juan planted breadfruit along the margin of the land he was farming. José saw the breadfruit seed-

lings and was annoyed, so he got some larger breadfruit and planted them next to Juan's. Then Juan was angry. He took his machete and cut down some of his brother's breadfruit. There was hard feeling between the two brothers for a long time.

*Summary.*—On the whole, the institution of the *partido* is a reasonably effective mechanism for forestalling disputes among heirs over the inheritance of land and houses. From the foregoing data it is apparent that the division of land among heirs is flexible. The principle that is applied is the equal distribution of benefits according to need among all the children. The youngest male child may be given more land than his brothers, but this is because he is still only a boy and they are adults. If the daughters do not share in the division of land, the parents compensate them with movable property with which to start their married lives; it must also be remembered that adult daughters generally have husbands who support them. In the absence of a *partido*, this principle of the equal welfare of siblings is still applied.

The core of Chamorro land tenure and inheritance on Saipan lies in the individual ownership of land and in the division of the family holdings among the children of each generation. As an observant man remarked, "When a Chamorro thinks of land, he thinks of his children, and of how much land he should have to provide for them. This is always uppermost in his thoughts."

It should be noted that this custom of continuous division of holdings at each successive generation has not yet taken place in a context of population pressure on strictly limited land resources, except during the last decade of the Japanese regime. With the intelligent use of Saipan's present land resources, the pressure of population on these resources may not become acute for a considerable number of years. Eventually, it can be anticipated that the problem will arise and that it will have repercussions on the prevailing system of land tenure and inheritance.

#### CHAMORRO FARMS AND FARMING

In 1950, the Chamorros of Saipan were far from supporting themselves by farming, but the drop in wage work was driving many people to take up at least a minimum of subsistence agriculture. There is great variation among the Chamorros in the amount of farming skill and in the like or dislike of farm life. The confusion surrounding land ownership is a most unsettling factor in the establishment of an agricultural economy. Enough agriculture was being



practiced in 1950, however, to enable one to make reliable observations regarding Chamorro farms and farming methods, though unfortunately, no figures were or are available as to actual farm production according to the crops raised, land area under cultivation, livestock owned, or other categories of statistical data without which a complete picture of local agriculture is impossible. The following sections are devoted primarily to an over-all characterization of Chamorro agriculture and its relative importance in community life.

#### EXTENT OF PRE-WAR FARMING

It is difficult to obtain today an accurate picture of the extent to which the Chamorros actually farmed during the latter part of the Japanese regime. It is certain that many families retained their farmhouses (*lancos*) and a small plot of ground near-by on which to raise a few chickens and pigs, and to graze a cow. Probably most families also planted a little corn and a few vegetables. But the bulk of the Chamorros and Carolinians leased or sold most of their land to migrating Okinawans or to the sugar company, living primarily on their rents or on a certain amount of wage labor. There remains, particularly among the middle-aged and older Chamorros, a core of knowledge regarding traditional Chamorro subsistence agricultural techniques. There are also many men, particularly younger ones, with only the sketchiest knowledge of farming, and for the group as a whole the level of agricultural competence, judged purely on the basis of subsistence farming, is not high. To judge from the remarks of those men who are capable farmers, in the last years of the Japanese administration the extent of knowledge of agriculture suffered a decline which continued through the immediate post-war period, simply because so little real farming was practiced. The competent Chamorro farmers of today do not have a high opinion of the farming abilities of the Saipan group as a whole. It seems certain that a raising of the level of agricultural competence is a prerequisite to the development of an agricultural economy on Saipan.

#### WAGE-WORK AND FARM WORK

An important factor in local agriculture is the attitude toward farming as an occupation. One finds little prestige attached to farming, and it is not a profession to which young men aspire, although there is respect for the competent farmer. This attitude is by no means shared by all, for there is a nucleus of men who are sincerely devoted to farming and who feel that Saipan's future is

dependent on agriculture. This nucleus includes not only men of little formal education but a number of the community's leaders and other men of sophistication. The most outstanding example is a man now in his sixties, the wealthiest Chamorro on Saipan before the war, and an outstanding leader, who today is one of the most vigorous exponents and practitioners of better farming methods.

It might be thought that the lack of esteem in which farming is held by the bulk of the Chamorro group is a contradiction of the previous statement as to the Chamorro concern for land and its ownership. Actually, there is no contradiction, for the Chamorros recognize land as income-producing wealth and as the basis of human livelihood. It is merely that many would prefer to receive the income in rent rather than engage in the actual manual work of production.

In contrast to farm work, non-agricultural wage-work—particularly white-collar work—enjoys higher prestige. Undoubtedly, one reason is that since the war many have worked for wages and feel that they can make more money than at farming, which, with all the confusion about ownership and tenure and the lack of transportation facilities to potential markets, has been anything but profitable. Also, the skills that the Chamorros have learned in the last two decades have been those that characterize wage-work rather than farm work. Formal education in Chamorro eyes is a ladder to the store, the shop, or the office desk, not to the farm. Likewise, to the non-farming entrepreneur, small or large, is attached more prestige than to the farmer, though a number of people happen to be both.

Wage-work is at present fixed in Chamorro values as a desirable thing. One often hears: "Many like to work for wages," or, "If the NKK came back tomorrow, many people would be very happy to lease their land and if possible work for wages."

#### THE FARM

In the year 1950 many new farms were cleared. Some men were rather pathetically trying to clear off the bush between huge overgrown quonsets that occupied most of their land. Others were more fortunate, for their farms were not occupied by buildings. Still others were clearing public domain. Everywhere, however, it was necessary to clear either abandoned sugar cane fields or areas overgrown by bush, particularly by the *tangan-tangan* (*Leucaena glauca*), which since the war has spread like wildfire over the island.

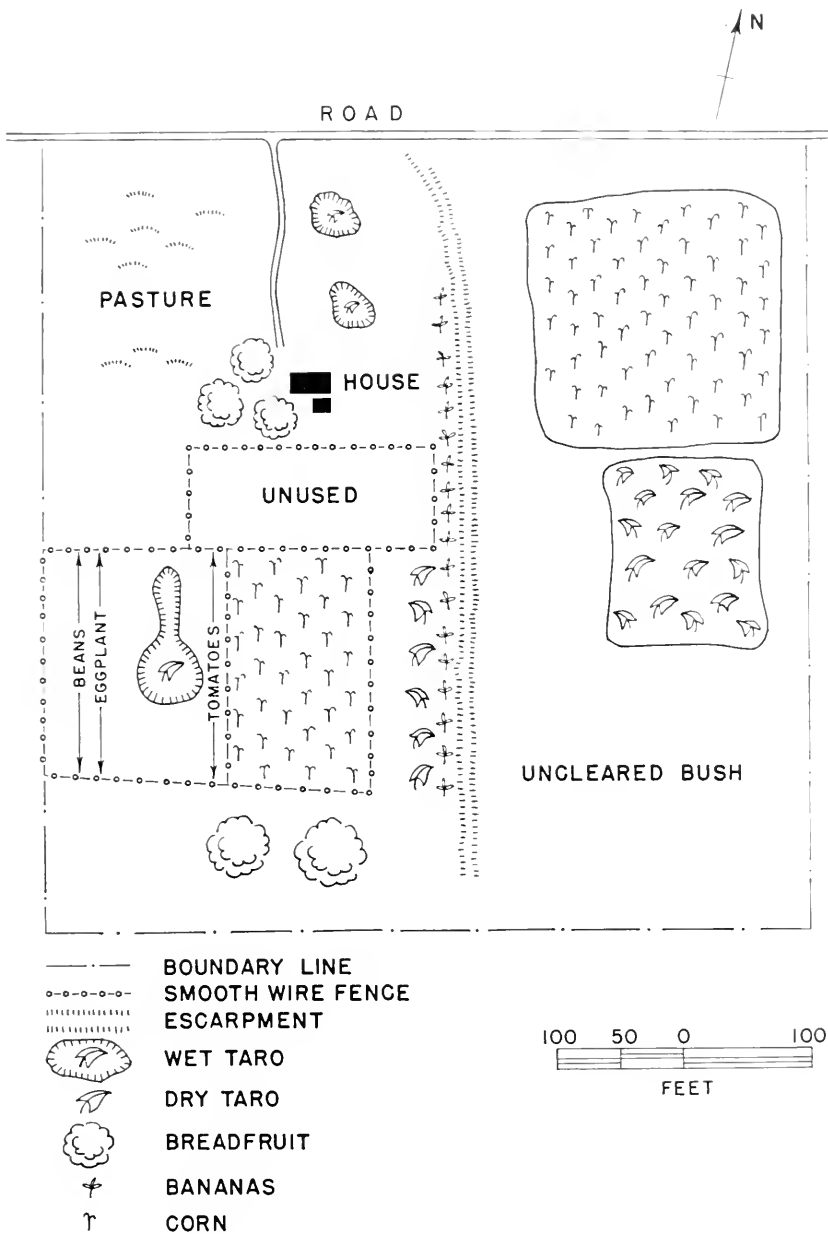


FIG. 13. Map of Chamorro farm, Saipan.

*Size of Farms.*—When Saipan was re-settled in Spanish and German times, and farms were established on the island, no regular pattern of farm tracts was laid out. Instead, people selected land they liked, and the individual tracts have irregular boundaries, forming a crazy quilt effect when these are mapped. Farm boundaries follow topographic features or reflect merely the whims of the first settlers, together with the successive divisions made as each generation of heirs assumed ownership. Today, cultivated tracts are likewise irregular in shape, following natural features or the decisions of owners as to how much they wish to cultivate.

A Chamorro farm must include not merely the cultivated area, but from one to three times as much land lying fallow. The reason is that the Chamorros are slash-and-burn agriculturists. They plant corn as a staple crop, and in the absence of the extensive use of fertilizers the cultivated areas must be rotated to preserve their fertility. Cultivated areas are generally small, seldom exceeding a hectare (approximately 2.5 acres) except in the few cases where power machinery has been used. The small size of the cultivated plots is a reflection of the use of hand rather than power tools, and of the fact that each farmer works alone most of the time, assisted only by his sons and occasionally by a friend or relative. Under these conditions, a farmer can cultivate a maximum of only one hectare or at the most a hectare and a half, exclusive of land planted only to coconuts, and most cultivated plots are smaller.

A distinction can be made between cultivated land and land on which coconut palms have been planted. In 1948 a parasite was introduced to combat the coconut beetle and the local residents have been encouraged to plant coconuts. Since the war, it is estimated that at least twenty thousand nuts have been planted. Many more than these have been imported by the administration but have been diverted from their proposed destination by the Chamorros and Carolinians and consumed as food. If the pests can be controlled, Saipan will eventually once again be a copra-producing island. Coconut land requires little care, but it must be kept sufficiently free of bush so that the coconut seedlings are not smothered. Although some farmers plant corn around the seedlings during their first few years, much coconut land is uncultivated.

*Plan of the Farm.*—A central feature of virtually every farm is the *lanco*, or farmhouse. This may be merely a shed to which the family can retire during a heavy rain and where they can eat a noon meal, but usually it is a frame house of varying quality. The

more pretentious are well built, with corrugated iron roofs, beds, and other furniture, and sometimes with a separate cook-house. During 1950, many *lancos* were in process of construction, generally with materials removed from abandoned troop housing and military warehouse areas. The *lancos*, however, are usually simpler than the



FIG. 14. Chamorro farmhouse, Saipan.

houses in the village. They are generally unpainted, and less effort is taken to keep the surroundings neat, except in the case of the few that are used as permanent residences.

Near the *lanco* is a small chicken house, and at a little distance there may be a pig pen, with a cow or bull grazing near-by. Close to the *lanco* are the cultivated plots of corn, taro, and other vegetable crops.

Drinking-water at the farm is usually procured through rain catchment, as there are few springs on Saipan. A plan of a Chamorro farm is illustrated (see fig. 13).

*Crops and Livestock.* Safford's (1905) useful work describes the cultivated plants of the Guam Chamorros at the turn of the

century. Virtually the same crops are raised on Saipan today. The most important of these is corn (*mais*), which has long been a staple. Since the nineteenth century food habits have changed sufficiently so that rice is preferred to corn, but the rice consumed is all imported. Following corn, in the approximate order of importance, are:

Taro (*suní*). Four principal varieties are planted: *sunín agaga* and *sunín apaka*, both grown in wet areas or occasionally, in very rainy weather, in areas that are otherwise dry; and *sunín Honolulu* and *sunín Japon*, both imported varieties planted in dry land. Every farmer will plant taro if the land is suitable.

Sweet potatoes (*kamote*). There are numerous varieties, some imported in Japanese times.

Bananas and plantains (*chotda*). Every farmhouse has bananas planted around it.

Yams (*dago* and *nika*). A principal staple in aboriginal times and still important.

Beans (*arbochelas*, *frijoles*, *pipino*). Planted in most gardens where the soil is sufficiently rich.

Eggplant (*biringhenas*). A favorite crop.

Onions (*sebojas*).

Tomatoes (*tamatas*).

Manioc (*mendioca*). A little is raised.

In addition, some watermelons (*melon*) and cantaloupes (*sandia*) are planted, as well as chili pepper (*doní*). Pineapples (*piña*) have long been raised on Guam, and many are eaten on Saipan today, but the people use the extensive Japanese plantings rather than plant their own.

The Chamorros today make little use of the breadfruit, although it was once a staple. The same is true of the pandanus. They are fond of mangoes (*manga*), found at many farms. Some local coffee is consumed, but the beans are harvested from Japanese plantings; the Chamorros do not know how to prune coffee trees or how to cultivate the plant properly. Camachili nuts are a favorite of children when the tree bears, but it is not planted regularly.

Every family should have at least one cow or bull according to Chamorro tradition, but the ideal is by no means realized. Cattle are used for transportation and ultimately for food. Some cattle are milked, as are the island's few goats. Chickens are raised for eggs and meat at virtually every farm, corn being used extensively as feed. Some cocks are raised for cockfighting. Pigs are common

at many farms, but feed is a major problem as there are insufficient quantities of coconuts, breadfruit, and corn—the usual pig feed in the Marianas—to maintain large numbers of pigs. Horses are non-existent, except for one small apathetic specimen.

#### FARMING METHODS

In the Marianas, where there are distinct wet and dry seasons, Chamorro agriculture is regulated by the seasonal calendar. The dry season is the time for clearing and burning fields, the wet season for planting and cultivating. Despite administrative efforts to the contrary, the Chamorros continue to be slash-and-burn agriculturists.

Towards the latter part of the dry season, fields are cleared, and the bush is gathered into piles and burned, though often the piling procedure and even the slashing are kept to a minimum and main dependence for clearing is put on the burning. Fires not infrequently get out of control and, to the exasperation of the administrative authorities, burn into what little forest remains on the slopes of Mount Tapochau. Apart from the difficulty in disposing of woody plants, there is a further rationale in the Chamorro's burning, for it helps destroy the eggs of the great African snail and the young of rats, the snail and the rat being the two most destructive pests with which the Chamorro farmer must contend.

Cultivating commences after the fields have been burned, and planting starts with the first rains, which traditionally come in April though the rainy season may actually not get under way until May or early June.

*Corn.*—Usually two crops of corn are planted each year. The first crop is planted after the first rains, the second crop usually in October. Corn takes from three to three and one-half months to mature. The Chamorros plant their corn in rows, but use the American Indian method of dropping from three to five grains of seed corn together, the plantings being from three to five feet apart, depending on the quality of the soil. For seed corn, the largest ears are selected at each harvest and only the central kernels on the cob are used.

The Chamorros plant corn in several classes of land, and if they are wise and have sufficient land they shift their cultivated areas. The best land is the level, dark gray humus-filled soil found along the west coast of the island, but much of this land was covered with crushed coral limestone used in military construction. The next best soils are the reddish types found inland and along the

western terraces. The poorest types are the thin soils on rocky limestone slopes and the sandy soils in districts such as Chalan Piao, where there is only a shallow humus.

One crop of corn can be planted every year in the best soil, provided the ground lies fallow during the interim period. On poorer soils the land can be used for two years but must then lie fallow for two or three years, though there is considerable variation in practice.

*Taro.* Wet taro, as well as dry, is usually planted at the beginning of the rainy season. *Sunin agaga*, the common wet taro, matures in about eight months. *Sunin Japon*, a dry taro, is said to take only about six months and *sunin Honolulu* about eight. These latter two varieties can be left in the ground, whereas the wet taro must be harvested. The latter is preferred as food. Taro plots are generally used every other year.

*Sweet Potatoes.*—Sweet potatoes are also planted with the first rains, preferably in sandy soil, or about October in well-drained land. Land planted to sweet potatoes must lie fallow for at least two years between crops.

*Yams.*—These are usually planted once a year in good soil during the early part of the rainy season. Planted areas are shifted each year.

*Onions.*—These can be planted twice a year, at the beginning of the wet season and about October.

*Melons.*—These are planted in January or February in sandy or well-drained soil.

*Beans, Eggplant.*—These are planted in good soil twice a year, at the beginning and near the middle of the wet season.

*Tools.*—The tools of the Chamorro farmer are simple. The two essentials are the machete and the *fosiños*, which no farmer is without. The machete is used particularly in cutting bush, but it has a hundred other uses. Every farmer carries a razor-sharp machete. The second tool, the *fosiños*, is of uncertain derivation but it, like the machete, was adopted in Spanish times. It is a long-handled scuffle hoe, used in cleaning off weeds and grass from fields and for shallow cultivation of the soil.

In addition, the Chamorros have adopted three tools from the Japanese: the *kama*, a short-handled sickle-like instrument, particularly useful in clearing weeds from stony ground; and the *kua* and the *kusakaki*, both hoes, the latter a short-handled type used for planting.



It is on these tools that the Chamorro farmer relies. There were on Saipan during 1950 some six to twelve tractors, individually owned and used, that had been procured from the government. The Chamorros know that power tools will increase a farmer's productivity, but tractors, on Saipan, can be used only on level land or



FIG. 15. Chamorro farmer using *fosiños* (scuffle hoe).

gentle slopes; for steep-sloped rocky farms they are impractical. Also, through ignorance, when tractors were first used the plowing was too deep — a grave mistake, as Saipan's soil is everywhere thin, being underlain with coral limestone rock or a sterile clay.

*Co-operative Labor.* The Chamorro farmer usually works alone, each man for himself. Such assistance as he receives he gets from his sons, though if they are married and working their own farms it is relatively infrequent. The Chamorros have, however, a system of co-operative labor (*adalag*) on which every farmer relies from time to time, whether it is to build a house, to clear land, or to accomplish any job that he feels is too large to be handled by himself alone. "*Adalag*" means "trading labor." It is practiced between neighbors or relatives and is a carefully delimited exchange of services. The unit of service is either a day or a week. A man will ask his brother

or cousin or a friend to help him for a fixed number of days on a specific project. While they are working on the project, the man will usually provide food for the one who is lending his services. In return, the host will then give an equal amount of labor to the other man at a usually unspecified future date.

Manuel is building his farmhouse. The materials are from an abandoned government building near-by, which Manuel has permission to tear down. He has asked Antonio and José, his brothers, and Ignacio, his first cousin, to help him for two weeks. They will tear down the old building, carry the usable lumber on an oxcart to the site of Manuel's house, and, if time is left, help Manuel get his house started, as Manuel has a knowledge of carpentry. Antonio, José, and Ignacio have all agreed to give two weeks' labor. As a general principle, Manuel says he does not like to *adalag*, as it takes him away from his own work, and he feels that usually not much is gained by the concentration of several men's labor, except in extra big jobs where it is really necessary.

While trading labor is a recognized institution, many feel as Manuel does, and restrict its use to the largest jobs. Also *adalag* is practiced primarily on unspecialized jobs. Many men have an elementary knowledge of carpentry. Some, however, have a more specialized knowledge and for the use of their skill as carpenters expect to be paid in money, not in labor. Likewise, the men who own tractors will plow the land of others for a money fee but are reluctant to do so for a service. So *adalag* is practiced among farmers primarily on jobs that all of them can do.

When trading labor with relatives, and even with neighbors, men usually co-operate more or less within their own generation. One can trade labor with a brother or a cousin, but one does not trade labor, if he is a proper son, with one's father. To *adalag* with a father is disrespectful, for one should always be helpful and aid one's father, and there is implied in *adalag* a business-like, impartial, day-for-day, or week-for-week, accounting of reciprocal services that is considered at variance with the filial respect demanded in the ideal father-son relationship.

Farming is not easy on Saipan. Foremost among the farmer's handicaps are the pests. The myriad thousands of giant African snails plague the grower of vegetable crops at every turn and necessitate surrounding cultivated patches with wire screen fences. The rats are as discouraging and feed particularly on the corn. The coconut beetle is still present and supported in its work by a coconut scale. Minor pests such as a banana borer abound. Working with

hand tools, in the tropic sun, the most adept of farmers must work long hours for a modest return on his labor and planning.

#### CONSERVATION

Except for the rotation of cultivated plots, essential for the growing of virtually all crops, the Chamorro farmer is—with but a few exceptions—unaware of conservation methods and unconvinced of their need. Steep slopes are cleared and planted to corn. Because it is easier to work up and down hill with a *fosiños* and hoe, furrows generally run at right angles to slope contours. In the case of fields plowed with a tractor, contour plowing is not followed, and deep plowing, undesirable in Saipan's thin soils, is often practiced. Terracing is not used. Burning tends to be uncontrolled, though one must admit that the Chamorro farmer must clear from his land a rank growth of woody plants and that no adequate substitute method has been proposed.

In Spanish, German, and early Japanese times, Chamorro fields tended to be in more level areas than they are now, on land now covered by military construction. In later Japanese times, the Japanese, who were careful of the land resources, did most of the cultivating. Today the Chamorros and Carolinians are forced to work what is relatively more marginal land. The destruction of soil resources has thus made the need for conservation measures more pressing.

Apart from this fact, Saipan lies in a region of high rainfall and high temperatures, both of which favor oxidation, leaching, and surface erosion—all important factors in the deterioration of soil resources. Today many cultivated fields on steep slopes are rapidly losing their topsoil, and the depletion of the soil resources, given such impetus by the war, is continuing under local agricultural practices. If Saipan's soil resources are to support future generations of the island's residents, more effective conservation measures must be instituted.

#### SUBSISTENCE FARMING AND FOOD HABITS

Despite the pronounced trend toward bringing more land under cultivation, observable in 1950, the Chamorros were far from producing their food requirements. Furthermore, there was a considerable discrepancy between the crops produced and food preferences. Younger Chamorros in particular prefer rice to taro; white bread and biscuits, made of imported flour, to tortillas. Chamorro

food habits have become diversified and are oriented largely in the direction of imported foods. The types of food plants grown, however, are still those associated with traditional Chamorro agriculture and the food habits of the nineteenth century. The gap would not be particularly serious if the Saipan Chamorros were producing crops for export. This they are not, for only very small amounts of produce have been sold off the island. The contemporary agriculture of the Chamorros, therefore, is neither adjusted to present food habits nor does it allow through exports the maintenance of those habits. In this sense, an agricultural equilibrium does not exist.

#### CAROLINIAN LAND TENURE, FARMS, AND FARMING

These subjects are so closely related to Saipan Carolinian kinship organization that they are discussed in Part IV (pp. 363-369).

#### Utilization of Local Resources: The Sea

On Saipan, men fish both for food for their own families and to sell fish to others. Most of the fishing is done by Carolinians and is not exclusively for one or the other purpose. The clearest difference in Saipan fishing is that observable between the Chamorro and Carolinian types, rather than between subsistence and commercial fishing, and it is primarily from this point of view that the utilization of sea resources can best be described.

#### CHAMORRO FISHING

It was pointed out in Part I that during the Chamorros' long-enforced concentration on Guam they ceased to build open-sea sailing canoes and largely lost touch with the sea, except as shore and reef fishermen. On Saipan today this trend is even more accentuated. Except as mechanics, the Saipan Chamorros are not sailors. Nor are they really fishermen. They are essentially landmen. The Saipan Chamorros fish, but not as a regular pattern of their lives. Fish have a high preference value in Chamorro food habits, but for a fish supply the Chamorros rely primarily on the Carolinians. Before the war there was an abundance of fish in the local market, provided for the most part by Okinawan fishermen who had migrated to Saipan. The Okinawans have since been repatriated.

In fishing, the Chamorros use principally spears, nets, and weirs.

*Spear-Fishing.*—This is practiced along the reefs by young men, primarily for sport. The Chamorros are not, however, as expert as the Carolinians in spear-fishing.

*Nets.*—Two types of nets are used: the circular throw net, of the form widely diffused throughout the Pacific, and the *chinchulu*, a long, narrow net weighted along one side and used as a dragnet (cf. Thompson, 1947). The *chinchulu* is used in the lagoon, or on the fringing reefs at Obian and Laulau. In fishing with the *chinchulu*, from ten to fifteen persons encircle a large area of shallow water with the net and gradually drag it inwards, finally contracting the encircled area to such a small size that the impounded fish can be speared, or are caught in the net itself. Although *chinchulu* fishing is usually done by men and boys, women occasionally participate. The group is directed by an older man.

In 1950 there were two *chinchulu* nets owned by Chamorros. One was owned by a storekeeper, who rented it to any group that wished to use it. In return for the use of the net he received a share of the catch, which was sold or consumed by his family.

The second *chinchulu* net was owned by the one Chamorro who specializes in net-fishing as an occupation. From seven to fifteen men help him. They volunteer their services, which he directs. The owner of the net takes one quarter of the catch and the remainder is divided among his helpers. Part of the owner's fish is consumed by his family; the remainder he sells by the pound to the villagers, who come to his house to buy it.

*Weirs.*—A number of weirs, constructed of stakes and wire mesh, are also built by Chamorros along the shore of the lagoon. Both Chamorros and Carolinians say that these weirs (*gigaus*) are a recent introduction from the Philippines. The *gigaus* are usually wrecked by the rough winter weather, and any storm generally displaces them. As a result they are not used continuously. Approximately five Chamorro *gigaus* were in occasional operation during 1950. They were built by individuals, who took the catch for their family needs, selling any surplus. During much of the time, however, the *gigaus* were broken and not in operation. Although they are considered private property, there is no tradition of private ownership attached to the lagoon area in which they are built.

#### CAROLINIAN FISHING

In contrast to the Chamorros, the Saipan Carolinians consider fishing a part of the normal routine of every man. In their home

islands in the Carolines, the customary sexual division of labor allocated fishing to the men, gardening to the women. Today Carolinian men work on their farms, but many regard farm work as onerous and the shift to agriculture is far from complete. Fishing, however, is considered a pleasure and a sport as well as work, and in Carolinian eyes has nothing of the dull routine of farm work associated with it.

The Carolinians are constant reef and lagoon fishermen. In each family one of the men will generally go fishing at least one day a week and often three or four times, in order to provide food for the family. The surplus fish are sold through the village, generally to Chamorros. Often the Carolinian boys are allocated the task of selling these fish and can be seen trudging through the village with small quantities for sale. In 1950 the selling price was 25 cents a pound.

The actual amount of fish taken from the lagoon in this manner is difficult to estimate, for there is no central market in which fish are sold, no regular days are set aside for fishing, and each family plans its own fishing independent of the others.

As a subsistence activity Carolinian fishing is closely adjusted to Carolinian food habits. In contrast to the diversity of Chamorro food habits, the Carolinian food preferences are still much closer to the original diet. The principal vegetable foods are taro, sweet potatoes, and breadfruit, supplemented but not superseded by rice. The principal protein food has always been and still is fish, and the Carolinians retain command of the techniques that allow them to satisfy this want.

*Spear-Fishing.*—The Saipan Carolinians are adept spear-fishermen, a skill they master while they are still adolescent boys. Their equipment consists of a pair of goggles and a fish spear with a single iron point. It is not uncommon for them to work a stretch of lagoon several miles in length, half submerged and slowly swimming all the time, diving periodically, for four or five continuous hours.

Spear-fishing is done usually in small groups, each man working alone, although sometimes a line of men will encircle a lagoon area, drive the fish into the center of the area and then spear them. In this type of fishing little leadership and only the loosest co-ordination of activities is required.

*Nets.*—The Carolinians are acquainted with both the circular throw net and the drag seine (the Chamorro *chinchulu*), which they call "*ating*." There are at least three Carolinian-owned drag nets of



FIG. 16. Upper: Saipan Carolinian men returning from spear-fishing in lagoon. Lower: Saipan Carolinian men making fish-trap.

the latter type. The owner takes only from one to three of the total shares of the catch in case a group uses the net, the other participants dividing the remainder. The owner of the net or an older man directs the activities of the group.

Carolinians say that the *ating* or *chinchulu* was formerly much used by them, and that many nets of this type were formerly made in the men's houses of the Saipan Carolinians. Today, however, the *ating* is little used and is of much less importance than the fish spear.

*Weirs*.—The form of *gigau* built by the Chamorros is also used by the Carolinians, but only two Carolinian weirs, located at Tanapag, were really in operation during my field work. The catch from these weirs was used for their owners' family consumption or sold in Tanapag or Chalan Kanoa.

*Traps*.—A certain number of fish traps, of types common in the Carolines, are used in the shallow lagoon areas on the west coast of the island (see fig. 16).

*Boats*.—A reflection of the Carolinian preoccupation with fishing is found in their widespread use of boats. Before the war, the Carolinians made small outrigger canoes, primarily for use on the lagoon. The making of the old type ocean-going canoe has long been abandoned. Today, even the small outriggers are not made, though there are two still in use, one of which has an old seaplane float as a hull. Instead, the Carolinians manufacture an Okinawan type sailing skiff. There are some five Carolinian boat builders who occasionally make these boats—all for sale. In September, 1950, there were forty-nine sailing skiffs in use. Twelve of these had been sold to Chamorros, who build no boats of their own; the remaining thirty-seven were owned and used by Carolinians.

The Carolinians occasionally use their boats for hook-and-line fishing, but this form of fishing is unimportant relative to spear-fishing. The principal use of the boats is for transportation to favorite fishing places in the lagoon and in calm weather to spots along the outer margin of the reef. Boats are also used as a means of transportation between the villages of Tanapag and Chalan Kanoa. No equivalent of a canoe house is built for these sailing boats; when not in use they are simply dragged onto the beach and turned bottom side up near the owner's house. Boats are freely lent by their owners to relatives and friends, in return for which a share of the catch is usually given the owner.



## COMMERCIAL FISHING

The subsistence fishing described above is entirely the reef and lagoon type. None of it is deep-sea fishing, carried on to supply an export market.

After the repatriation of the Okinawan commercial fishermen, a deep-sea fishing co-operative was formed on Saipan by Carolinians and started operations in 1946. Three old Japanese motor fishing boats were reconditioned by the administration and put at the service of the co-operative, which was named the Saipan Fishing Company. The company was started and the initial capital furnished by a small group of Carolinian men employed by the administration as policemen. The number of shareholders increased to 173, all of whom were Carolinians, with the exception of a half dozen Chamorros. The fishing company has been essentially a Carolinian enterprise. The Carolinians are accomplished reef and lagoon fishermen and they have not lost touch with the sea, so it would seem that a co-operative fishing venture of this sort would give promise of success. Yet from its inception the Saipan Fishing Company has not succeeded, and in 1950 it was on the verge of bankruptcy and collapse.

The reasons for this failure are several. First is the fact that commercial deep-sea fishing for bonito and tuna requires a different knowledge and a different set of techniques from those needed for reef and lagoon fishing, the principal type with which the Carolinians are familiar. In the first nine months of 1950 only 24,000 pounds of fish had been caught, of which 4,800 pounds had been lost from spoilage. For commercial fishing, this is a very small volume.

A second factor has been one of mechanical competence to handle the types of equipment involved. Granted that the fishing boats are old, reconditioned craft that require constant repair and whose normal life has long been passed, and that cold storage reefers are difficult to maintain under tropical conditions, the Carolinians have not displayed the proficiency needed to maintain the equipment necessary for deep-sea fishing; it has been kept operational only through assistance from the administration.

A third factor is the problem of management. A commercial fishing venture requires managerial skills that lie outside the traditional co-operative patterns of the Carolinians. On a village and kinship basis, they possess patterns of co-operation that stem from their old social organization. Readiness to co-operate is not the problem; rather, it is the fact that the specific form of co-operative

organization—the fishing company is the first share-holding co-operative among the Saipan Carolinians—requires a knowledge and planning capacity lying outside the old Carolinian pattern. Fishermen have gone unpaid for months and finally have had to take most of the catch to feed themselves, or have deserted and gone back to reef and lagoon fishing; equipment has been carelessly handled and allowed to deteriorate; cash receipts have been left unguarded; thefts of cash and equipment have occurred; book-keeping has been virtually non-existent, except for a brief period; and in other ways the work of a few Carolinian participants honestly devoted to the enterprise has been nullified. Failure has been the inevitable result.

Finally, commercial fishing on Saipan has been predicated on marketing fish on Guam, and the difficulties that have arisen in transporting fish to Guam and marketing it there have never been solved.

Yet the sea remains a principal resource of Saipan. If the inhabitants are to develop this resource, they will have to acquire the necessary technical knowledge and organizational skill. It is evident that the administration must proffer continuous and competent supervision of any co-operative venture.

In the post-war period, individual administrators have from time to time been successful in resuscitating the fishing company, only to have it collapse when they departed. For certain reasons, many of which were beyond local administrative control, continuous competent supervision has not been given the fishing company. It can be argued that such a company is premature among the Carolinians, simply because continuous supervision is necessary. Yet without it a Carolinian commercial fishing venture may never be a success.

### Specialization and Exchange

Although special skills in crafts introduced by the Spanish were long ago developed by the Chamorros, in Spanish times it was equally characteristic that few craft specialists supported themselves entirely through working at their particular specialty. With successive German, Japanese, and American administrations the acquisition of special skills received gradually increasing emphasis. Today a considerable number of Chamorros have a knowledge of skills associated with Western technology and such skills form a basis for economic specialization. With the post-war employment of Chamorros by the American military authorities, opportunities arose for Chamorros to fill jobs in a greater variety of capacities than had been open

under the preceding Japanese administration. At the same time as the short-lived post-war wage-work economy developed, numerous retail enterprises came into existence, run by Chamorros who had at least some special knowledge. With the collapse of the wage-work economy most of these enterprises failed. By the latter part of 1950, few specialists could earn their entire living through the use of special knowledge, although many would have liked to do so.

After the closing of military installations in 1950, approximately 120 members of the local community—with a few exceptions all Chamorros—continued to be employed by the administration. Although these employees included both skilled and unskilled labor, a nucleus of the former category formed a group of wage-working specialists. Among the men in this group are a medical aide; a dentist; a pharmacist; several clerical employees, some with responsible supervisory duties; the principal of the school; the supervisor of the branch bank; the sergeant major of the constabulary; the supervisor of the administration farm; and several well-trained carpenters and mechanics. The more skilled among the women employees include the hospital nurses, a competent hospital technician trained in parasitology, and a number of stenographers and clerical workers.

Specialists comprising a smaller category are employed by the municipality of Saipan. In this group belong the school teachers, though the men teachers generally have supplementary means of support; two electricians; several office workers; and the mayor.

A number of these specialists have responsible supervisory functions over subordinate employees. None of them, however, perform entrepreneurial functions in the economic sense. Also, with only a very few exceptions, all are Chamorros. The Chamorro group as a whole shows a pronounced willingness to acquire skills, particularly those associated with wage-work. The rapidity with which young Chamorro girls have acquired a command of typing and clerical procedures is remarkable, as their knowledge has all been acquired since the war. Apparently the trend toward specialization is associated with a desire for wage-work and is further coupled with a desire to maintain and increase what for Oceania is a relatively high standard of living. This trend undoubtedly received its first major impetus during the Japanese administration and was given further support by the demand for Chamorro labor by the government after the war. Today, the number of opportunities for specialized wage-work has been greatly reduced and the future holds no immediate

promise of increase. Several hundred Saipan Chamorros have gone to Guam, where wage-work is still relatively plentiful, but immigration regulations make their status on Guam uncertain.

In contrast to the Chamorros, the Carolinians display much less desire for wage-work and for acquiring the specialized knowledge associated with the higher-paying governmental positions open to local residents. Nor do they display the sophisticated range of wants for material possessions that characterize many Chamorros. The Carolinian living standard is lower and more closely linked to pre-contact Oceanic subsistence patterns.

In a different category are the specialists who work not for the government but for themselves or for the three local Chamorro share-holding companies. These may be called village specialists.

#### VILLAGE SPECIALISTS

Village specialists are listed below.

**Dentists:** A competent dentist, trained by the Japanese, maintains an office in the village and also works on a part-time basis for the administration hospital.

**Blacksmiths:** In the village there is one blacksmith shop, whose proprietor works full time at his job. His principal products are blades for machetes and *fosiños*, which he makes on order, although he also does occasional forge welding on automobile parts. He constructed his forge. The tools he uses are simple—hammers and tongs, hot and cold cutters, and a few neckers. In addition to this blacksmith, at least two other men have a knowledge of the craft. One of them does occasional blacksmith's work at his home, but both men are mainly farmers. The proprietor of the blacksmith shop learned the trade from his father, who was also a blacksmith.

**Mechanics:** There are four garages, three run by Chamorros and one by a Japanese married to a Chamorro. The four proprietors specialize in jeep and truck maintenance and repair and have a general knowledge of automobile mechanics, while several have assistants with a lesser amount of knowledge. Most of these men acquired at least a part of their knowledge during the Japanese regime. Since the war, many younger men have acquired some knowledge of motor mechanics. Each garage also sells gasoline, and there are two additional gasoline stations not connected with a garage.

**Silversmiths and Watch Repairers:** One small shop is maintained by a young Chamorro, whose father is a silversmith. At least two

other men have an elementary knowledge of silversmith's work, but do not practice their trade regularly.

**Radio Repair:** There are a number of radios in the village, and there is one shop operated by a Chamorro. With the departure of most Americans his trade has been insufficient to justify his keeping his shop open more than part of the time. He also operates the film projector at the village movie.

**Shoemakers:** There are two cobblers' shops, but only one is really operative. The active shop is operated by a Chamorro who specializes in making leather sandals to order, primarily for Americans, although he also repairs shoes and makes leather sheaths for machetes. His leather is all imported.

**Bakers:** Although there are two bakery shops in Chalan Kanoa, only one is fully operative and functions as a full-time bakery. It is a family enterprise operated by an excellent baker, who is assisted by two male relatives and by several part-time, women employees. The ovens were obtained from the military authorities when Saipan was abandoned as a base. The baker's products are primarily white bread and rolls, made from imported flour, although special orders for *roskete*, a Chamorro roll, are occasionally filled. The entire island is supplied with bread by this bakery.

**Barbers and Hairdressers:** At least six barbers ply their trade regularly in Chalan Kanoa at small barber shops. In addition, one young Chamorro woman operates a hairdressing shop for women customers, offering shampoos, permanent waves, and miscellaneous allied services. The shop is patronized by both American and Chamorro women.

These are the principal craft specialists operating small retail establishments. In addition, there are twelve or fifteen other retail stores in Chalan Kanoa, including three pool halls, one laundry, a restaurant, a popcorn stand, a movie theatre, and a meat and fish store. The remainder are general stores selling a variety of objects, from rice and canned foods to dress goods. Most of them also sell beer. The proprietors are small entrepreneurs and in this sense are specialists, but they are not craft specialists. During 1950, all but a few were on the verge of bankruptcy, and probably only a half dozen general retail stores will survive. Their owners will be those store-keepers with the most capital, the greatest restraint on the temptation to allow sales on credit, particularly to relatives, a knowledge of book-keeping, and adequate planning capacity—qualities which several of the present proprietors possess.

There is also in the village a group of part-time craft specialists. These include a half-dozen makers of bamboo rakes, used in every Chamorro household to keep the yards free of trash. The rake-makers sell their products to the retail stores, who resell the rakes to customers. The same procedure is followed by men who make *suekos*, the wooden clogs that most Chamorro women wear. In addition, there are a number of stone masons and cement workers, who build cisterns and ovens on contract. Several cooks hire out their services for large parties. There is also one woman who bakes pastries for sale at parties, and another who specializes in making flower leis for Americans. The most important of the part-time specialists, however, are the carpenters. A number of these men were so continuously busy during 1950 that they could be classed as full-time specialists, but the majority of the community's *carpenteros* worked only part-time at their craft.

Many Chamorro men have some knowledge of carpentry. Some two dozen have a more specialized skill and are acknowledged professionals. There is also an expert Japanese carpenter married to a Chamorro. In the post-war years there has been much house-building, so that the carpenters have been busier than usual.

In hiring the services of a carpenter to build a house, one of two methods is generally followed. Under the first method the prospective householder contracts with a carpenter to build a house to definite specifications for a fixed sum agreed upon in advance, although the owner usually provides the materials. The number of doors and windows, the size of the house, and all other structural details are decided on at the time the verbal contract is made. The carpenter may hire a helper or another carpenter to assist, after agreement is reached with the owner.

According to the second method, the owner hires a carpenter by the hour and provides the materials for the house. In both methods compensation for the carpenter's services is always in money, although supplementary compensation may also be agreed upon. Thus, in one instance it was agreed that the carpenter was to be provided with one case of beer a week.

Although craft specialization is characteristic particularly of the Chamorros, and is for the most absent or little developed among the Carolinians, there are about six Carolinian carpenters who work for both Carolinians and Chamorros. Characteristically, however, the Carolinian carpenter will seldom ask a fee from a kinsman; from a Carolinian who is not a kinsman he will ask only for a small

sum; from a Chamorro he will generally demand the full price for his services. Among themselves the Chamorros follow the last practice. This difference is indicative of a contrast in the organization of kinship patterns between the two groups.

#### SHAREHOLDING COMPANIES

Apart from the ill-fated fishing company, there are three other share-holding companies on Saipan (1950). The fishing company is primarily Carolinian, but the others are Chamorro. All are post-war innovations, and none have been outstandingly successful.

The Saipan Importers: This is a wholesale importing company, supplying retail stores on Saipan. It commenced operations in 1947 as an outgrowth of a government-run trade store. Stock was issued at \$10 a share, the total shares outstanding in August, 1950, amounting to 688 shares, with about 500 shareholders. The company employs a well-educated and competent Japanese-Chamorro manager and several assistants. For the first few years the company was very prosperous, but pressure from stockholders and directors resulted in the declaration of overly large dividends, to satisfy the stockholders' desire for quick and generous profits. In 1948, a 76 per cent dividend was declared; in 1949, a 26.6 per cent dividend was issued; and in 1950, to the disgust of most stockholders, only a 6 per cent dividend was possible. By 1950, the increasingly poor economic condition of Saipan made the continued success of the company doubtful. Past excessive dividends had stripped the company of what should have been its working capital. At the same time, a provision in the incorporating articles of the company made it possible for stockholders to turn in their shares for redemption at par value. In the first eight months of 1950, many stockholders were turning in their shares, further depleting the capital. The future of the company is accordingly most uncertain.

Arrow Transportation Company: This is a small trucking concern, which in 1950 was about to fail. It had five licensed trucks, which were for sale. The company's functions were to truck crushed coral limestone, on contract with the municipality, for local road maintenance, to haul garbage, and to do miscellaneous trucking. An unjustified 100 per cent dividend was declared in 1949 by the directors, the company's first and last dividend. The manager is an experienced mechanic and a garage operator.

Northern Marianas Development Company: This company was chartered in 1948 to exploit the copra resources of Alamagan and

Agrihan, in areas where the coconut beetle has not devastated the coconut palms. The company has 147 shareholders and a capital of about \$9,000. The manager is an educated Japanese-Chamorro, originally from Guam, who once attended Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. The company assisted the present populations of Alamagan and Agrihan to establish themselves—with much additional assistance from the navy—and shares the return on the copra crop with them, marketing the entire crop. The amount of copra produced is not large—approximately 140 tons in 1948 and 170 tons in 1949. The company has not declared a dividend, and it is not particularly profitable, one reason, according to the directors, being that the people of Alamagan and Agrihan are content with a simple life little above a subsistence level and are not interested in producing copra to the islands' full capacities.

How long any of these companies will survive is difficult to predict. The Chamorro stockholders have little knowledge and appreciation of the problems of corporate finance and management and are motivated primarily by a desire for large and immediate dividends, a feeling that extends to the directors. The resulting pressure makes it difficult for even competent management to operate effectively, particularly in the prevailing difficult and uncertain situation.

It can be seen that specialization, originally developing under the Spanish regime on Guam as part-time specialization in crafts, has steadily expanded among the Chamorros of Saipan, although the Carolinian group is much less affected. The development of economic specialization is on one hand linked to the desire for wage-labor, and on the other hand to the retail store; administrative activity also plays an important role, particularly as regards professional specialists in medicine and education. In 1950, however, the radical decline of government employment resulted in a great reduction in the number of opportunities for employing specialized knowledge and skill for remuneration. Chamorro attitudes favor specialization, but the economic situation precludes its full realization.

A word should also be said as to the fisherman and farmer. The small amount of specialization in fishing has been mentioned. Neither Chamorros nor Carolinians regard the farmer as a specialist, for farming is an occupation in which virtually all Chamorros traditionally participated. Farming techniques in most Chamorro eyes are part of a tradition shared by all, and to which there is attached none of the aura of special skill associated with such occupations as those of the mechanic, the teacher, the medical aide, and the nurse.



## PRODUCTION AND OFF-ISLAND TRADE

The preceding material indicates that specialization in government wage-work, in crafts, and in small commercial enterprises has been a prominent feature of the post-war Chamorro economy. This specialization was only maintained, however, by the large extent of wage-work for the government, as well as by retail sales—primarily of imports—to resident Americans. Today, with the contraction of wage-work and the departure of all but a handful of American personnel, local production cannot support the specialization to which the Chamorros aspire. Farm production primarily satisfies subsistence wants of farm families, and there is not even an organized local market for agricultural produce.

After the war, commodities were imported into Saipan by the administration, and, beginning about 1947, by some dozen Chamorro importers, as well as through the medium of mail order purchases. When the economic situation started to deteriorate, local consumers began to use up their savings, to extend credit as far as it would go at retail stores, and to liquidate some capital wealth, such as cattle. Many retailers allowed themselves to over-extend their credit, and by 1950 a large number were bankrupt. The importers, who had large commitments on Guam, were thus also put into a very vulnerable position. At the same time the Chamorro consumers were trying to cling to established living standards based largely on imported goods and were undergoing a painful process of relinquishing them.

Beer and rice are predominant among the imported commodities to which the community clings. The excessive imports of beer relative to available foreign exchange represent a problem that goes far beyond mere economic factors. During the second quarter of 1950, \$22,000 worth of rice and \$21,000 worth of beer were imported into the Marianas District (excluding Guam), and most of the beer was consumed on Saipan. Prior to the war, the administration prohibited the sale of all alcoholic liquors to Chamorros and Carolinians, but not to Japanese. Consequently, the availability of beer is to Chamorros and Carolinians a symbol of social equality, and this feeling adds to the complexity of the problem from the administration's point of view.

In the absence of the expansion of wage-work, there is no possibility for even a modest volume of imports of supplementary foods, clothing, tools, or commodities that the Chamorros consider essential, without the development of an export market for agricultural pro-

duce. The more competent farmers are capable of producing an export for surplus and are hopeful that such a market can be developed on Guam. Under the guidance of responsible administrators both the small community on Rota and more lately that on Tinian have taken steps toward developing their own transportation facilities to Guam and marketing vegetable produce there. Although Saipan has exported a small amount of produce to Guam, no appreciable market has been developed. The potential of Guam as a market has not been analyzed, and the transportation and marketing problems have not been solved.

Whether an appreciable trade eventually can be developed with Japan remains to be seen. This problem is made very difficult by the lack of shipping and by political factors too complex to be examined here.

### Summary

In the preceding sections, I have discussed the lack of adjustment between the Saipan community and the local resources which ordinarily would provide the economic basis for its support. Economic instability was characteristic of Saipan in 1950, but it must be remembered that the island was completely devastated by the war. In the five years after the close of hostilities, houses had been rebuilt and the Chamorros and Carolinians removed from a state of complete dependence on the administration for every material need to one where they were at least partially self-supporting. This step in itself represents progress toward economic reconstruction, and is one for which the administration deserves credit. To those who know the destruction of war, the fact that the Saipan economy is not more closely integrated with local resources will not be particularly surprising.

The fact remains that in 1950 the community did not display a stable economy based on an equilibrium adaptation to its island environment. Neither fishing nor agriculture was developed to the extent of providing the basic subsistence foods on which the people depended; both were far from being productive of a surplus whose marketing off the island could provide for necessary imports. Deterioration of land resources, ownership and tenure problems, and inadequacies in technological competence are all factors impeding an agricultural adjustment. In fishing, the Carolinians, despite old patterns of subsistence fishing and familiarity with the sea, have not been able to overcome the problems presented by commercial fishing for an export market.

Three categories of factors underlie the present instability of Saipan's economy. The first of these refers to the natural environment and includes the deterioration of the habitat subsequent to the wartime invasion and the construction of military bases, the introduction of plant pests, and comparable events. The second refers to social factors extraneous to the Chamorro and Carolinian community. In this connection, I should mention the international complications arising from Saipan's being a former Japanese mandate and of present strategic importance to American security. These complications are reflected in problems relating to the disposition of lands leased by the Nanyo Kohatsu Kabushiki (NKK) or classed by the Japanese as public domain, to lands at present reserved for possible future use by American military operations, and to the administration's over-all control of land ownership. The third category of relevant factors is found in Chamorro and Carolinian society and culture, and comprehends customary forms of inheritance, traditional subsistence techniques, the framework of institutions controlling exchange, preferences in types of specialized occupations, and comparable data. It is the first two categories that particularly underlie much of the present economic instability. In the third category, there is much that is stable, because it is rooted in tradition and in the generation-to-generation transmission of culture content. Chamorro agricultural techniques are an example. Yet within the culture there are incompatibilities such as the sophistication of Chamorro food preferences in relation to the products of traditional agriculture, that are complicating factors in the efforts to achieve an adjustment to present local resources. The difficulty of adjustment is also increased by trends in the culture, such as the preference for non-agricultural wage-work, that cannot be realized in the absence of a wage economy supported by the administration or by foreign capital and industry, as was the case with the NKK. These latter intracultural incompatibilities arise primarily from the pre-war existence of Chamorros and Carolinians in a highly specialized and developed Japanese colonial outpost whose entire economy was destroyed by the war, leaving the local people in an unfamiliar situation and without the economic underpinning to which they had become accustomed.

## XII. Political Organization

A principal concern of post-war Trust Territory administration has been the extension of local self-government among the various island communities in Micronesia. During the war, as major sections of this island area came under American military control, military government authorities utilized existing local political organizations, usually following patterns already established by the Japanese administration. After the close of hostilities with Japan, greater effort was made to formalize the machinery of local self-government. In 1947, while the ex-mandate was still under military government, Commander Marianas, then charged with the administration of the entire area, directed the various military government units to establish local municipal governments and to set up local taxation measures to support these municipal governments (United States Navy Department, Commander Marianas, 1947). This directive was of particular importance in the Marianas, for prior to that time, although there were a number of Chamorro officials, there was little formal organization.

Under the provisions of the 1947 directive, the administration in the Northern Marianas district was called upon to establish separate municipal governments on each island. The intent was to avoid imposing a single form of local government everywhere, and the directive provided that the local political organization might be organized in quite different ways in different areas—some with hereditary chiefs exercising most of the authority, others on more democratic lines. The directive states:

These municipal governments need not be uniform in type and organization and they shall be adapted to the accustomed usages and desires of the residents of each community . . . . It is desired that in so far as practicable these municipalities be molded out of existing native government organization.

Other provisions of the directive relate to the levying and collecting of taxes to support the local municipal governments, formulation and enactment of local rules by such governments, and the means

by which the supervisory functions of the administration with regard to police, sanitation, and education are to be made effective.

On the islands in the Marianas district, apart from Saipan, the communities are small and the procedures of the local government informal. Adequate communication among the elected council and mayor, the people, and the representative of the American administration can be carried on by word of mouth. Legislative and executive functions often overlap, without disrupting the limited municipal operations. The small size of the communities is conducive to informal procedures and to word-of-mouth communication, consonant with the fact that relationships within the community are personal and face-to-face rather than impersonal and indirect. Each municipality is theoretically a tax-collecting and disbursing body, but budgets are very small, although the municipality pays the salary of one or more elementary school teachers, and additional financial support for education is provided by the Trust Territory administration.

The larger population and more elaborate municipal services on Saipan present a more complex picture. The organization of executive functions is more complex, a sizable budget is normally involved, and formal procedures for collecting taxes, making disbursements, and keeping financial records are necessary for the effective operation of the local government.

### **Organization of the Municipal Government**

The formal organization of the municipality of Saipan is primarily a cultural borrowing from Western sources, partly through the medium of the administration and partly in an indirect manner from the Chamorros of Guam.

*Executive Branch.*—The executive branch is headed by a paid, full-time mayor elected by popular vote for a four-year period. He is responsible for overseeing the work of the several executive departments which comprise the executive branch: the treasury, economics, public works, education, public health, and public safety. Each department has either a full- or part-time head. The heads of the last three departments are, respectively, the school principal, the medical aide, and the sergeant-major of the constabulary. They are actually appointed, paid, and supervised by the civil administration authorities, but their inclusion in the municipal organization has been a distinct advantage in co-ordinating the activities of the municipality and in facilitating communication between the adminis-

tration and the municipality. The other department heads are appointed by the mayor. The function of the treasury department is to collect fees and taxes, to keep records of collections, and to make disbursements. The public works department is supposed to maintain the electricity, water, and road systems within the village areas, as well as the telephone system for the entire island. The economics department keeps vital statistics—usually at considerable variance with the records of the administration—and has a number of other highly nebulous functions. The duties of the education, public health, and public safety departments have been briefly described in the section dealing with the relations of the administration to the Saipan community. The administration, rather than the mayor, is actually responsible for the effective functioning of these latter departments.

The mayor prepares an annual budget for the municipality, recommends legislation to the legislative branch, and is the principal point of contact with the administrative authorities. The last is one of his most important functions.

*Legislative Branch.*—The legislative branch consists of fourteen commissioners and eleven councilmen, who together form the Congress of Saipan. Originally there was only one group—the commissioners—but later the councilmen were added. The commissioners are the representatives of the various districts, each commissioner being elected for a one-year term by the voters of his district. The councilmen are elected at large, without respect to district, for a one-year term. At first these two groups met separately, but in order to simplify procedures and achieve a more workable organization they decided to meet together, which they do about once a month.

The commissioners and council pass municipal ordinances and other local legislation, particularly pertaining to taxes and fees, and theoretically must approve the annual budget for the municipality. Minutes of their meetings are kept in written Chamorro, and legislation is promulgated in written form.

*Judicial Branch.* As mentioned previously, the mayor is also the judge of the municipal court, in turn the lowest tribunal in the court system, which as a whole is under the immediate supervision of the administration. This supervision is at a minimum, however, at the municipal court level, where proceedings are conducted in Chamorro, usually with no American personnel present except as spectators.

*Elections.* Elections are held every year. Eligible voters consist of men and women over the age of eighteen years. Election polls are set up in each district and are under the supervision of officials appointed by the legislative body. Written ballots are used.

The above outline indicates the principal characteristics of the municipality organization. A more important question is the manner and effectiveness of its functioning. The post-war period is the first time in their history that the Saipan Chamorros and Carolinians have been equipped with the organizational trappings of a representative form of government, in the Western sense. It is not surprising, considering the present disturbed local scene, that numerous difficulties have plagued the municipality.

### **The Functioning of the Municipality**

Since its inception, the municipality has not functioned smoothly, partly for the perfectly understandable reason that it is a new organization and cannot be expected to work without difficulty. It is worth-while, however, to provide an example of its difficulties and to indicate some of the underlying factors involved.

The municipality operates on a sizable budget. Supposedly, the mayor draws up the budget for the following year, and it is thereafter examined, altered if necessary, and approved by the legislative branch, after which it receives final inspection and approval by the administrative authorities. At the close of the fiscal year 1949-50, the mayor presented a budget of \$65,000 to the legislative branch, covering expenditures for the following year. In the budget, expenditures exceeded the most generous expectations of revenue by over \$7,000. The commissioners and councilmen cut the budget by several thousand dollars and passed it on to the administration, which pointed out that even with the proposed cuts there was little hope in the present precarious state of the island economy that revenues would be adequate for the proposed expenditures. Thereafter, the matter was dropped and nothing was done, except that the mayor did not accept the cuts recommended by the legislative branch. He further authorized the purchase of a new second-hand jeep for the municipality, much to the disgust of some citizens. In October, 1950, more than three months after the commencement of the new fiscal year, nothing had been done about final approval of the budget, although disbursements were being made.

Budget difficulties are by no means confined to Saipan these days, but the example is one of many that are indicative of uncertainty on the part of the Saipan leaders as to how to handle efficiently the municipal finances and other problems confronting their municipal organization. Numerous factors underlie these difficulties:

*Unclear Delineation of Functions within the Organization.*—The municipal organizations of Saipan and the other islands north of Guam were set up in a relatively informal manner. A tentative municipal charter was drawn up by the mayor and a representative of the administration but it was conveniently forgotten. Saipan, however, is a much larger community than that on either Tinian or Rota and it is difficult to make a poorly delineated political organization work. The deliberations of the legislative body on Saipan have been marked by endless discussion and bickering and general ineffectiveness, largely because the members had no clear idea as to what they were supposed to do, for the functions and extent of authority of the legislative group, particularly in relation to that of the executive branch, have never been clearly defined. Both Chamorros and Carolinians are much in favor of the idea of representative government but they are unfamiliar with its mechanics. Most of the discussion in council meetings that I attended revolved around procedural and jurisdictional matters rather than around specific action to be taken within a commonly accepted framework of legislative functions. Another factor is the keen sense of status that all Chamorros have and that affects the relations between commissioners and council, the latter feeling that it is a somewhat superior body. In addition, as the legislative responsibilities were never defined *vis-à-vis* the executive branch, a small-sized power vacuum was created, which was quickly filled by the mayor, whose dominating personality, backed by the implied authority conferred by his closeness to the administration, helped put the councilmen and commissioners into a state of uncertainty and relative impotence.

In order to correct this defect of unclear delineation of functions, a charter outlining specifically the functions of the various branches of the municipal government was drawn up in Chamorro in 1950. The step was logical in that the Chamorro leaders are a literate group, but whether the existence of the charter will have a permanent clarifying effect remains to be seen.

*Lack of Background in Political Affairs.*—An important fact is that neither the Chamorros nor the Carolinian minority on Saipan had an indigenous functioning political organization of their own at the outbreak of World War II. Under the Germans and Japanese, there were appointed, and in the latter part of the Japanese period, elected, representatives of the Chamorro and Carolinian population, but these representatives were for the most only convenient channels through which the administration funneled rules, regulations, and



miscellaneous information. Thus, despite their Westernization, the Chamorros have no political organization and no real political experience on which they can rely. Representative government is highly approved in principle, but its mechanics are not understood, nor is there a traditional form of political organization that can be drawn on for support. At the same time, the Saipan community is just large enough so that the informal personal, face-to-face type of relationship operative in the affairs of the single villages on Tinian and Rota is not completely adequate for effective political operations. A formal machinery of government is necessary.

*Lack of Clear Delegation of Authority.*—The Saipan municipality is in no sense a sovereign unit and such political authority as it possesses is derived from the administration. A fundamental point in Trust Territory policy has been the extension of local self-government, and the administration on Saipan has been careful to avoid interference that might be construed as being unduly paternalistic, but there has been no delegation of political authority in terms clearly understood by the local people. If local self-government is to expand, delegation of authority will naturally increase and will be a changing rather than a fixed entity, but its limits must be clearly formulated at a given time. The fact that these limits have not been set is a contributing cause of the ineffectiveness of the legislative group in the municipal organization.

*Lack of a Stable Economy.*—When the Chamorros and Carolinians were concentrated in Chalan Kanoa after the invasion, the military government authorities provided the area with running water and electricity. When Saipan was developed as a base, a central generating plant was built and the local villages in 1950 were using power from this central plant and were continuing to utilize water from the navy's water system. In 1950, however, the municipality was paying a charge calculated on a cost basis for these services. Taxes and fees collected from the citizens were supposed to finance these and other municipal services, but the municipal government was facing serious problems in making its income meet its disbursements as the economic situation deteriorated with the collapse of the wage economy. Thus, the post-war attempt at local self-government—made difficult by the previously outlined problems—was operating under the additional handicap imposed by the prevailing uncertainties of the current economy.

As a result of these factors, the municipal organization was operating in a creaky fashion, was facing many unsolved problems, and was in no sense stabilized.

### Political Leadership of the Electorate

Saipan's political leaders in 1950 were neither the old nor the young, and in the selection of leaders there was not apparent a choice based on any single factor such as age. The criteria of selection for political leadership are varied. The following qualities seem to be the significant traits controlling the selection of leaders.

(a) Ability as a public speaker. Among themselves, the Chamorros enjoy discussion. Skill in argumentation and ability as a public speaker are important criteria of political leadership. This is an expression of the fact that the Chamorros tend to be argumentative, though a long tradition of emphasis on authority in church, family, and government has not favored the development of intellectually inquiring minds.

(b) Willingness to speak out boldly against the opposition is likewise considered a desirable quality. This is particularly important in the informal discussions with neighbors, friends, and relatives through which a leader obtains his support.

(c) Possession of formal schooling. All the political leaders are literate in Chamorro, all have a knowledge of spoken Japanese, some can speak English, and a few are linguistic virtuosos, knowing three or more languages. Knowledge of the language of the current administering power is considered particularly important, and formal schooling is felt to be desirable.

(d) Being a good Catholic. By this is meant not only observing the orthodox obligations associated with confession, communion and other rituals of the church, but possessing a strong moral sense of helpfulness and respect for others.

(e) Being well-known. All the leaders are prominent, not merely as a result of their election to office but because they have been concerned with local affairs as these have affected at least their own respective districts.

(f) Being effective in dealing with the administration. The Chamorros, through experience with administrative officials during the last decade, generally maintain an outward mien of respect and agreement in the presence of such officials. There are very few who can state diplomatically a position or opinion at variance with one previously offered by an official, and who are able to meet an administrative official on relatively equal terms. This ability is admired, and much of the present mayor's political strength derives from his capabilities in this respect.

The attributes listed above pertain primarily to facets of a leader's behavior in relations with others, rather than to intellectual attainments, and it is my impression that the Chamorros place emphasis on the former. This is not to say that knowledge and judgment do not play a part, for the Chamorros are quick to point out an ignorant though voluble man as one of little account. All the members of the council as well as the mayor were intelligent men. But the maintenance of effective personal relationships is a criterion of the Chamorro leader, as it probably is in most societies.

It should be noted that no one man possessed all the personal attributes given above, and several were conspicuously lacking in some of the more prominent leaders. Together, however, these attributes form a culturally sanctioned list of desirable qualities in the political leader.

In addition to these positive criteria there are negative ones. The most important refer to Chamorro canons of modesty. A would-be political leader does not announce his candidacy for office, and for a man to campaign in his own behalf would be unthinkable. No man would state publicly that he wished to be elected to a particular office.

One day I asked two of the more prominent young men in the village why this was so. They were slightly astonished at my asking. "It could never be otherwise among Chamorros," they replied. "What if one man openly campaigned for himself anyway? The people would say '*malaqo hu magas*' [he wants to be a 'big shot'], and they would mistrust him immediately, suspecting him of ulterior motives for personal gain."

In addition to avoiding any statement that he is openly seeking office, the Chamorro political leader goes even further and says that he does not wish to be elected. This is particularly true of incumbents. With the approach of election time, the incumbent will state that he has served long enough, that he has many pressing matters to occupy him, that he appreciates very much the people's support, but that it is time for him to step aside, to allow other and abler men to succeed him. These expressions are generally phrased in a stereotyped form and are in accordance with the strong Chamorro feeling that a man must not push himself forward publicly by making speeches in his own behalf.

As a result, a leader who really does not wish to be elected must use very strong words indeed if he wishes anyone to believe him.

José V. did not, for reasons of indifferent health and pressing personal problems, wish to run for office to succeed himself. He is a popular man and

would probably have been elected. In order to make his position understood he asked the mayor to announce his stand over the village loud speaker system, a bit of equipment surviving from military government days. The mayor stated firmly over the system in Chamorro: "Señor V. appreciates very much the support the people have given him, but in case anyone is thinking of voting for him, Señor V. wishes me to say that it is impossible for him to be a commissioner and that such voters should vote for another man."

There is a strong, culturally phrased sanction, therefore, against a man's openly seeking political office. The man desirous of a political career must use other and more subtle methods. In accordance with the criteria previously stated, the leader should be known for the strength and firm phrasing of his opinions in neighborhood discussion, but he must carefully avoid expressing a high opinion of himself as the one most suitable for translating such opinions into action.

It is my impression that the electorate has a keener interest in the persons to be elected than in political problems, a not uncommon feature in many communities in other parts of the world. The votes cast in the 1950 election amounted to slightly under 900, which was probably a bare majority of eligible voters. However, this is not a matter of indifference, for by Chamorro custom a family sends one or two representatives to social functions, and if the parents have voted, or even one member has, a family may feel that its responsibility has been fulfilled.

There are no organized political parties on Saipan, and no groups among the electorate are organized to attain a specific political objective. There is a division of opinion in the community favoring one or the other of the two most prominent leaders, both of whom hold political office, but this division is not crystallized into political parties. There are no "platforms" on which these two leaders base their public utterances. There are no clearly defined "sides" on political problems, which in themselves have not been clarified. In voting, the electorate expresses preferences for leaders rather than for tentative solutions to political issues.

There are also no nominations. One year, at the suggestion of the administration, nominations were held, but a number of Chamorros expressed a dislike of the custom, probably because it carries a connotation of campaigning for office.

No women are elected to political office, for politics is considered primarily a man's sphere of activity. However, there is a small group of women who maintain an active interest in community

affairs. They number approximately thirty and are all matrons, most of them middle-aged or older. They support the Parent Teacher's Association and school activities, they are conscientious members of the church, they take an active interest in political affairs, and they vote regularly. Among the group are numbered the wives of the more prominent men in the community. They attend all community meetings conscientiously but seldom if ever speak in public, and yet through neighborhood discussion they influence the selection of leaders and formation of public opinion.

### **Cultural and Political Unity Among the Chamorros in the Marianas**

All the Chamorros of the Marianas realize that they are bound together by a common cultural tradition. This common tradition, including the Chamorro language, is a unifying factor that has not been nullified by political separation of the northern islands from Guam after the Spanish-American War. The Chamorros recognize themselves as a single ethnic group, regardless of which of the Marianas they happen to reside upon. At the same time, this unity does not (1950) find expression in a commonly accepted desire for political union of all the islands into a single political entity. Whether this attitude will develop remains to be seen. At present, local problems engage the people's attention. The Chamorros on Guam have been vitally interested in obtaining the full rights of American citizenship. As the center of the Chamorro world, the position of Guam and the political changes on Guam tend to set the pattern of thought for the Chamorros on the northern islands. The latter feel they are in an anomalous position as residents of the Trust Territory. When they journey to Guam to visit relatives they are confronted by cumbersome immigration regulations, and the few that have travelled to Hawaii have had to face comparable problems in gaining admittance. In 1950, the Chamorros of Saipan petitioned a visiting United Nations Trusteeship Committee that they be admitted to the United States, primarily, I believe, because they wished to attain the same political status as the Chamorros on Guam and probably because they also hoped that local economic conditions might thereby be ameliorated.

### **The Carolinians**

As a group, the Saipan Carolinians are perhaps less concerned with local political affairs affecting the entire community than are

the Chamorros. The Carolinians have a high degree of group consciousness, but their political activity is largely directed toward protecting the interests of their own group. In elections they vote solidly for Carolinians. The present mayor is in part of Carolinian descent, speaks fluent Carolinian, and has an extensive knowledge of Carolinian custom. In the election that put him into office he received the entire Carolinian vote, whereas the Chamorro vote was split among several candidates, including himself. The Carolinians also have five elected representatives on the legislative body. The social solidarity of the Carolinians makes them an important political group; but the Carolinian representatives take only occasionally a part in the discussion of the legislative body.

The Carolinians clearly choose as political leaders men with the best knowledge of English and of the administration's role in the current changing situation, in the hope that Carolinian interests will be protected thereby. There is no carry-over into modern political life of the former concept of chieftainship. There has also been a shift in representation since Japanese times in that the former principal representative, who has a knowledge of Japanese but not of English, no longer takes an active role, though he remains much respected by the Carolinians. As a group, the Carolinians have much less schooling and are much less interested in obtaining it for their children than are the Chamorros. Few of them have acquired a knowledge of English and they are consequently at a disadvantage in dealing with the administration.

Carolinian political meetings also offer points of contrast to those of the Chamorros. In January, 1950, a crisis arose in municipality finances because the utilities bill was so high that drastic economies were necessary. After a meeting of the council, district meetings were held to urge the people to cut the consumption of water and electricity, to build their own cisterns for rain catchment, and to pay their taxes.

In order to discuss this matter, the senior Carolinian member of the council met with the residents of the two Carolinian districts in the Carolinian meeting hall. The meeting started late in the evening and to encourage attendance a man went down the streets shouting, "If your family can't send a man, send a woman!" Eventually some 75 or 100 family representatives arrived. Of these, five were women, though two left when men relatives arrived. The women entered the room in typical old-style crouching fashion to show respect and crept to places along the side. The scarcity of women and the behavior of the few present were clearly a reflection of the virtual exclusion of women from the men's houses, where political affairs were formerly conducted.

The senior Carolinian member sat in the center of the hall, with those present crowded around the sides. There were no benches or chairs. There was no discussion, and the proceedings consisted of a lengthy speech by the presiding officer, emphasizing the steps that should be taken. The Carolinians are enthusiastic beer-drinkers, but they are not good tax-payers, and much of his speech was on the theme of beer or water. At the conclusion the audience thanked him and departed.

The same night Chamorro district meetings were held, one of them in the town hall. The audience was mixed - men and women, old and young. They sat in chairs and benches ranged around the room and there was much discussion and considerable argument, in which the women as well as the men participated.

As this example indicates, Carolinian women take little part in routine political meetings. It is characteristic of the Carolinian women, however, that in a crisis it is they, rather than the men, who take real action, with a degree of co-operation, determination, and perseverance that is most impressive.

The Carolinian group suffers, particularly at Tanapag, from a lack of communication with the administration. When it was announced that the last American naval governor was leaving Saipan, consequent upon the closing down of military facilities, the news was received at Tanapag in a garbled version that stated that the American government officials were departing and that made no mention of the continued residence of an American civil administrator. Tanapag was much disturbed, the people envisioning that the Americans were about to place the Marianas once again in the position of a football in the game of international politics and conflict. Unable to gain satisfactory information from their menfolk, the Carolinian women descended on the governor to get the matter clarified.

### Summary

The political organization of Saipan represents a partially assimilated borrowing from Western sources, and its effective working is made difficult by unclear definition of functions within the framework of local government, a lack of recent experience and background in political affairs on the part of Chamorros and Carolinians, a lack of clear delegation of authority by the administration to the local unit, and the uncertainties of the economic situation. The present political organization is largely an innovation not yet established, though in time a more stable structure will probably emerge.

Although the framework of the municipality organization is an introduced element, in the selection of leaders the Chamorros utilize distinctive criteria, and the political behavior of the leader is strongly influenced by culturally patterned canons of modesty. The Caro-

linians as a minority ethnic group have a strong feeling of group consciousness that leads them to elect Carolinians and not Chamorros as their leaders and that makes their principal political preoccupation the protection of their own group interests.



### XIII. Religion

Both the Chamorros and the Carolinians are Roman Catholics. No religious organization surviving from pre-contact times competes for adherents with the Catholicism introduced into the Marianas by the Jesuits during the Spanish period. There is no marked division of the community into Christians and non-believers, or into Catholics and Protestants. All are at least nominal Catholics; the great majority are active participants in the church.

The content and character of Catholicism have, however, national and local emphases in different communities in the world. As Foster (1948, pp. 188-189) has noted: "The total content of Catholic ritual, dogma, belief, and organization is so vast that any local group can absorb only a relatively small amount. . . . Hence, within the folds of true Catholicism there is room for a great deal of variation from place to place. In Mexico, no two towns have exactly the same combination of saints and virgins, of rituals and fiestas. . . ." These local emphases are present in the Marianas also, and a principal purpose of this chapter is to indicate some of the more important emphases on Saipan.

A second purpose is to examine the place of the church and of Catholicism in the pattern and structure of local social organization. Catholicism is deeply embedded in Chamorro culture and occupies a prominent place in Carolinian culture as well. It is an unvarying accompaniment of daily life.

The long history of Catholicism among the Chamorros, stretching over several centuries, and the fact that all Chamorros in Saipan adhere to the Roman Catholic faith make Saipan comparable to those mestizo and Indian communities of Latin America that likewise have a long history of Spanish Catholicism behind them. Certain characteristics of Catholicism among the Chamorros may be noted in this comparison between the Marianas and Latin America.

Although increments of ancient belief regarding the supernatural survive among the Chamorros, they are all essentially orthodox Catholics. There is no merging in Chamorro culture of two religious

systems, one introduced and the other indigenous, with the latter maintaining intact a set of relatively systematic beliefs and practices. Saipan is in no way similar to Maya villages such as Chan Kom, described by Redfield and Villa (1934). In this respect, Saipan is much closer to Tzintzuntzan (Foster, 1948), Tepetzlan (Redfield, 1930; Lewis, 1951) or Moche (Gillin, 1945). For more than fifty years, there has been an almost continuous succession of priests on Saipan, except for a brief period after World War I, and though the old religion had largely disappeared before their arrival, the presence of priests on the island for this relatively long period has ensured an essentially orthodox interpretation of Catholic dogma and a close attention to its prescribed rituals. In addition, the work of the nuns in the religious training of children has contributed to this high degree of orthodoxy.

A second point relates to the degree of participation of the Chamorros in the rituals of the church and their acceptance of its ritual obligations. Church attendance is high on Saipan. In Chalan Kanoa, two masses are held daily. For the Sunday masses, the large church is usually full. Virtually as many men attend mass as women and there is a negligible difference in the extent to which each sex goes to confession and communion. Every Sunday over a hundred, and often many more, take communion. It is true that there are a few Chamorros whose religious obligations do not weigh heavily upon them; but as a group the Saipan Chamorros can be characterized as regular and steady churchgoers. One man said:

Just because we are all Catholics does not mean we are all equally devout. Many take communion only twice or even once a year. Some families do not say prayers every morning and night, though I believe all the old people do. Anyone knows that, and it must be that way in any Catholic village. But all of us are baptized and all are married in the church, even though some separate later and a husband may even live with another woman and have children by her. But that is the way people are . . .

A third point is the close relationship of the church to familial life. Baptism, first communion, confirmation, marriage, and death are all important family occasions, and are occasions when the close relation of family to church is expressed and affirmed. The rituals of the church are performed for each Chamorro at these times, with the exception of the very few (such as suicides) who are not eligible for the final rites. Also, the *compadrazgo* system is very important.

Finally, in contrast to many Latin American holy days, on Saipan the secular fiesta in connection with holy days is either lacking



FIG. 17. Religious procession Chalan Kanoa, Saipan.

or does not receive the emphasis that is common in Latin America. Apart from Chalan Kanoa, the other villages on Saipan generally prepare and enjoy in common a large meal on the patron saint's day, but otherwise there is a noticeable absence of involved secular activities on holy days. Special secular activities are associated with *rites de passage* and with family novenas, but they are organized by individual families, and there is little community organization and participation in secular fiestas. There is in this respect a noticeable contrast between Saipan and Tzintzuntzan, Chéran (Beals, 1946), or Tepotzlan.

In contrast to the Chamorros, the Carolinians on Saipan have not been subjected to intensive church work for more than sixty or seventy years. The Carolinians are all nominal Catholics, and some of them are among the most devout of the local residents. The only private chapel on the island is a Carolinian one. Carolinians as well as Chamorros observe annual family novenas. But Catholicism has not penetrated to the core of Carolinian culture as it has with Chamorro culture. This fact is expressed in a number of ways.

Carolinian women are more active and regular church-goers than Carolinian men. Many Carolinian men are seldom seen at church, and many of them confess and take communion but rarely. Among many there is only a superficial knowledge of the symbolic meaning of church rituals, though probably most are aware of the significance of the mass in a general way. A number of Carolinian women and a few men, however, are among the most faithful, though it is doubtful that they have the knowledge of church dogma possessed by the Chamorros. The point is that among the Carolinians there is a greater degree of variation both between the sexes and in the group generally with regard to church attendance, extent of participation in confession and communion, and knowledge of the symbolism of church rituals and of church dogma. This is not so noticeable at Tanapag, where the Carolinians predominate, as at Chalan Kanoa, where they are a pronounced minority.

Although Carolinians are baptized and usually married by the church, a few are not, and the formal aspects of Catholicism are not such a dominant part of familial life as among the Chamorros. Morning and evening prayers in the home are not so pronounced a feature. The *compadrazgo* system does not have nearly the same degree of importance. The virginity cult is not given the same degree of formal emphasis. Only a half dozen Carolinian men belong to the Chalan Kanoa Holy Name Society, organized particularly for

adult men, the membership being predominantly Chamorro. Nor are there relatively as many family novenas among the Carolinians as among the Chamorros.

A feature of Catholicism on Saipan is the veneration accorded the Virgin Mary. This is consonant with Guamanian practice, concerning which Thompson (1947, p. 259) notes:

“... the Virgin Mary was early regarded as the patroness of Guam and is today the special protector and guardian of the people. Every Saturday is consecrated to her worship. Numerous novenas and two Catholic societies, the Daughters of Mary and the Correa, are devoted to her honor. The cult of the Virgin reaches its most elaborate expression in the rites of the Immaculate Conception when hundreds of young women, members of the Daughters of Mary, dressed and veiled in white, accompany the image of the Virgin in solemn procession through the streets of Agaña and the villages.”

Although San Rocce rather than the Virgin Mary is the patron of Saipan, the latter is a much more important figure to the people of Saipan and occupies a special place in their devotions. The Virgin Mary is their special protector and guardian; Saturday mass draws many who wish to observe this day in her honor; and the Daughters of Mary and the Correa are particularly associated with her name. The prominence of the Virgin, as well as the major holy days, suggests a Jesuit pattern.

### Church Buildings

As noted in a previous section, there is a Roman Catholic church in each village, except at Susupe and San Antonio, the people of which use the Chalan Kanoa church. This church is a massive concrete building of post-war construction, designed by the priest, built by local artisans, and paid for by contributions from Chamorros and Carolinians as well as from Americans. It dominates the cultural landscape of Chalan Kanoa and to the satisfaction of Chamorros and Carolinians is larger than any other church building in the Marianas, including Guam. In addition, there is a large parish house (*convento padres*) under construction (1950) next to the church to replace the small quarters now used by the two priests, while within the village is also the *convento madres*, a two-story frame structure set in a garden, that serves as quarters for the nuns.

The church buildings at Tanapag, Oleai, and As Lito are much more modest structures, which will probably be replaced in the future by more durable buildings. Materials were already being accumulated for a concrete church at Tanapag. There are no parish houses

at the other villages, as the two priests usually in residence on the island live in Chalan Kanoa and drive to the other villages to perform their duties.

A patron saint is of course associated with each village and its church. On Saipan the patron saints are as follows:

<i>Village</i>	<i>Patron Saint</i>	<i>Saint's Day</i>
Chalan Kanoa . . . . . (including Susupe and San Antonio)	Bitgen (Virgin) del Carmel	July 16
As Lito . . . . .	San Isidro	May 15
Tanapag . . . . .	Bitgen (Virgin) de los Remedios . . . . .	Second Sunday in October
Oleai . . . . .	San José	March 19

The patron saint of Garapan was San Isidro, who, as the patron saint of farmers, was taken by the village of As Lito when it was established. When the village of San Antonio was first formed, a church was started but abandoned and the people now attend the Chalan Kanoa church. San Antonio's patron was San Antonio de Padua. San Rocco is the patron for Saipan as a whole.

## Religious Personnel

### THE PRIESTS

The church organization of Saipan is under the supervision of the Bishop of Guam, as are the Catholic churches on all the other islands in the Marianas, a fact that contributes to the importance of Guam in Chamorro eyes. The bishop and all the other priests in the Marianas are today American Capuchins. On Saipan there are generally two priests in residence, one of whom has been there almost continuously since the death of the Spanish Jesuit priest who resided on Saipan in Japanese times. The other priest is younger and was sent to Saipan partly to attain fluency in the Chamorro language. On Saipan only a few Chamorros speak English, so that the island provides an excellent training ground for newly arrived priests who wish to learn the language. Priests are rotated to Saipan for this purpose. All the Capuchin priests in the Marianas are expected to learn Chamorro. All sermons are preached in Chamorro and on Saipan virtually all communication between the priest and the people is in Chamorro.

As mentioned previously, although the priest is neither Chamorro nor Carolinian, he must by virtue of his role be considered a part of

the Chamorro and Carolinian community. The priests do not cut themselves off from contacts with Americans. American Catholics in the small administrative group on Saipan attend the Chalan Kanoa church and maintain informal relations with the priests, but the latter's duties are primarily connected with ministering to the Chamorros and Carolinians.

Since the war, the American priests have been extremely active in rebuilding and re-establishing the churches on the island, in erecting a new parish house, and in various organizational activities associated with the church.

The position of the priest is one of great authority, particularly among the older people. He is in a very real sense the shepherd in Christ of his congregation of believers. In direct address he is always spoken to in the third person. In his presence children observe the characteristic *'ninge*, the Chamorro bow and simulated kiss of the hand. His brown or white robe is a distinctive dress that in itself sets him off from the people as their special link with the church.

Since the war, however, the behavioral differences between the American priests and their Spanish predecessors have made for some slight blurring of the priest's position in the eyes of the villagers. The Spanish Jesuits who officiated on Saipan during the Japanese times brought to Saipan the ultra-conservative outlook of the strictest kind of Spanish Catholicism. They were unalterably opposed to dancing in which both sexes took part, although they did not oppose the Carolinian dances because these did not involve participation of both sexes at the same time. They encouraged the strict chaperonage of unmarried girls, and they were very strict and conservative in matters pertaining to the relationships of unmarried men and women. They did not go out at night except in case of emergency or under unusual circumstances, did not attend parties or informal gatherings, and maintained at all times an aloof and formal position of respect and authority.

The American Capuchins are of course essentially American in their attitudes. They are more informal in their contacts with the people, they smoke tobacco and they do not frown on a less strained relationship between the unmarried of opposite sex. They enjoy picnics, on which they take children and young people. However, the people still tend to regard them with reserve and at least two of the priests remarked that "the people are hard to get to know" and that many walk down the street with downcast eyes when pass-

ing the priest. Many of the Chamorros are still not quite comfortable in this more informal day-to-day relationship of the priest and the laity. On the other hand, the attitudes of the Spanish Jesuits were not characteristic of the entire pre-war period. In Spanish times, the Spanish Augustinians are said by the older people to have been informal and in no way aloof, enjoying sports such as spear-fishing on the reef, and participating in family gatherings.

These differences in attitude of the various orders which have worked on Saipan, however, have affected mainly the periphery of the priest's role in the community; the major functions of the priests have always been discharged in the same manner. The present more informal attitude of the American Capuchins is important primarily in that in the situation of post-war culture change on Saipan, the inflexible formality of the Spanish Jesuits would undoubtedly have hindered rather than helped the Chamorros and Carolinians in their effort to adjust to their changed circumstances.

#### THE NUNS

At the *convento madres* in Chalan Kanoa live seven nuns of either Spanish or Latin American extraction. They belong to the order of the Sisters of Mercy, which was established on Saipan during Japanese times. The mother superior has lived on the island for twenty-nine years and, together with most of the other resident nuns, went through the invasion battle, in which one of their number was killed.

The principal occupation of the nuns is the religious instruction of Chamorro and Carolinian children. The nuns, assisted by lay teachers, hold daily classes in catechism. Instruction is given entirely in Chamorro. Every Chamorro child and most Carolinian ones attend these classes after the public school has recessed for the day. The classes last from an hour to an hour and a half. The nuns also give additional religious instruction and secular training in household arts and duties to a number of older girls at the *convento madres*. Some eight of these girls are studying for the sisterhood.

In the religious instruction of children, use is made of several Catholic texts that have been translated into Chamorro. These consist principally of the *catesismo* and the *debotionario* (prayer book). In addition, Chamorro texts include the *catisa*, a small elementary text for the youngest children; the *historia sagrada*, a collection of Bible stories; and several novenas.



The nuns also train and supervise the choirs, of which there are two, a Chamorro choir and a Carolinian one. The former sings at the first mass and the Carolinian at the late mass, though on special occasions they combine.

### Religious Societies

Associated with the church there are today on Saipan five religious societies:

San Stanislau: For boys from the time of first communion (six to seven years of age) to the age of about fifteen.

San Luis: For youths from the age of about fifteen until the time of marriage.

Holy Name: For adult men.

Daughters of Mary: This society has two divisions, one (*famaguon*) for girls from the time of first communion until they are twelve or fourteen years of age, and the other (*amko*) for older girls from twelve or fourteen until the time of marriage.

Correa: For adult women after marriage.

These societies span the life cycle of an individual of either sex. Each is confined to a particular age group, and an individual passes out of one society and into another as he or she grows older. The two societies for adults are composed primarily of married men and women, as marriage is the event that generally marks the time of entrance into either society. However, the Holy Name society contains one elderly bachelor, for an elderly adult would be out of place in San Luis. Membership in the society for younger women is based on virginity as well as on the age factor, so that in this society there are a number of older unmarried women, including the senior member, a vigorous gray-haired spinster, who always leads the members of the society in religious processions and who takes her position very seriously.

In the various shifts of political authority that Saipan has undergone since Spanish times and the consequent changes in the priestly orders resident on the island, the religious societies have likewise changed. I was told that originally the only society was the Correa and that it was not until the Spanish Jesuits came to Saipan during the Japanese period that the Daughters of Mary or the men's societies were established. At this time there was no Holy Name society, which was established after the war, but in addition to San Stanislau, San Luis, Daughters of Mary, and the Correa there were

two societies, the Apostillado and the Carmelita, each for both men and women. The latter two are now inactive.

The size of the societies varies considerably. San Stanislau and the younger division of the Daughters of Mary include most of the age groups concerned. San Luis is smaller. In Japanese times, the Spanish lay brother on the island took charge of meetings of San Stanislau and San Luis and they were more active than at present. Holy Name had a membership of sixty-five and was planning to initiate twenty-five more members in 1950. The Correa had about three hundred members, and the Daughters of Mary probably as many. On the whole, the women's societies are larger and more active than the men's, partly because the nuns are able to devote time to them. The priests are so occupied with rebuilding the churches that only limited time can be given to the two boys' societies. Each society has a special Sunday designated as particularly appropriate for the members to take communion.

As on Guam, the Daughters of Mary reflects the strong emphasis on the virginity of unmarried girls that was a particular preoccupation of Spanish teaching. All the Chamorro girls of respectable family belong to this society, as well as many Carolinian girls. It is their obligation to guard their chastity in emulation of the Virgin Mary. The society has its own uniform of white dress and blue sash with white veil, worn on the occasions of religious processions and other major church events in which they participate. They hold regular meetings and under the supervision of the nuns perform various duties in connection with the church, such as washing the vestments, decorating the church with flowers on special occasions, and cleaning the statues and the altar.

The Correa, the society of married women, likewise performs various duties such as keeping the church clean, adorning the statues of the Virgin on special occasions, and fulfilling certain functions such as carrying a statue of the Virgin in the Good Friday procession. Every member of the Correa wears a leather belt, specially blessed, with which she practically never parts. When a member of the Correa dies, other members may contribute to pay for the mass for the deceased.

The Holy Name Society, the most active of the men's societies, also has regular meetings. It has been primarily devoted to assisting the priests in getting the new churches and parish house built and in facilitating the organizational activities of the church, such as

seeing that children attend catechism classes regularly. As a new society, started since the war, it is still a small group and in 1950 was in process of expansion.

The religious societies of Saipan are thus primarily devotional in nature, in that they further a more active participation of the community in the rituals of the church, in the training of the young in Catholic dogma, and in general dissemination of Catholic belief. At the same time they perform duties such as caring for the cleanliness and the decoration of the church. They make floats and other accessories associated with religious processions and help to overcome the practical difficulties of building and maintaining the church structures. On the whole, the women's societies are somewhat more active and include a greater percentage of the population than do the men's. It is probable that under the present leadership of the priests and nuns, membership and activities of the religious societies will expand.

### Lay Assistants

In addition to the religious societies, other members of the community are essential parts of the church organization: The priest appoints the *conciergon guma juus*, a small group of men who assist in the collection of contributions to the church and stress among the people the desirability for confession and communion and regular attendance at mass. A special pew is reserved for the *conciergon guma juus* in the church at Chalan Kanoa.

Important also are the priest's *tanores*, or servers, whom he selects and trains from among the young boys. In addition, one or two young men perform the duties of assistants. There are also two choirs (*koros*), one Chamorro and one Carolinian, including both young and middle-aged men and women. The choirs are conscientious groups devoted to their task, which they perform very creditably. The succession of religious orders on Saipan has given the choirs familiarity with a greater range of choral numbers than they would otherwise have had.

### Church Services and the Church Calendar

The yearly round of holy days is of course controlled by the intricate ecclesiastical calendar of the Catholic church. The church services are divided into the ordinary routine of week-day and Sunday masses and rosaries, punctuated at intervals throughout the

year by special days of particular significance for the village as a whole.

For Sunday masses the church is usually well filled, on week days less so. The daily evening service (*lisaño*) draws more women than men and only the most devout attend. The early mass at 5:00 A.M. (*misan mona*) is known as the Chamorro mass; the late mass at 7:30 A.M. (*misan tate*) is for the Carolinians, though as previously noted the attendance is by no means restricted to either group, and members of both are present at early or late mass. However, more Chamorros attend early mass than late mass and early rising is considered a virtue among them. It is at the early mass that the respected citizens of the Chamorro community are to be seen.

Within the church, there is a definite seating arrangement: Men and boys sit on the left, women and girls on the right. In the first pews are the children, and behind them sit the nuns. Off the center aisle on the men's side are benches for the *conciergon guma juus* and for the commissioners and councilmen, though only a few of this political group sit there. The other people distribute themselves as they wish, though at early mass Chamorros tend to sit farther forward than Carolinians. Some of the older people have places they habitually occupy and which other people do not usurp.

The older Chamorro women wear the brightly colored Filipina mestiza costume, with full skirt, beaded slippers, net bodice with peaked sleeves, and either a lace or fine net head-covering, or as in the case of many of the older women, a black or white head scarf that drops to the shoulders. The younger women all wear American fashions, the degree of chic correlating with the status of the wearer. Men wear freshly pressed cotton shirts and trousers. The people always wear their best clothes to church.

The days of obligation are the same as those prescribed for the United States. Apart from Sunday they include New Year's, Assumption (August 15), All Saints (November 1), Immaculate Conception (December 8), and the Nativity (December 25). However, the Saipan calendar of religious fiestas has a more distinctive pattern than is implied by the list of the days of obligation alone.

Certain days of the week are also designated as being particularly appropriate for special individual devotions. A man or woman may make a vow to attend mass regularly on one of these days, either in gratitude for recovery from sickness or to seek protection from ill fortune. On Saipan, a number of men have made a *promessa* to

attend mass on Saturday, the day devoted to Santa Maria. During the Japanese period, the men in particular were urged to attend mass on this day.



FIG. 18. Religious procession, Chalan Kanoa, Saipan.

The first Friday of the month is also important. Several attend mass and take communion regularly on this day, to receive the special protection of Santa Maria, particularly that they may not die sudden deaths without the possibility of repentance. Wednesday figures significantly as a day of devotion to San José.

#### THE RELIGIOUS CALENDAR

The following special religious occasions are the principal high points in the calendar of holy days on Saipan:

January 1: New Year's Day. Circumcision of our Lord. A day of obligation.

March 19: San José, patron of Oleai. Novena in the village church and procession in the village on the day of the patron saint.

Holy Week (March or April): The high point of the year, particularly from Maundy Thursday through Sunday, when there is a large attendance at the religious solemnities and an impressive degree of participation. The various lay religious societies perform special obligations, such as taking turns at standing vigil in the church from the close of mass on Thursday until Friday morning. On Friday afternoon a procession proceeds from the church through Chalan Kanoa and back to the church. In the procession, crucifixes and religious statues are carried. The latter, of pre-war origin, were hidden in the hills during the invasion. As there are only two priests in residence, church services during Holy week are concentrated at Chalan Kanoa, though Tanapag, the village farthest removed from Chalan Kanoa, also has its own Good Friday procession.

May 15: San Isidro (the Laborer), patron of As Lito and of laborers. Novena and procession in the village on the patron saint's day.

June: Thursday after Trinity Sunday is Corpus Christi, an important day. In 1950, the procession was postponed until the Sunday following Corpus Christi. Four shrines (*lancon corpus*) were erected in Chalan Kanoa. The Carolinian districts erected one, the Susupe villagers another, and various other Chamorro districts combined to build the remaining two. The framework of each shrine was erected by the men; then the women decorated it with religious pictures and statues, flowers, greenery, colored paper streamers, and electric lights. As the procession passed through the village, it stopped at each shrine for the benediction. Much care and effort was spent on each shrine, and there was considerable competition to have the most effective one. Solemnities concluded with a benediction in the church.

July 16: For the day of Bitgen del Carmel, patroness of the Chalan Kanoa church, a novena is held. There is no procession.

August 15: Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a day of obligation. At this time girls about 12 or 14 years old take communion and enter the older division of the Daughters of Mary.

August 16: San Rocce, patron of Saipan. Celebrated by a novena, with a high mass on the Saint's day.

Last Sunday in August: Consolation of Mary. Particularly important for the Correa. During the previous week the Correa makes

a special collection of alms for the church and presents these to the padre. A novena is held and a high mass celebrated on the day of the Consolation. In the afternoon, at Chalan Kanoa, there is a procession around the village. A large float containing a statue of the Virgin is made for the procession. Small girls in white dresses and wearing angels' wings are perched on the float.

October, Second Sunday: Bitgen de los Remedios, patroness of Tanapag. A novena is held, with a procession around the village.

November 1 2: All Saints Day, a day of obligation, followed by All Souls Day, a day of mourning for the dead. On All Saints Day, there is a procession to the cemetery, where the graves have previously been decorated with flowers and candles.

December 8: Immaculate Conception, a day of obligation, of particular significance for the Daughters of Mary. There is a novena and a procession through the village. The Daughters of Mary wear their white uniforms and form a prominent part of the procession.

December 25: The Nativity. The midnight mass at the Chalan Kanoa church is a particularly important event. The church is filled to overflowing, with everyone dressed in his or her best. During the long mass all are very attentive. In 1949, more than 2,000 people took communion at this time.

These are the special religious occasions of the year. The year 1949 also was marked by the consecration of the new Chalan Kanoa church by the Bishop of Guam. Virtually the total population of the island was present. This occasion was also distinguished by a program of secular festivities, following the religious services. An improvised open-air stage was built in the area outside the church. A program of songs and dances given by children of different age groups under the tutelage of the nuns was presented, followed by a stirring series of Carolinian traditional dances, the most striking being the stick dance that is widespread in the central Carolines. A rosary service at about 7:00 P.M. in the church ended the day.

Religious processions through the village are an outstanding feature of the more important holy days on Saipan. The Good Friday procession draws the greatest number of participants; the processions on the days of Corpus Christi, Consolation of the Virgin Mary, All Saints, Immaculate Conception, and the patron saints' days of the individual villages have a lesser number. In 1950, about 500 persons participated in the procession on the day of the Consolation of the Virgin Mary, while that on Good Friday had

well over twice this number. With the possible exception of the Good Friday procession there are very considerably more Chamorro than Carolinian participants, relative to the size of each group.

Every procession incorporates a fixed marching order. On Good Friday (1950) this order was as follows: (1) Three *tanores*, carrying a crucifix flanked by two candles. (2) Small boys, Chamorro and Carolinian, aged seven to fourteen, and all nominal members of San Stanislau. (3) Older boys and young men, aged fifteen to about twenty, including members of San Luis. One of this group carried a large cross. (4) The Holy Name Society of Chamorro and some Carolinian adult men. This group carried a statue of Jesus condemned to die. (5) Other Chamorro men, bearing a statue of Jesus carrying the cross. (6) Chamorro men carrying a large crucifix, followed by the two priests. Behind the priests came a group of boys carrying on pillows the articles important in the Crucifixion. (7) The choir, both men and women. (8) Carolinian men, carrying a statue of Mary with Jesus after he was cut down from the cross. (9) Small Chamorro and Carolinian girls. (10) The Daughters of Mary, most of whom were in their white dresses. (11) The Correa carried a statue of the Virgin Mary, draped in black. (12) Other adult women, both Chamorro and Carolinian.

In the processions men precede women, and the young precede the old. The lay societies participate as a group. The people preserve a mien of great solemnity, and children in the procession are carefully cautioned to maintain silence and to observe the proper attitude of respect for the occasion.

### Stability of Religious Organization

Of all the various aspects of community organization on Saipan, that pertaining to the Catholic church and religion is among the most stable. The reason is obvious, for it is the explicit purpose of the priests and nuns to keep religious organization stable and to further church activities, educate the young in Catholic belief, and expand the church organization. However, the fact that Catholicism has long been established at the core of Chamorro culture greatly facilitates the task of the missionaries in maintaining the stability of religious organization and the authority of the church in all aspects of life into which it enters. The Chamorros in particular have long been accustomed to accord respect and obedience to the word of the church. They are regularly warned that they must eschew the



views of other faiths. Although there are a small number of Baptists and Seventh Day Adventists among the Chamorros on Guam, to my knowledge there were none in the Saipan community during 1950. The people are well aware that there are many non-Catholics in the world, for during German, Japanese, and now American times they have had much contact, a great deal of it friendly, with persons of other denominations. Catholicism, however, is dominant in Chamorro life.

From the foregoing pages it can be seen that the Catholic religion enters into the pattern of community life in a number of ways: the regular week-day and Sunday services in the church; the special holy days with their observances, including religious processions; the lay societies and lay assistants with their particular functions; religious education of the young, supervised by the nuns, principally at the catechism school; and individual devotions on days of special significance. In addition, the church enters the realm of family life, at the times of crisis rites, through daily devotions held at home, and during family novenas.

### Survivals of Ancient Chamorro Belief

#### THE TAOTAOMONA

Though there is no religious system surviving from ancient times among the Chamorros, an important increment of old belief still exists in connection with the supernatural and takes its form in the concept of the *taotaomona*.

As Thompson notes, little is known of pre-contact Chamorro religion, but the fragmentary documentary evidence indicates that the Chamorros believed in a variety of supernatural beings. With the coming of the missionaries these concepts were largely superseded by Catholicism, but those that survived tended to be merged into a belief in a class of powerful supernatural beings called *taotaomona*. Although the *taotaomona* may represent a post-Spanish concept, as Thompson holds, it is undoubtedly rooted in the pre-Spanish religion and is part of the widespread Micronesian preoccupation with and elaboration of concepts regarding the ghosts of the dead.

In contemporary usage, the word "*animas*" means both "ghost" and "soul." Those who have died and are in purgatory (*purgatorio*) are termed *animas*. There are many stories of *animas* gathering in the church at dusk to pray that they may reach heaven. Virtually every boy who has served as a *tanores* can report having seen shadowy

figures, dressed in somber dark-colored clothes, with the women wearing long, full, head scarves, kneeling in silent prayer in the church; or similar figures may be reported as having been seen in the early evening, praying in the cemetery. These are all ghosts of those sent from purgatory to remain for a moment in prayer on earth, after which they return to purgatory.

Another important concept is called "*aniti*," an old Chamorro word whose usage today is not entirely consistent within the group on Saipan. In the Catholic prayer book "*aniti*" (pl. "*manganiti*") is used for "demon"; "*satinas*" is also used to signify "Satan" or "devils." Thompson states that in the days of early contact Sanvitores first translated "*aniti*" as the "souls of the ancestors," and later as "demons," while in the nineteenth century Freycinet used the term to mean "evil spirit" and still later Safford translated it as "spirit" (Thompson, 1945, pp. 20-21). Today, on Saipan, "*manganiti*," or even "*satinas*," is often used to mean "evil spirits." "*Aniti*" can also be used to refer to those in hell, though the term "*i man majogua*" is more commonly heard. There is thus a definite usage of the term "*aniti*" to mean "demon" or "devil." The following note on local belief is taken from a Chamorro informant:

When someone is about to die, the *manganiti* gather to tempt his soul. A crucifix may be held before the dying man and he is asked to fix his eyes upon it. This will thwart the *manganiti* in their attempt to take his soul. If the dying man turns his face from the crucifix it means that the *manganiti* are getting the upper hand, and the watchers by the bedside beseech him to oppose them with all his will. Also, if the dying person does not make a final confession, it is thought that the *manganiti* have tempted him. Holy water may be sprinkled around the death bed to drive them away.

In view of the Micronesian pattern as a whole, it is probable that the original meaning of the term "*aniti*" conformed to Sanvitores' first translation, "souls of the ancestors," who had supernatural power to help or harm the living. Today, the word is also applied, however, to someone supposed to be in contact with supernatural power, without particularly evil connotations. Thus a Chamorro woman once described a Carolinian medicine man to me as being *bula manganiti* ("full of spirits"), though this man was in no way considered as being other than helpful. The context of the conversation indicated that the man was not literally "full of spirits" but was rather in contact with the supernatural and derived magical powers thereby for curing disease. This latter usage is perhaps closer to the original than that deriving from Catholic belief.

Finally, there is the term "*taotaomona*," to be differentiated from both "*animas*" and "*aniti*." Thompson (1945, p. 22) says that "the *taotaomona* . . . are believed not to be gods or ghosts but to be men of superhuman strength, the ancestors of the modern Chamorros." In the light of contemporary belief on Saipan, the statement requires rephrasing. The *taotaomona* ("people of early times") are supernatural and the term clearly refers to the ancestors of the modern Chamorros. To the latter, however, they are the ghosts of the ancient dead. These were both ancient and pagan, and their ghosts clearly are thought to lie outside the sphere of Roman Catholic belief regarding the supernatural. Some are indeed considered to possess superhuman powers, such as the famous Taga of Tinian. Saipan, being recently re-settled, however, possesses, so far as could be ascertained, no *taotaomona* with personal names, nor is there a body of specific legendary material connected with particular *taotaomona*, as is the case with Taga. An educated Chamorro has written (Sablan, 1929): "These *taotaomona* are supposed to be the spirits of the aboriginal Chamorros who lived before and immediately after the conquest of Guam . . . . If any person incurs their wrath these spirits will certainly inflict some type of punishment in the form of diseases . . . ."

The *taotaomona* appear to the living at dusk, in the form of ghostly shapes. Those described to me were of approximately the same size as living men, though occasionally they are larger. Sometimes they are headless, undoubtedly a survival of the ancient custom of removing the skull after death. Both sexes are represented, and one Chamorro said that he saw at one time a man, a woman, and a child *taotaomona*. The *taotaomona* sometimes reveal their presence by sweet-smelling perfume, though remaining invisible. As on Guam, they are associated with the banyan tree, which is accordingly treated with respect as their abode.

Thompson (1945, pp. 22-23) notes the belief on Guam and Rota that the *taotaomona* were once chiefs of the various districts and that each *taotaomona* guarded his own district jealously. On Saipan today this belief is not prevalent, perhaps because the island was uninhabited by Chamorros for many years. The *taotaomona* are believed to live in the bush, or near archaeological sites, though occasionally they are seen in the village. One *taotaomona* is said to live in a banyan tree near the center of Chalan Kanoa.

The *taotaomona* are feared because their wrath may be incurred, and as a consequence they may inflict disease on the living. One

may be liked by the *taotaomona* (*magufli'i*) or hated by them (*machali'i*). One is hated because he may have urinated in the *taotaomona's* area without excusing himself (virtually all Chamorros excuse themselves to the *taotaomona* when they urinate in the bush); or shouted loudly and thus disturbed the *taotaomona*; or cut down or disturbed a banyan tree where the *taotaomona* lived; or may have a body odor offensive to the *taotaomona*. For the latter reason, women who are menstruating or who have just given birth to a child must be particularly careful. A crucifix or holy water are both protective devices against the *taotaomona*, as are bright lights at night. In one recent case, a family built a new house. Thereafter a death occurred in the family, which also met with other serious misfortune, though the neighbors were not similarly affected. The spot was considered to have been inhabited by a *taotaomona*, who had been disturbed and angered by the building of the new house. So the owner asked the priest to bless his new house and to exorcise all evil influences.

If one is liked by the *taotaomona*, the latter will help him, make his fishing good, put coconut crabs in places where he can find them, and otherwise bring good luck. I was told that some people have claimed that a particular *taotaomona* is their distant kinsman, in a manner comparable to the *taotaomona* partner described by Thompson (1947, p. 176). This aspect of the belief, however, is not elaborated and is minor compared to the malignant forces exercised by the *taotaomona*. There is a distinct feeling that the *taotaomona* are dangerous and usually evil. To establish a cordial relationship has connotations akin to selling one's soul to the devil. As Sablan (1929) has noted:

These spirits (*taotaomona*) sometimes show partiality to those who are friendly and sympathetic to them. This is done by conferring some superhuman power on their favorites, who, in turn, can afterwards lift very heavy weights without assistance, and overcome obstacles of every description; or, if they so will, a third party may be punished if they are in any way offended or displeased. However, this privilege is only given provided the recipient does not attend church services or approach any church premises. If one wishes to deprive them of their additional power, all there is to be done is to sprinkle a small amount of salt on their bodies, and behold, the transformation is finished. [The belief in the efficacy of salt is no doubt related to its ritual use in Catholic baptism.]

The belief in the *taotaomona* is deeply imbedded in Chamorro thought. Probably there is not a single adult Chamorro—regardless of how much he belittles the concept as a superstition to Americans

—who does not firmly hold to the belief. The reason is that the *taotaomona* concept is not a functionless survival but is part of a system of thought and action, closely related to illness and its treatment.

#### ILLNESS AND THE TAOTAOMONA

A number of symptoms are characteristic of illness caused by the *taotaomona*. A sudden constriction of the throat, a feeling that one cannot swallow, difficulty in breathing, difficulty or inability to urinate, sudden inability to talk, sudden paralysis of the limbs, and radical loss of appetite may all be put down to attacks by the *taotaomona*. One man in Japanese times suddenly became paralyzed in the legs, lost his appetite, and grew thinner and thinner. After two weeks of hospitalization, he showed no improvement. The Japanese doctors could do nothing and discharged him, whereupon he was cured by a medicine woman. Another case, also in Japanese times, involved a man who suddenly found himself unable to talk, and opened his mouth only with great difficulty, but who was likewise cured by local medicine. A case that occurred shortly before my arrival involved a young Chamorro woman, who was looking for mangoes in an area away from any of the villages. She was suddenly made ill by a *taotaomona* and was taken to the hospital. She had previously been under severe emotional stress. Her symptoms were clearly hysterical—extreme muscular rigidity, insensitivity to verbal stimuli (though a knife prick made her jump), inability to talk or to eat. After two days' hospitalization, during which no improvement occurred, on the advice of the head nurse the medical officer sent her home, where she was cured by a Carolinian medicine man.

The case material—inadequate though it is—suggests that on Sui-pan illnesses caused by *taotaomona* are largely hysterias. These hysterias are closely related to a well-defined culture pattern. For an individual under great emotional stress the culture provides the concept of the *taotaomona*. The *taotaomona* attacks the individual, who then exhibits an hysteria, a traditionally sanctioned form of reaction to extreme anxiety and to a *taotaomona* attack. The culture in addition provides a mechanism for cure—the therapy of the medicine man. The *taotaomona* themselves represent a sort of personification of the collective anxieties of the group, or at least it is the anxieties of the group that support their continued existence. From experience in other parts of Micronesia, I believe it is probable that

we are here dealing with a widespread Micronesian pattern, and that in Micronesia there is the possibility of making a systematic study of the relation of hysteria to culturally sanctioned mechanisms. Such a study would include types of psychic disturbance, anxiety reactions, and the form of therapy used. Also, why hysterias should be produced rather than neuroses involving different syndromes is a problem that can be examined in Micronesia in all its cultural ramifications. As a problem for future investigation, it demands the joint efforts of an anthropologist and a psychiatrist. In this connection, a recent paper by Spiro (1952) on the function of the belief in ghosts as a means of displacing aggression and hence contributing to the survival of Ifaluk society and culture should be mentioned.

In the curing of *taotaomona* attacks, the Chamorros, despite their widespread acceptance of Western medicine, rely on the medicine men. There still survive among the Chamorros a number of people (*suruhana*), mostly old women, versed in purely Chamorro medicine. They are essentially herbalists and use various medicines concocted of plants to effect their cures. Their plant medicines are either taken internally or applied externally to affected parts of the body. Although the *suruhana* are sometimes used in cases of *taotaomona* illness, the Chamorros generally agree that they are not nearly as effective as the Carolinian medicine men, and it is on the latter that the Chamorros primarily rely.

To the Chamorros the *taotaomona* represent a cultural heritage from the ancient past. The Carolinians are less acculturated and are clearly closer to this past than are the Chamorros. The Chamorros, despite the fact that they consider themselves socially superior to the Carolinians, do not hesitate to utilize the services of a Carolinian medicine man, for the latter is credited with superior knowledge in the handling of illness caused by the *taotaomona*. Actually, in Carolinian culture the *taotaomona* concept is not quite the same as that of the Carolinians, for it is a Chamorro, not a Carolinian formulation. However, the Carolinian medicine men are accustomed to dealing with illness caused by the ghosts of the dead, and the *taotaomona* are merely one class of such ghosts. They are exorcised from the living through the use of an involved procedure including divination, plant medicines, and a spell, without which the medicine would not be effective.

The *taotaomona* concept, therefore, is an important integrating factor in the relationship between the Chamorro and Carolinian groups. It tends to keep Carolinian medicine and magic alive and

functioning, and it maintains the position of the Carolinians as a necessary part of the larger Chamorro-Carolinian community.

#### OTHER SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

It is probable that in pre-contact times the Chamorros had a considerable number of classes of supernatural beings. During the contact period these have gradually been all but forgotten, or have tended to merge into the *taotaomona* concept. Thus the *birak*, probably once a distinct class of supernatural being, are now regarded as the same as *taotaomona* or as purely imaginary beings about which little or nothing is known. The same is true of the *fafanague*—beings one hears or senses but does not see—which are purely imaginary to most younger people today.

More important are the *duhendis* ("little people"), considered by most persons on Saipan as a species of *taotaomona*. The beliefs regarding them are similar to those held on Guam (cf. Thompson, 1947). Small children and babies are particularly susceptible to the machinations of the *duhendis*, as the following incident related by a Chamorro illustrates:

My grandmother adopted a baby, who was about ten months or a year old when my grandmother and some other women were washing clothes by the side of a small stream, while the baby slept on a mat near-by. No one was paying much attention. Suddenly one of the women looked up and the baby was gone. There was much commotion, with everyone searching here and there. Finally they found the child in a thicket. It was unable to speak or to cry and had obviously had a spell cast on it by a *duhendis*. To snap the spell the child was struck on the back with a belt. Then it was all right.

In summary, the corpus of contemporary Chamorro religious beliefs, while primarily consistent with orthodox Catholicism, includes one important element stemming from ancient times—the concept of the *taotaomona*. Although the *taotaomona* belief involves the supernatural, it is actually important not as a religious belief, but rather as one affecting the day-to-day sickness and health of individuals. Its roots seem to lie in contemporary Chamorro anxieties, attached primarily to social relationships; it is closely related to behavior disorders, particularly hysteria, and local methods of magic are effectively utilized as psychotherapy.

#### Carolinian Ghosts

Like their cousins in the Caroline Islands, the Saipan Carolinians preserve a strong belief in ghosts. Today, this belief is primarily

associated with the treatment for disease and is not the basis for an organized system of religious thought that competes with Catholicism. As the belief in ghosts is firmly grounded in concepts of the supernatural, however, a brief note on Carolinian ghost concepts is here included.

The Carolinian word for ghost is "*alü.*" There are two classes of *alü*: *alü luwal* and *alü leim*. The former are rather ill-defined and may be thought of as the ghosts of the ancient ones. It is to this kind of ghost that the Chamorro concept of *taotaomona* has been assimilated. The Carolinians have also adopted Chamorro beliefs that *alü luwal* live in banyan trees and around archaeological sites, and that they are made angry if a human being urinates on the ground near them, or shouts, or has odors offensive to them. The *alü leim*, on the other hand, are ghosts of the known dead, and usually of the recently dead. Both kinds of ghosts are capable of causing disease and of harming the living in other ways.

The potential harm that ghosts may cause the living is held in check by the medicine men. Although most Carolinians know some magic used in treating disease, there are about fifteen people, both male and female, whose knowledge and ability place them in the role of specialists. These persons are called *sausafei*.

The Carolinian medicine man must possess (1) a knowledge of divination; (2) a knowledge of plant medicines; and (3) a knowledge of spells. Each of these kinds of learning involves a body of data too complex to be discussed here, though it should be noted that through divination the medicine man determines whether a particular sickness is caused by a ghost, the kind of ghost that is doing the harm, and the type of medicine that should be used. The therapy itself involves a type of medicine, plus a spell that makes the medicine effective.

The medicine man obtains his knowledge from an older relative—usually a father or uncle—but it is dangerous for him to use this knowledge as long as the person he learns it from is still alive, for he may become ill and die. In addition, by establishing a relationship with an *alü leim*, a medicine man may learn new spells and new medicines. This information is transmitted through dreams, or in the half-waking, half-sleeping period at night.

Today, on Saipan, there is very considerable secrecy surrounding curative practices, and even concepts of the supernatural. This is partly a reaction to ridicule and antagonism from persons of the several dominant political powers. Curiously, however, the most



knowledgeable medicine man was the least secretive. He was a born ethnologist and had been on a visit to the Carolines, as well as to other parts of the Pacific. He offered the perfectly sound hypothesis that when systems of magic start to disintegrate under acculturation, the element of secrecy surrounding them tends to increase. In any case, however, the spells used in curing are secret; if they become common knowledge, their efficacy is lost.

A final word concerns the relation of the belief in ghosts to the maintenance of the social structure. The Carolinians believe that a ghost may cause a person to become ill if he has not been fulfilling his kinship obligations. If a man is neglecting his children, the ghost of the man's dead father may become angry and make the man ill. In other ways, the ghosts of recently dead ancestors keep an eye on the acts of the living. In this way, the belief in ghosts acts to sanction the moral order.

## XIV. Change, Stability, and the Dependent Society

The continuing strength of a culture pattern is exemplified by the post-war Chamorros and Carolinians of Saipan. In the invasion battle for the island, the entire assemblage of their artifacts was swept away and their pre-war economy destroyed. During the six years following the invasion, the Chamorros and Carolinians have reconstituted their island society, utilizing the culture patterns with which they were familiar. Regardless of discussion as to the nature of culture, post-war Saipan is an excellent example of the enduring vitality of culture as a traditional way of thought and action that organizes social relationships and provides means of adaptation to the social and natural environment.

Nevertheless, since the war numerous changes have taken place among Chamorros and Carolinians. Today they drink Coca-Cola and beer; they repair and drive jeeps; the men wear sport shirts and the women lacquer their finger nails. These changes lie on the surface, however; it is the more fundamental aspects of life that demand attention. In the context of post-war change on Saipan, what parts of the social organization are stable, what unstable? It is true that "stability" is a difficult concept to apply to the ethnographer's data. Change of itself need not imply instability. Change is always present in greater or lesser degree in every culture and society. Stability is not. Stability lies in orderly change and finds expression in a continuing successful adaptation to habitat and in non-violent shifts in the patterns of social organization.

The various aspects of Saipan's social organization show varying degrees of stability.

(1) Local organization. The settlement pattern is in flux. Since the war there has been a movement out of Chalan Kanoa, the main village, to a number of recently established satellite villages whose number appears to be growing. Some of the satellite villages may be abandoned in the future because of poor geographic location. The post-war distribution of population in the various villages has

not yet become fixed. The local organization is at present unstable in the sense that it reflects a lack of adaptation to local habitat and resources. The village-farm pattern of Chamorro life, however, is a long-established element that shows little disposition to change. To the extent that it impedes efficient farming because of the many hours spent by the farmers in traveling between village and farm, it can perhaps be considered maladaptive; to the extent that it strengthens the integration of village life, it may be considered adaptive and stabilizing.

(2) Economic organization. This aspect of Saipanese life is least stable of all. In view of the devastation caused by the war, the instability of economic organization is not surprising. Much has been done to remove the Chamorros and Carolinians from a state of complete dependence on the administration to one of partial self-support. Nevertheless, the economic organization remains unstable, largely because the society is not in adjustment with the resources of its habitat. An equilibrium adaptation to the island environment has not been achieved. Furthermore, within the economy there are many contradictions. Wage-work and the acquisition of clerical and mechanical skills are much more attractive to the Chamorros than farming, to which they are urged to devote themselves. Traditional methods of farming are not adapted to the steep slopes of the less fertile land the people now cultivate. Chamorro food preferences are adjusted to imported foods rather than to those that can be raised locally. A major part of the difficulty is that Chamorros and to a lesser degree Carolinians had become adjusted in Japanese times to a highly developed pre-war colonial economy, in which, however, they played a role of minor importance. The colonial economy became a casualty of the war.

(3) Political organization. The machinery of government in many ways does not work well. The present formal political organization tends to be unstable in that it is an innovation for which there must be a period of establishment; Saipan is in this period.

(4) Religious organization. This exhibits little fundamental change. New lay societies may be introduced, or the attitudes of American Capuchins may vary from those of Spanish Jesuits, but the basic framework of Catholic organization, ritual, and dogma remains the same. Nevertheless, these seemingly minor changes reveal the church's ability to adapt itself to changing circumstances, and this adaptability contributes to the stability of the church as an element of social structure. Religious organization on Saipan is

very stable, in part because it is the business of priests and nuns to keep it so, and in part because Catholicism is long established among the Chamorros, and if less long established, at least fully accepted, by the Carolinians.

(5) Familial and kinship organization. These parts of Saipanese social organization are given separate treatment in the following two parts of this monograph. On the whole, although changes are occurring in both Chamorro and Carolinian kinship organization, neither can be said to exhibit marked instability.

What is called instability in the facets of Saipanese social organization noted above is primarily a matter either of innovation, as in the case of the machinery of municipal government, or of maladjustment, as in the case of economic organization. On Saipan, the latter is perhaps more complex.

The maladjustment of Saipan's economy involves a complex set of relations among Saipan as an island society, Saipan as a habitat, and Saipan as a dependent on a larger society of which American administrators are the immediate representatives. Each of these entities, taken in relation to the others, contains elements of maladjustment.

As an island society, the Chamorros and Carolinians were before the war a minor and subordinate segment in a highly developed Japanese colonial outpost. Since the war, the Chamorros and Carolinians have formed the major segment of the population but at the same time have lost their economic underpinning with the destruction of the Japanese-built economy. Furthermore, Saipan as a habitat has deteriorated. Much fertile farm land has been lost through military construction. Although sufficient land remains for the present population, slash-and-burn agriculture and the Chamorro cultivation techniques reduce soil fertility, though these features of agricultural technology are extremely resistant to change. For subsistence agriculture, rather than the intensive cultivation of the island for sugar cane, there is also a dearth of economically important food and timber trees. These features of habitat and technology will become more significant as the increasing island population exerts greater pressure on resources.

The relation between the Saipanese and their habitat is further complicated by problems of land ownership and tenure. Here the larger society enters the picture, for the former Japanese holdings and the pre-war system of control of land resources as well as the present American administration are involved. The solution of the

land tenure and ownership problems is directly dependent on the action taken by the American administration. Furthermore, the development of off-island markets for agricultural and fish products—Saipan's only possible off-island exports—is dependent on the larger society, including the people of Guam, the American administration, and probably also Japan. Lastly, such wage-work as will be available will also depend on the administration. The picture is therefore complex, but until the economy becomes more nearly adapted to the resources of the habitat the society will always contain a serious element of instability.

These features of change and instability on Saipan provide a partial answer to the question: What is a dependent society? Saipan is a dependent society, not in the sense that a measure of interdependence is characteristic of most societies in the world today, but in a one-sided dependence on a larger society. This is true, economically speaking. It is also true politically, not merely because the Chamorros and Carolinians do not possess political autonomy, but because in attempting to make the machinery of local government work, continuous, intelligent coaching on the part of the administration is necessary. Instabilities introduced by incompletely established innovations and by maladaptation to a social and natural environment lie at the roots of Saipan's dependence. It is probable that these are components of dependence among most dependent societies.

A final comment deals with concomitants of Saipan's dependence in the area of personality structure. In their study of the Chamorros and Carolinians, Joseph and Murray (1951) include as characteristics of Saipanese personality "strong but vague aspirations" and "marked anxiety, based largely on feelings of inadequacy . . ." They note that precarious economic conditions and sudden change of status after the war are important factors contributing to the feeling of insecurity. I feel that incompletely established innovations (as in the case of the municipality government) and maladaptation (as in the case of the economy) have led to uncertainty among Chamorros and Carolinians, and this in turn has contributed to anxiety as a characteristic of personality structure. From an administration point of view this result does not mean that innovation *per se* is bad. It does mean that it enters the complex of social dependence, which the administration must strive to reduce.



PART III  
CHAMORRO FAMILY AND KINSHIP

## XV. Social Significance of the Chamorro Family

The family plays a particularly important role in the Chamorro section of the Saipan community. A Chamorro feels more strongly bound to his family than to the community as a whole. A nexus of attitudes and behavior centers in the family, and the complexities of family relationship largely preoccupy a Chamorro in his relations with others. The Chamorros possess no unilineal descent groups according to which kinship relations are widely organized, but the genealogical ties of family with family result in a web of relationships growing out of the bonds of parenthood and marriage. It is with the structure of the Chamorro family and with the wider system of relationships developing from the family that this part of my report is primarily concerned.

Apart from its structural significance in the community, the Chamorro family has an added interest in that it reflects the influence of Spain in the refashioning of Chamorro life. One can discern the product of Spanish contact in the activities that center in the family and in the organization of intra-familial relationships, even though the events of the last fifty years have undoubtedly modified the form of the Spanish-Oceanic familial type that reached its final crystallization in the nineteenth century.



## XVI. The Household

The word "household" is here used for the group that lives, eats, and sleeps under one roof. Usually the household coincides with the elementary or nuclear family, but in some cases—such as individuals living alone—it does not. The household is the smallest local group forming a unit of residence. The term applies specifically to common residence, not to the nature of the kinship bond uniting the component members of the household.

### Size and Composition

The following table gives the result of a census of 100 Chamorro households consisting of a total of 529 individuals.

#### CHAMORRO HOUSEHOLD SIZE

*(Based on a Sample of 100 Families)*

No. of persons in household	Frequency of occurrence	No. of persons
1	5	5
2	16	32
3	10	30
4	17	68
5	10	50
6	5	30
7	11	77
8	8	64
9	8	72
10	9	90
11	1	11
Total. ....	100	529

The second table gives the frequencies of the forms of household composition present in the same sample of 100 households. From the table it is readily apparent that the great majority of households consist of parents and children. Most of the remainder are variations on this basic pattern and are direct outgrowths of the Chamorro emphasis on the conjugal tie and the elementary or nuclear family. In the ten households formed by only husband and wife, either the

pair had recently married and did not yet have children, or they were elderly couples whose children had grown to adulthood and were married, with families of their own. It is essentially the elementary family that is the primary unit of household composition. Apart from the family's significance as the basis of household social structure, in Chamorro culture there is an emphasis on the elementary family that strongly patterns the relations of its members with persons outside this group. The manner in which this emphasis is expressed in inter-personal behavior will be considered in detail in the following sections.

#### CHAMORRO HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

<i>Composition</i>	<i>Frequency of occurrence</i>
Single individuals:	
Male.....	1
Female.....	4
Husband-wife.....	10
Husband-wife with one or more children.....	66
One parent with one or more children.....	7
Husband-wife with one or more children and with one or more grandparents.....	6
Husband-wife with parent of either.....	3
Husband-wife with grandchild.....	1
Grandmother-grandchild.....	1
Grandmother-mother-two children-mother's sister.....	1
Total.....	100

#### Household Routine

The household group is the medium through which the needs of shelter, food, and clothing are satisfied. As the Chamorro household is based essentially on the elementary family, the routine of household tasks tends to crystallize around the separate and combined activities of the father (*padre de familia*) and the mother (*madre de familia*).

It is the father's responsibility to provide the economic support of the family, through procuring a money income from wage-work or as a small entrepreneur, or through the sale of farm produce, though in 1950 the latter source of income was of minor importance in the island economy. It was of greater importance in that many families did obtain some subsistence income in the form of agricultural produce from their farms. The father is accordingly absent from the household during most of the day, and if he is a farmer

and his farm far removed from the village, he may be away from his family for several days at a time.

The father is further responsible for obtaining a house for his family. With the prevailing pattern of each family's having a house in the village and one on the farm, his task is two-fold, though the farmhouse is often the simplest of structures. If the family spends most of its time in the village, the village house will be the one which he attempts to make substantial. He is also responsible for its maintenance, particularly in obtaining materials necessary to keep it in repair. The house structure and that which is outside the house (*hijon guma*) are his particular concern.

Contrariwise, everything inside the house (*halom guma*) is the mother's responsibility. She must keep the house clean and in order and must perform other tasks that take place within the walls, such as caring for small children; washing, ironing, and mending clothes; dressmaking; and preparing food. When she accompanies her husband to the farm, she may help him feed the chickens and do other light farm work. Together with the father she attends to sick members of the family, though actually most of the burden falls on her. Both father and mother are concerned with the work involved in properly celebrating crisis rites within the family, particularly those at marriage and death and at family novenas.

Children of pre-school age stay with the mother through the day. If she visits a friend or relative in the afternoon, the young ones go along. Boys of school age are expected to assist the father and girls should assist the mother after school hours, on week-ends, and during vacations. Boys over school age are supposed to get wage-work or help their fathers on the farms. Girls who are out of school but unmarried work in stores or seek employment as school teachers, nurses, or clerical help, or in such other jobs as are open to them, although this outlet for girls is a post-war phenomenon initiated by the American administration. The old pattern required them to remain well chaperoned at home, assisting their mothers with household chores until marriage released them to set up their own households.

### Houses

Spanish influence resulted in the introduction of Spanish forms of architecture into Guam, but native house types continued to survive, particularly in the villages outside of Agaña, the capital. At the beginning of the present century, on Guam, Safford (1905,

pp. 123-124) noted that masonry houses with tile roofs, constructed on a Spanish pattern, co-existed with the older type, which were raised from the ground on heavy posts and were built with sides of bamboo and woven reeds, and with thatched roofs. The latter form of architecture suggested to a number of observers that it was derived from a prehistoric and early historic form in which the house posts were stone rather than wood, the ruins of these early houses being the *latte* sites common in the Marianas today (Fritz, 1904; Thompson, 1940).

The earlier house type was principally used when the Chamorros resettled Saipan. Fritz (1904, pp. 45 ff.) gives a detailed description of the common type characteristic of the early German period:

The houses of today have two rows of five wood pillars each, instead of stone columns. They support the roof, which consists of plaited coconut leaves, and the walls, which are made either of the same material or of plaited reeds. The floor of the house is attached to the pillars about one meter above the ground; it consists of planks made of betel wood or of boards and is also supported by five beams . . . . In the center of the long side, sometimes the gable side, there is a small veranda with a roof which is connected with the living room by a wooden step. Sometimes a similar structure, called *kahita*, is also found in back of the house . . . . There are four or six openings which serve as windows; they are closed by crudely fashioned shutters, made of the same material as the walls. These are attached to the walls with fiber, as are those of the two doors in front and back.

Going up the steps from the annex (*kahita*), one enters the living room . . . . The furniture consists of a table, a bench, two or three chairs, an oil lamp made of stone, and sometimes a sewing machine. German pictures of saints are hung on the walls. The bedrooms are to the right and left of the living room, separated from it by partitions made of plaited reeds or palm leaves. The bed consists of a mat spread on the floor; the pillow is stuffed with cotton. The wooden devices used to support the neck (*aluna*), are now being used less and less. Hammocks are also in use.

Fritz mentions that the houses of the wealthier families were constructed with walls and floors of Japanese pine. He also notes the occurrence of one-story houses modeled on an American style of architecture. This latter type was probably the result of diffusion from Guam, which, at the time of Fritz's observations, had recently come under American administration. Also in German times, corrugated iron roofs began to supplant the older palm thatch.

With the inauguration of Japanese administration on Saipan, other changes gradually occurred. Bowers (1950, pp. 189-192) devotes considerable space to the description of contemporary house types, and notes that about 1920 cement walls instead of wood began

to be used, a trend that corresponded with the developing shortage of lumber following the clearing of land for sugar cane and the depletion of timber trees, as the population rapidly increased through Japanese immigration.

During the Japanese period many differences arose in the size and quality of the living house and in the quantity and pretension of the interior furnishings. The houses of the wealthier families were always built of cement, usually of two stories, with the walls resting directly on the ground. Usually the first floor was a low-ceiling *bodega*, used for storage, and the living quarters were on the second floor. The houses of this type were often large, with as many as nine rooms. They were comfortably furnished with furniture largely imported from abroad. Some families owned several houses—all save one rented to the Japanese—but most of the Chamorros had much simpler living quarters, though the trend to cement construction was general. These differences in house construction reflected developing differentials in wealth and in social status within the Chamorro group. With the invasion of Saipan during World War II, material possessions, apart from the land, were completely destroyed, and the entire group was reduced to a minimum level of subsistence. By 1950, differences in housing were again beginning to take form, though only on a modest scale.

Contemporary Chamorro houses are of two vintages: small reconditioned cement houses in Chalan Kanoa that before the war housed Okinawan mill-workers and that were fortunately spared during the invasion; and houses in Chalan Kanoa and the satellite villages built after the war. By 1950, the construction of new houses had relieved the extremely cramped and crowded living conditions that existed in Chalan Kanoa until several years after the invasion. Also, at As Lito and San Antonio, quonset huts vacated by the departure of the military were being used, though it is doubtful how long this type of housing will last.

In Chalan Kanoa most of the cement houses into which Chamorro families have moved have wood additions built on to them to enlarge the living quarters. The newly constructed houses are all built of sawed lumber, generally with much use of plywood for walls and floors, the lumber having been salvaged from abandoned military installations. Corrugated iron roofs are used on all houses. Thanks to the navy, electricity is available and running water is piped to faucets in the several neighborhoods of each village. In addition, considerable use is made of drums and pre-war cement cisterns for

rain catchment, each household operating its own system of rain catchment. All houses are set close together on small lots, those of pre-war vintage in Chalan Kanoa being particularly close to one another.

Chamorro houses of today do not vary greatly in size, but they do exhibit differences in the degree of care with which they are maintained. Paint is difficult to obtain, but the better houses are well painted inside and out. Another difference is found in the interior furnishings, which in the better houses include easy chairs, tables, beds, curtains, floor linoleum, and occasionally kerosene stoves.

The designation of living spaces in and around the house is established by custom and is generally similar for all houses. An outline of these features, illustrated in figure 19, is given below:

Chamorro-built houses of today are raised on posts above the ground, with an open space (*papasatgi*) from one to three feet high beneath the house. A few are two-story, with the lower floor resting directly on the ground and with enclosed sides to form a storeroom (*bodega*). This latter type was more common before the war and can be seen in greater frequency at the Guamanian villages of Umatac and Merizo, which escaped war-time destruction. Before the war, the *bodega* was used to store the very hard and prized *ifil* wood, as well as other lumber, for seasoning. Here too were stored extra oxcart wheels, bicycles, tools, and occasionally dried or canned provisions.

Wooden steps (*guaot*) lead up to the front door (*entrada*), which generally opens into the central room of the house, the *sala*, which is always kept neat and clean. In the better houses, the *sala* is carefully painted and comfortably furnished, though it is usually rather painfully correct, like a nineteenth century American parlor, with a center table and stiff chairs around it and against the wall. On the *sala*, the housewife lavishes her limited means, with drapes on the windows if she can afford them. The floor is kept clean and polished, there are religious pictures on the walls, and a vase of real or artificial flowers is on the table. Before the war, a few families had small libraries consisting of German books such as Weber's *Weltgeschichte*, as well as others in Spanish, English, and Japanese. These families are again attempting to collect reference volumes, such as a set of an encyclopedia, to maintain a tradition of literacy. The late Gregorio Sablan, a prominent Chamorro who died in 1945, had the largest existing Spanish manuscript collection on Saipan

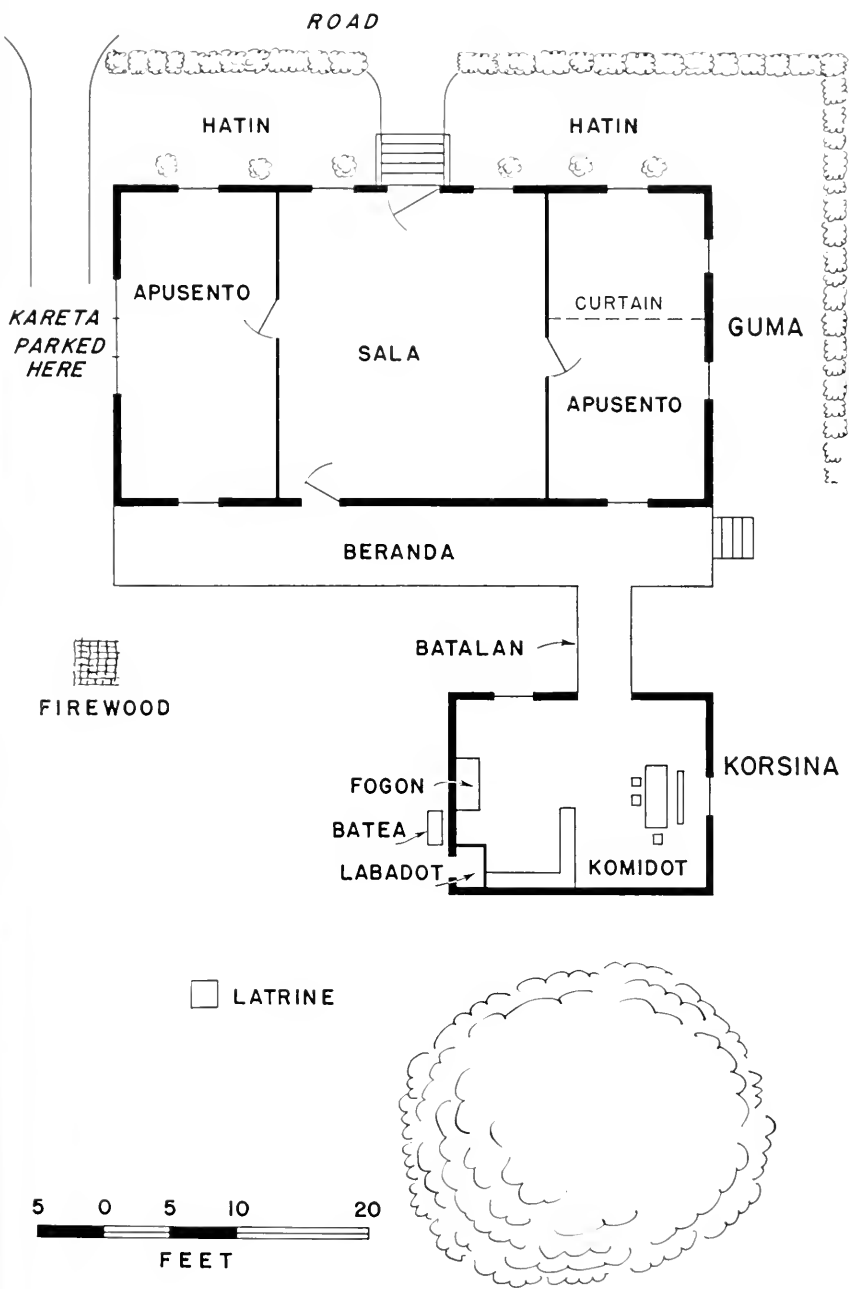


FIG. 19. Plan of Chamorro house, Saipan.

and was the local historian, though unfortunately his collection was destroyed during the invasion.

Off the *sala* are one or two bedrooms (*apusento*), depending on the size of the house. Beds have come into general use, particularly since the war, though it is still not uncommon for bedding to be spread on the floor. In the parents' *apusento* is a small table, called *la masan Juus* (God's table), on which is placed a statue of a saint or of Christ. Sometimes a shelf is used instead of the table, or a crucifix is placed on the wall. In addition, paper flowers and religious pictures are used to decorate this small shrine, before which the family prayers are said. Occasionally a house will have two shrines, one in the parents' *apusento* and one in the bedroom of older children.

In the passage on Chamorro houses quoted from Fritz (p. 220), the bedrooms are described as being merely partitioned off from the central room by plaited reeds or palm leaves. Today solid walls are used, but often a bedroom will be partitioned by a cloth curtain to give the occupants of the house more privacy.

At the back or sometimes at the side of the house is a covered veranda (*beranda*), though by no means all houses have this feature. The *kahita*, as described by Fritz, is rarer. From the *beranda* or from the rear door of the *sala*, a short passageway, sometimes raised above the ground and if so called a *batalan*, leads to a separate structure, the kitchen (*korsina*).

It is the Chamorro custom to separate the kitchen from the main house (*guma*), but today some houses have incorporated the kitchen under the roof of the main house. Virtually all the concrete pre-war houses in Chalan Kanoa have had kitchens added to them, as separate structures.

The separate kitchen (*korsina*) is a small one-room building. Whereas the main house is always painted if possible, less care is spent on the *korsina*, whose interior is often unpainted. A distinction is also made with respect to the floor. The floor of the living house is always clean and much care is spent in keeping it so. Shoes are always left at the door. On the other hand, it is permissible to wear shoes in the *korsina*.

Meals are eaten as well as cooked in the *korsina*, so it is divided into two areas: the *komidot*, for eating, and the space reserved for cooking. These two areas may be divided by cupboards or shelving, or, very occasionally, by a partition wall. In the *komidot* there is a



table, with benches or chairs. The central feature of the cooking space is the table-like cooking hearth (*fogon*); on top of the table is a bed of sand, on which is built the cook fire (*guafe*). There is no chimney, and the smoke escapes through holes left under the eaves.



FIG. 20. Piling firewood in the yard of a Chamorro house, Saipan.

Underneath the *fogon* or at one side there is a place (*sagan hajo*) reserved for firewood. The metate and mano, of concrete or stone, are set by the *fogon*, and near-by is a sink, either imported and made of metal, or made locally of concrete, for washing dishes. Pots, pans, and dishes, and food are placed on near-by shelves.

Part of the *korsina* or of the house may be walled off, or a place may be simply reserved, as a *labadot*, a place for washing of the person. Also, outside the *korsina*, every house has a *batea*, a shallow trough of wood or concrete, for washing clothes. The *batea* may be set up in the back yard in the shade of a tree. Freshly washed clothes are hung up on a line or are spread out flat on the grass, to dry.

By the side of the house there is sometimes an open shed, originally used to provide cover for an ox, with a place for parking the oxcart (*kareta*) near-by. On post-war Saipan, such a shed often shelters a jeep instead.

At the front of almost every Chamorro house are planted hibiscus, bougainvillia, and other shrubs, and the better-kept houses always have a small plot of ornamental plants, the *hatin*. The back yard is reserved for more utilitarian purposes, and here may be found a stack of firewood, or sometimes a small chicken pen, though chickens are usually kept at the farm rather than at the town house; also there is a latrine.

Associated with these features of architectural arrangement are established customs regarding use. The *sala*, or sitting room, is of course the place for entertaining visitors and is the show room of the house. During the day the housewife may sew or iron clothes in the *sala*, but after her tasks are done she is careful to put the room in order again. The *sala* may also be used as a sleeping room, with mattress, blankets, and pillows spread upon the floor at night. This removable bedding is called *kama*, and in the morning it is always folded and removed to an *apusento* until needed again at night. Before the war, a good many hammocks are said to have been used, but today they are mainly reserved for infants.

The *apusento* is a "respect" room. Politeness requires that one knock or call out and one does not enter the bedroom of another member of the family unannounced, particularly if the occupant is one of the opposite sex. Children of opposite sex above the age of puberty occupy separate bedrooms. Small children sleep in the same room as their parents. As Chamorro houses are small and families large, the arrangements may become rather involved as the children become older.

One family of two parents and five children occupied a two-bedroom house. The parents and two small children slept in the *sala*; two girls over puberty occupied one bedroom; and an adolescent son used the other bedroom.

In another case, a family of seven was divided as follows: One bedroom was curtained down the center, each part being used by a boy over sixteen. The other bedroom in the house was used by the parents and three children. One of the older boys went to Guam, so his place was taken by another son, aged fourteen, leaving the other bedroom to the parents and two children. One of the latter is a girl, who, when she reaches the age of thirteen or fourteen will have part of the parents' bedroom curtained off for her own use.

If a house has a veranda at back or rear, it becomes a principal work area for the housewife. Here too the family will visit and talk

in the evening, and neighboring housewives drop in to gossip. The same is true of the *korsina*, which is a favorite place for a comfortable chat on Sunday morning after mass.



FIG. 21. Neighbors chatting, Chalan Kanoa, Saipan.

Every house is equipped with shutters, essential during stormy weather. Mosquitoes are troublesome, wandering *taotaomonas* should be prudently excluded, and "peeping toms" discouraged, so shutters and doors are closed tightly at night regardless of the weather. Also, when the family goes to the farm for the day and the house is deserted, the shutters are closed and the doors locked.

The foregoing description applies to the Chamorro house in the village. The farmhouses (*lancos*) are much simpler, except those of a few families who live permanently at their farms. The *lanco* is unpainted, with a very few exceptions. Usually there is a separate

*korsina*, but the house often will have only one or two rooms, both used for sleeping. Furniture is at a minimum and bedding is usually spread on the floor at night. There is no separate *sala* as a rule. Most *lancos* are not particularly neat and the outside is usually littered. Seldom are ornamental shrubs planted. This difference is a reflection of the Chamorro attitude toward *lanco* and village house. The latter is related to social status and may become an object of display. It is there that one's "nice" possessions are kept. The *lanco*, on the other hand, is primarily a convenience in working a farm. It is first of all a place that provides shelter, and it is not a show place. At the same time, it is a place where everyone is free to relax in his oldest clothes.

## The Household and Its Food

### MEALS

During the Spanish and German periods, meals were eaten at four regular times during the day. According to Fritz (1904, p. 51) and Prowazek (1913, p. 48), breakfast (*amoca*) was served at about 6:00 A.M. and consisted of a hot drink—tea, cocoa, or coffee—and tortillas, wheat bread, zwieback, or *roskete*, a roll usually made of arrowroot flour. The mid-day meal (*nataloane*) consisted of rice, fish or meat, tortillas, and, according to season, yams, taro, breadfruit, and bananas. About 4:00 P.M. the family had *mirienda*, consisting merely of coffee, cocoa, or *aho*, a liquid made of coconut milk mixed with arrowroot starch and sugar. The evening meal (*sena*) was served between 7:00 and 8:00 P.M. and was very similar to the noon meal in the type and quantity of food consumed. Fritz remarked that the Chamorros ate comparatively well and though they liked to eat rice every day, they were content with locally produced substitutes.

Today, most Chamorros eat three meals a day and omit the afternoon *mirienda*, though a few still follow the old custom. Supper is accordingly eaten earlier, though here again there is considerable variation, and it may be served at any time from 6:00 to 8:00 P.M.

Meals in the home are prepared by the women. The men and children may procure, cut, and stack the firewood, but it is the women who prepare the family's food. Although in the household women are the cooks, men are not ignorant of cookery. On the farm they may have to prepare their own meals if their wives are not with them, while at home they will often do the cooking if their

wives are ill. In addition, several men are accomplished cooks and are employed to serve family parties. In the latter case, however, they are considered chefs (*korsineros*) possessing skills comparable to those of artisans such as carpenters, barbers, blacksmiths and the like.



FIG. 22. Chamorro housewife grinding corn on a Mexican type of metate (courtesy of Raymond M. Sato, Honolulu Academy of Arts).

#### FOOD SOURCES

These fall into two major classes: food produced on the island, and that imported. In the former category are foods derived from the domesticated plants grown in pre-Spanish times together with that derived from plants and animals introduced since the time of contact, principally by the Spanish.

The main types of food produced locally are corn (the principal local staple), taro, sweet potatoes, yams, breadfruit, arrowroot, cassava, tomatoes, beans, eggplant, cucumbers, onions, chili pepper, pineapple, coffee, mangoes, watermelons, and cantaloupe. Other foods are fish, which is taken from the sea; meat, procured from

cattle, pigs, and chickens; eggs; and a small number of land crabs and fruit bats caught in the bush. Tobacco is also grown. Although this does not complete the list, it gives an indication of the relative variety of local foods. They are by no means, however, of equal importance in the diet. Corn, taro, and sweet potatoes are much more important than yams, breadfruit, or cassava. Neither pineapple nor coffee is actually planted, as the people use Japanese plantings.

The imported foods include rice (the most significant), canned meat and fish, wheat flour, lard, and canned milk. Since the war, imported food has actually been the mainstay of the community. Although rice appears to have been grown in prehistoric times, it is not produced in any quantity on Saipan today.

#### CUISINE

The Chamorros, partly through long contact with Spain and Japan, have a sophisticated cuisine and many are excellent cooks, a point noted by Prowazek forty years ago. They have adopted many food plants from outside sources, and their cookery likewise reflects diffusion from foreign lands. Through the influence of Spain, tortillas, tamales, *ensaladas*, *balensiana* (Spanish rice), various forms of *brojas*, *admondigas* (fried meat balls), coffee, cocoa, and a variety of other dishes were incorporated into Chamorro cookery. German influence appears to be negligible, though perhaps Chamorro competence in baking wheat bread can be partly traced to this source. Japanese influence is much more marked. Methods of preparing rice, and the adoption of soy sauce, Japanese noodles, *misu* soup, *sashimi* (raw fish), *sukiaki*, *manjo* (a sweet rice cake), and tea are all due to contact with the Japanese. Also, although knives, forks, and spoons are the eating utensils commonly used, the Chamorros of Saipan shift with ease to chopsticks. When men are working on the farm and take a lunch with them, it usually consists of rice and a little meat sauce, which is eaten with chopsticks cut from the branch of a near-by tree.

The ancient foods are also prepared in a variety of ways. As in other parts of Micronesia, coconut cream is theoretically a prime ingredient for many dishes, though the destruction of the coconut palms on Saipan has largely removed this item from the diet. The starch foods—taro, breadfruit, yams—are combined in a variety of ways, often with fish, octopus, and crab, to form fried, baked, roasted, or boiled dishes and sauces. Particularly important is

*finedeni*, a hot sauce made largely from vinegar, soy sauce, and chili pepper.

The Chamorros divide their foods into several classes. Probably most important is the distinction between *aggon* and *toci*. The former category consists of starch foods, the latter of proteins. Rice, taro, cooked bananas, sweet potatoes, breadfruit, yams, tortillas, tamales, wheat bread, and rolls are all *aggon*. Fish, meat, crabs, fowl, and eggs are *toci*. A third important class is *na'jin nengkano* (the ingredients that generally go into sauces), which includes onions, garlic, tomatoes, soy sauce, pepper, and salt. The Chamorro concept of a noon or evening meal is one where the body of the meal consists of *aggon*, combined with a small amount of *toci*, usually in a sauce containing various ingredients of *na'jin nengkano*. Rice is considered virtually indispensable in the *aggon* class.

Other general classes are *fruta*, including all fruit eaten raw (mangoes, pineapple, bananas, melons, papayas, oranges, and sour-sop), and *postri*, including all cakes and sweet rolls. The recent appearance of ice cream has caused some difficulty in classification. Usually it is grouped with *postri* as a dessert, though some informants put it into the *fruta* category. *Gimen* includes milk, coffee, tea, and cocoa, while *manesca* includes alcoholic liquors. Except for beer, these latter are not permitted to be sold openly on the island. Beer imports, however, have been so large they have occasioned much concern to the administration and to the more thoughtful of the Chamorros. In 1950, the value of beer imports amounted to more than that of any other class of food commodity imported, including rice. Before the war the sale of any alcoholic beverage was prohibited to the Chamorros and Carolinians, though not to the Japanese. Today, freedom to buy beer is for many Chamorros a gain in social status for their group. Yet the dissipation of so much income on beer imports at a time when the island's economy is anything but healthy presents a difficult problem.

Food dishes are also classed according to their appropriateness for party foods as opposed to those used for ordinary daily fare. Chamorro parties are the secular concomitants of religious rites involving members of the family, and take place especially at baptism, marriage, death, and family novenas. On these occasions, a large amount of food must be prepared. Typically, the food dishes served at these times reflect Spanish influence. Rice, especially *balensiana* (Spanish rice, prepared with tomato), is considered a necessity, as well as one or preferably several meat dishes of beef, pork, or chicken.

White bread, tortillas, rolls, and *postrì* in the form of cake are also usually served, as well as *ensaladas*. Tea, sometimes cocoa, and today beer and Coca-Cola generally accompany the meal. Of the presumably older foods, taro and fish may be prepared in one form or another, but breadfruit, yams, and sweet potatoes seldom appear. Rice and meat, and usually beer, are the backbone of the meal. Thus, party foods reflect strongly the long period of contact. The daily fare is relatively simple, in contrast to the large total of food dishes in the Chamorro cuisine.

Food preferences are also associated with age differences. During Japanese times, rice became established as the preferred starch food for ordinary as well as party fare, to a considerable extent at the expense of tortillas made from locally grown corn. Today it is common to hear older women complain that young women do not know how to make tortillas properly nor do they wish to learn. When making tortillas for breakfast, Chamorro women rise at about 4:00 A.M. and tortilla-making is considered arduous. In the words of an informant:

In the morning the wife rises early and puts the water pot on the fire. If she is going to make tortillas, she takes the corn, which has been softened with lime (in this state called *eskomi*) and washes it and grinds it on the metate with her mano. After this first grind, she should grind it twice more (though most people today do not). Before putting the tortillas on the grill, the dough is spread on a banana leaf. On the grill the tortilla should be turned three times, though twice is enough for a soft tortilla, and four times is necessary for a hard one that keeps longer. One family of five will need four or five tortillas. To make this many will take the wife an hour and a half. They cannot be made without the wife's perspiring, for it is hard work.

The older people are not so wedded to a rice diet as young adults. Among the former, corn is preferred above all other starch foods, with taro probably next, followed by bananas, sweet potatoes, yams, cassava, and breadfruit, in that approximate order. Breadfruit is today seldom used by Chamorros, an indication of how far their diet pattern has diverged from the Oceanic norm.

A diet study was not undertaken during the course of my field work, but in order to make general observations regarding the degree to which the Chamorros rely on imported as opposed to locally produced food, the food consumption of two households was carefully checked for a one-week period during August, 1950. The data are given below. Household I was that of a man who is an intelligent farmer, who is attempting to establish a farm which he expects will eventually provide his main source of support. Household II is



that of a salaried, full-time employee of the school, who maintains a farm on which he works during week-ends. Both households are above average in the amount of food they produce.

	Household I (2 adults, 2 children)	Household II (4 adults, 3 children)
Imported food:		
Rice . . . . .	30 lbs.	50 lbs.
Canned meat . . . . .	2 cans	7 cans
Canned fish . . . . .	1 can	2 cans
Milk . . . . .	11 cans	7 cans
Crackers . . . . .	.....	1 box
Bread (baked locally). . . . .	4 loaves	.....
Macaroni . . . . .	.....	2 cans
Soup . . . . .	.....	2 cans
Coffee . . . . .	1 lb.	1 lb.
Sugar . . . . .	1 lb.	2 lbs.
Salt . . . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
Ketchup . . . . .	.....	1 bottle
Local food, purchased:		
Fresh fish . . . . .	10 lbs.	.....
Fresh meat . . . . .	4 lbs.	.....
Produced by household:		
Chickens . . . . .	2	.....
Beans . . . . .	about 5 lbs.	.....
Eggplant . . . . .	.....	40
Corn . . . . .	2 lbs.	enough for 10 tortillas
Onions . . . . .	6	12
Bananas (cooking) . . . . .	.....	10
Bananas (eating) . . . . .	1 bunch	1 bunch
Cucumbers . . . . .	6	.....
Mangoes . . . . .	6	.....

The data given in the preceding table, together with the material presented in Chapter XI, are sufficient to establish the fact of the Chamorros' reliance on imported foodstuffs at the time of the field study. An important corollary is that Chamorro food habits are adjusted primarily to imported food. This adaptation is certainly one factor in the Chamorro's desire for wage labor and the reluctance displayed by many to attempt to procure a cash income through farming at a time when there is no organized export market for farm products. As far as the organization of household activities is concerned, this fact is also relevant in that it acts as a force impelling the father of the family to seek wage labor and small entrepreneurial jobs. In farm production, the family is a co-operating production unit, whereas in wage labor the father's productive work, in the

economic sense, takes place outside of the sphere of household activities.

In connection with the subject of food, the observations of Joseph and Murray (1951) are relevant. In their medical examination of Chamorro school children on Saipan, they found that nearly half of their sample group exhibited symptoms of malnutrition, with conditions suggestive of deficiency in the A, D, and B-complex vitamins. Although, as they further note, any statements regarding malnutrition must take into account the fact that most of the population suffers from infestation of intestinal parasites, their conclusions indicate that a large section of the Chamorros do not have an adequate diet. At the time of their study (1947) the community's total food supply was also by no means assured and dependable, and anxiety over food was commonly expressed. In 1950, the situation was if anything aggravated, for economic uncertainty was more acute. Undoubtedly, this fact increased the current anxieties of the Chamorro group. It is perhaps doubtful that malnutrition, the lack of an assured food supply, and the consequent raising of the level of anxiety to which this lack contributed have affected the patterns of relations within the household and family in the ordinary activity of daily life. However, in the following sections, the importance of crisis rites in the total kinship structure will be examined and emphasized. In the secular aspects of these rites, the consumption of food plays a major role, and the abundance and quality of the food are directly linked to the proper performance of these rites and to a family's status in the community. Without an assured food supply, the obtaining of the food necessary for the celebration of various crisis rites was in 1950 becoming of great concern to affected families, a fact that must be kept in mind in the following discussion of family structure.

### Illness and Health

Within the household, parents share in the responsibility for the care of ill children and assist each other when either is sick. However, much of the actual responsibility for procuring aid at times of sickness devolves upon the mother. It is generally she who takes small children to the dispensary when they are unwell. She in turn has often a greater knowledge of the simple folk medicines used as supplementary aids in curing. Most of the Chamorro *suruhana* (herbalists) are women. Women's responsibilities in preparing the household food, in caring for small children, in assisting other

women at times of pregnancy and birth make it natural for them to assume a large share of responsibility in the prevention of sickness and in aiding the ill.

The Chamorros readily accept the practices of western medicine. Understandable exceptions occur occasionally in tubercular patients who are loath to be isolated in the hospital's tuberculosis ward, where terminal tuberculosis is all too often their fate. But there is widely accepted use made of both the in- and out-patient services available through the dispensary, particularly in the matter of maternity care.

Supplementing though not competing with the accepted western medicine is a body of folk medicine of long standing in Chamorro culture. This latter corpus of Chamorro belief and practice refers to concepts regarding disease and to beliefs regarding its prevention and cure. Whereas virtually all western medicine is a matter of esoteric knowledge, put into practice by specialists and primarily outside the range of Chamorro culture, many of the folk concepts are a matter of common knowledge. Furthermore, all of the Chamorro folk medicine is handed down within the family, which is the mechanism by which it is transmitted from generation to generation. Thus folk medicine is intimately related to family and household.

The following brief section on Chamorro medicine is not intended as a thorough treatment in any sense, but is included to indicate some of the principal features of the surviving system of thought and practice of local folk medicine.

#### CONCEPTS OF DISEASE: HOT AND COLD

Widespread in Hispanic America is the concept of "hot" and "cold" qualities, as these are applied to the natural make-up of individual persons, to foods, to kinds of disease, and to kinds of medicines used in the curing of disease. Foster (1951, p. 321) notes that this concept is at least as old as the humoral pathology of Hippocrates and Galen and by way of the Arabs was passed on to Spain, where it became a part of the relatively esoteric knowledge of the learned class but did not establish itself among the people as a whole. Foster further notes that from Spain it was transferred to Hispanic America, where the concept became one of the most widespread of popular beliefs. Undoubtedly the agency of dissemination was the missionary priest, in whom most of contemporary learning reposed. This same concept was further diffused to the Marianas, in a form virtually identical with that prevailing in Spanish America. Undoubtedly in the Marianas too the agents of dissemination were

the priests, who also introduced such basic cultural elements as the growing of corn and other food plants previously unknown in the islands.

Among the Chamorros of Saipan this concept of hot and cold still exists. The younger people are not as well acquainted with its ramifications as older adults, but it is still an important part of Chamorro culture. As elucidated by Chamorros, the concept is first of all connected with the nature of an individual. In theory, every person tends by nature to be a bit "hot" or a bit "cold." As a matter of practice, a person's natural tendencies in this line are usually strongly influenced and probably largely determined by the opinion of his parents and elders when he is a child. If a child breaks out in a rash, or is rosy in color, he has a predilection toward "hotness." If his eyes are sad, or his skin is cold and damp to the touch, these are symptoms of "coldness." As one might expect in a tropical climate, most people tend toward the "hot" side. A first rule of good health is to maintain an even balance between "hotness" and "coldness." Thus, foods are classed according to "hot" and "cold," terms which do not bear any relation to temperature. A person who tends to be "hot" should therefore not eat too much "hot" food, for an imbalance may result and he may become ill. The same is true for avoiding too much "cold" food in case he has tendencies toward "coldness." An expectant mother, for instance, particularly avoids too much "hot" food and continues to be careful for about a month after the birth of her child, for at this time she is in a condition of delicate balance that can be easily disturbed. The period of pregnancy through the time of birth and until a mother resumes her normal routine is one when the dangers of imbalance, particularly toward "hotness," are especially to be avoided, both for her own sake and for that of her child.

All foods are not rigorously classed as hot or cold. Rice and bread, for instance, are neither hot nor cold, and recently introduced foods are often not within the classification. For another group of foods, informants would disagree or be in doubt. But there is a remaining group on which general agreement exists. This latter class of foods is listed below.

#### *"Hot" Foods*

Animal fat, particularly pork fat.

Soup made from boiling meat of large chickens. Meat *per se* is not necessarily hot, but in boiling or stewing a large chicken, for instance—particularly an old chicken—the "hotness" is boiled out into the soup.

Sugar cane  
 Cantaloupe  
 Coconut cream and oil  
*Finedeni*, made principally from vinegar or soy sauce and chili pepper.  
 Coffee  
 Chocolate  
*Kamachili*  
 Alcoholic liquors  
 Eggs  
 Garlic  
 Tobacco

“Cold” Foods

Chamorros use the adjective “*fresco*” (“cool”) rather than “*maninghing*” (“cold”) in classifying hot and cold foods. But they describe a person as being “cold” (“*minaninghing na taotao*”) not “cool.”

Corn  
 Fruit, except cantaloupe  
 Yams  
 Tea  
*Tuba* (coconut palm toddy)  
*Ensaladas*  
 Avocado

It sometimes happens that a person gets out of balance and becomes ill, usually from over-eating foods in either the hot or the cold category. Thus if a person has a disposition to “hotness” and eats too much hot food, he may suffer headaches, fever, or diarrhea. Thereupon he should take a “cold” medicine to restore the balance. On the other hand, if “coldness,” which is also associated with chronic fatigue, is responsible for illness, such as pain in the joints, the person affected should take a “hot” medicine. Medicines themselves are consequently part of the concept and a group of them are classed as “hot” (“*amot maípe*”) or “cold” (“*amot fresco*”).

There is also the feeling that in so restoring a person to health, the excess “hotness” or “coldness” is physically ejected from the body. In the case of chicken pox, several informants expressed the belief that the breaking out of pox on the body was an indication that the “hotness” was coming out. One man said that after taking a medicine for “hotness,” he breathed deeply and could feel the “hotness” being ejected from his lungs. Pneumonia (*pasmu*) tends to be associated with “hotness,” which is imprisoned within the body.

It should also be noted that some symptoms, such as diarrhea, may be either “hot” or “cold,” depending on the circumstances surrounding the illness. In such case it is often necessary to ask a *suruhana* to diagnose which quality is causing the difficulty.

The concept of "hot" or "cold," therefore, is well established in Chamorro culture. Two other traits common in Hispanic America, the belief that winds cause sickness, and the evil eye, do not seem to be present in the Marianas.

#### OTHER CONCEPTS OF DISEASE, AND BELIEFS REGARDING THERAPY

Thus far, two primary causes of disease as formulated in Chamorro thought have been mentioned: (1) Disposition of persons to be either "hot" or "cold" and the resulting sickness from an imbalance in either the "hot" or "cold" direction; (2) supernatural causes of disease as expressed by the malevolent acts of the *taotaomona*, who then cause the person to become ill. There is some overlap of the categories. Bad breath, disliked by the *taotaomona*, is considered a symptom of "hotness."

In addition to causing symptoms of hysteria, the *taotaomona* may cause fever (*chetnot maipe*, "hot sickness"). As a remedy, *amot fresco* ("cool" medicine) is taken internally (see Thompson, 1947, p. 202), another manifestation of the "hot-cold" dichotomy. *Taotaomona* are also particularly dangerous for pregnant and menstruating women, and for infants and small children. In the case of the latter, loss of appetite, continual crying, and general debility may be the result of an attack by a *taotaomona*.

Other Chamorro categories of disease-causation fall within the realm of natural causes. They include injury by mechanical means—burns, abrasions, bruises, and fractures—and by forms of microorganisms. The latter category is very imperfectly understood, and the range of information very great. *Ascaris* infects most of the population and all recognize the adult *Ascaris* as a disease-causing agent. The life cycle of *Ascaris*, however, and its relation to methods of transmission of the parasite from person to person are known and understood by only a half-dozen people, all associated with the administration medical department. It is thought by some Chamorros to be caused by over-eating the *toci* class of food, or over-eating "hot" foods. The reasons for vaccination against smallpox and inoculations for typhoid are probably as well understood by the Chamorros as by most Americans. On the whole, however, the Chamorros are comparable to many folk peoples who are in the process of adoption of modern medical practice, which itself is constantly changing. Acceptance of modern methods of therapy is general. But beliefs regarding the causes of disease have been much less affected and show the greatest time lag.

An intermediate level of disease concepts is found in the classification of disease itself. Chamorro has words for particular symptoms such as fever, ulcerating lesions of the skin, burns, and fractures. The language also classifies particular diseases with which these symptoms are associated. This latter classification partly reflects the old folk medicine, whereby different diseases may be classed together according to supposed cause, or where somewhat similar symptoms lead to the classing together of different diseases, such as leprosy and yaws. The latter practice may be partially due to acquaintance with Western medicine, for less than fifty years ago yaws, syphilis, and leprosy were often confused by American and German physicians in the Marianas. Diseases are also classed according to whether they are caused by *taotaomona*, or according to "hotness" and "coldness."

There are, therefore, at least three levels on which change is taking place in regard to disease and its treatment. The first level is that of therapy, where there is general acceptance of western medicine and where the folk medical arts are primarily supplementary (except for psychiatric treatment of *taotaomona*-caused hysterias, where the folk methods are still primary). The second and intermediate level refers to the classification of disease itself. At this level Chamorro concepts reflect both new and old beliefs and show less rapid change. The third level is that of concepts regarding the causes of disease. At this level old folk beliefs are strongest and show least disposition to change. Although the concept of "hotness" and "coldness" is itself an introduced belief, it lies now at this level.

These differential levels of change are primary to an understanding of the reasons folk medicine continues to exist. The folk therapy is tied directly to concepts of disease causation and has its *raison d'être* in its intimate relation to this level of thought.

Local Chamorro medicine is of two kinds: preventive and therapeutic. Preventive medicine may consist of various objects used to ward off sickness and death, particularly that caused by the *taotaomona*. In this category are night lights, which the patients in the hospital wards keep burning to repel *taotaomona*; strong-smelling objects such as garlic and onions, used by women to ward off *taotaomona*; and objects associated with Catholicism, such as the leather belts worn by members of the Correa, rosaries, and medals of the saints (cf. Thompson, 1947, pp. 201-202).

In addition, there are medicines taken as prophylactic measures. A common one is termed *laborio*. This is a plant preparation made

of the leaf of a plant called *hagon abas*, a small plant called *maigulalu*, and the bark of two trees, *lasas annonas* and *lasos baninalo*. The preparation is made with hot water, put into a tub, and used by women as a sitz bath. The *laborio* is used primarily by older women who have had children. It is a general prophylactic, as well as a specific one for urogenitary difficulties.

The therapeutic medicines are plant preparations taken internally. For certain types of illness, such as pains in the joints and muscular pains of the back, massage is also used. The medicines utilized comprise a long pharmacopeia of plants, a number of the more important of which are mentioned in Thompson's account (1947, pp. 198-203). In connection with the "hot-cold" dichotomy, certain medicines are "hot," others "cold." Thus, the leaves of the *kamachili* (*Pithecolobium dulce*), a plant called *granada*, one called *luluhut*, and tobacco are all "hot" medicines. "Cold" medicines include *koroson galak*, *hagon tagua*, *tomates chaka*, *a'gaka*, *halea nanasu*, and *gaggap* (*Tacca pinnatifida*).

For minor ailments, every housewife knows a number of simple plant medicines, but for more serious illness it may be necessary to call one of the *suruhanas*. These are for the most part elderly women, all of whom are very secretive about their knowledge. The *suruhana* diagnoses the ailment and generally sends one of the family to collect the plants which she needs, though she reserves certain trade secrets by supplying some of the medicines herself. Part of the secrecy that the *suruhanas* preserve about their calling is probably due to fear of ridicule, but it may also be due to the slow decline of the profession itself. Most of the Carolinian medicine men are also very secretive.

In Micronesia, a magical spell is very often associated with a plant medicine in order to make it effective. Perhaps because of Catholic teaching, the spell does not seem to be associated with the plant medicines of the *suruhana*. This difference I was never able to check by direct observation, though it was often pointed out as a contrast between Carolinian and Chamorro medicine by informants. Instead of a spell, however, a short prayer, which is a functional substitute for a spell, is often said when the medicine is taken.

The *suruhana* is generally given a small gift, usually of food, at the time her services are used.



## XVII. System of Kinship Terminology

We turn now to the culturally patterned relationships among kinfolk. These relationships taken as an organized whole are here referred to as the kinship system. As the relationships of kinship grow out of parenthood and marriage, and, as among the Chamorros, the elementary family unit in which parenthood and marriage take place is of particular social significance, a consideration of relationships within this family group will occupy a large place in the following analysis. We shall first consider the terminology of kinship as a mechanism for grouping and classifying relatives.

### Referential Terms

The kinship terms in referential use among the Chamorros of Saipan are given in the list below, and the application of these terms is shown on the accompanying charts (figs. 23, 24). The Chamorro terms for Saipan are the same as those previously collected by Thompson for Guam (Thompson, 1945, pp. 14-15). In actual use, the terms are joined with a possessive suffix. In order to illustrate common usage, in the following list two forms of kinship term are given, the root word and its form when combined with the possessive suffix for the first person, singular.

#### CHAMORRO KINSHIP TERMS (REFERENTIAL)

father	<i>tata</i>	<i>ta'taho</i>
mother	<i>nana</i>	<i>na'naho</i>
uncle	<i>tio</i>	<i>ti'aho</i>
aunt	<i>tia</i>	<i>ti'aho</i>
grandfather	<i>guelo</i>	<i>gue'loko</i>
grandmother	<i>guela</i>	<i>gue'lako</i>
sibling	<i>celo</i>	<i>ce'luko<sup>1</sup></i>
child	<i>patgon</i>	<i>pat'goaho</i>
son	<i>lahe</i>	<i>la'hiho</i>
daughter	<i>haga</i>	<i>ha'gaho</i>
cousin (male)	<i>primo</i>	<i>pri'muho</i>
cousin (female)	<i>prima</i>	<i>pri'maho</i>
nephew	<i>sobriño</i>	<i>sobrin'aho</i>

<sup>1</sup> Used with a qualifying term to indicate sex.

niece	<i>sobrina</i>	<i>sobrin'aho</i>
grandchild (male)	<i>nieto</i>	<i>nie'tuho</i>
grandchild (female)	<i>nieta</i>	<i>nie'taho</i>
stepfather	<i>pairasto</i>	<i>pairas'toko</i>
stepmother	<i>mairasta</i>	<i>mairas'tako</i>
spouse	<i>asagua</i>	<i>asa'guaho</i>
brother-in-law	<i>cuñado</i>	<i>cuñia'duho</i>
sister-in-law	<i>cuñada</i>	<i>cuñia'daho</i>
father-in-law	<i>suegro</i>	<i>sue'groko</i>
mother-in-law	<i>suegra</i>	<i>sue'grako</i>
son-in-law	<i>jetno</i>	<i>jet'noko</i>
daughter-in-law	<i>jetna</i>	<i>jet'nako</i>
godfather	<i>padlino</i>	<i>padli'nuho</i>
godmother	<i>madlina</i>	<i>madli'naho</i>
godson	<i>hado</i>	<i>ha'duho</i>
goddaughter	<i>hada</i>	<i>ha'daho</i>
<i>compadre</i>	<i>compaire</i>	<i>compai'leko</i>
<i>comadre</i>	<i>comaire</i>	<i>comai'leko</i>

These terms are all derived from Spanish, except for the terms for "son" ("laha"), "daughter" ("haga"), "child" ("patgon"), "sibling" ("celo"), and "spouse" ("asagua"). The borrowed Spanish terms have replaced the old Chamorro terms in the other categories of relationship.

In daily speech, personal names are used as much if not more than kinship terms for referential use, except in the case of "father" and "mother," where the kinship terms are always preferred. In the use of a personal name a prefix "si" ("si Juan," "si Maria") is always included. It is very bad form not to do so. For older persons, the prefix "tun" for males and "tan" for females is often substituted for "si" as a mark of respect for age.

A very important aspect of the relationship between persons of different ages is reflected in the kinship terminology by the use of a collective term for "parents" ("saina"). The plural form ("manñaina") is extended to include, besides the parents, the siblings of father and mother, the grandparents, often the siblings of the grandparents, and the godparents. Theoretically, even the first cousins of grandparents and parents may be included, though actually they usually fall outside the range of social obligations associated with the term. A married man or woman also includes the spouse's *manñaina* with his own, so that on marriage a person greatly increases the number of persons in this category.

There are also a few variations on the pattern of terminology as shown on the accompanying charts. Occasionally a grandchild will refer to a grandfather as "tatan dangkulo" ("big father") and to a grandmother as "nanan dangkulo" ("big mother"). Likewise, I

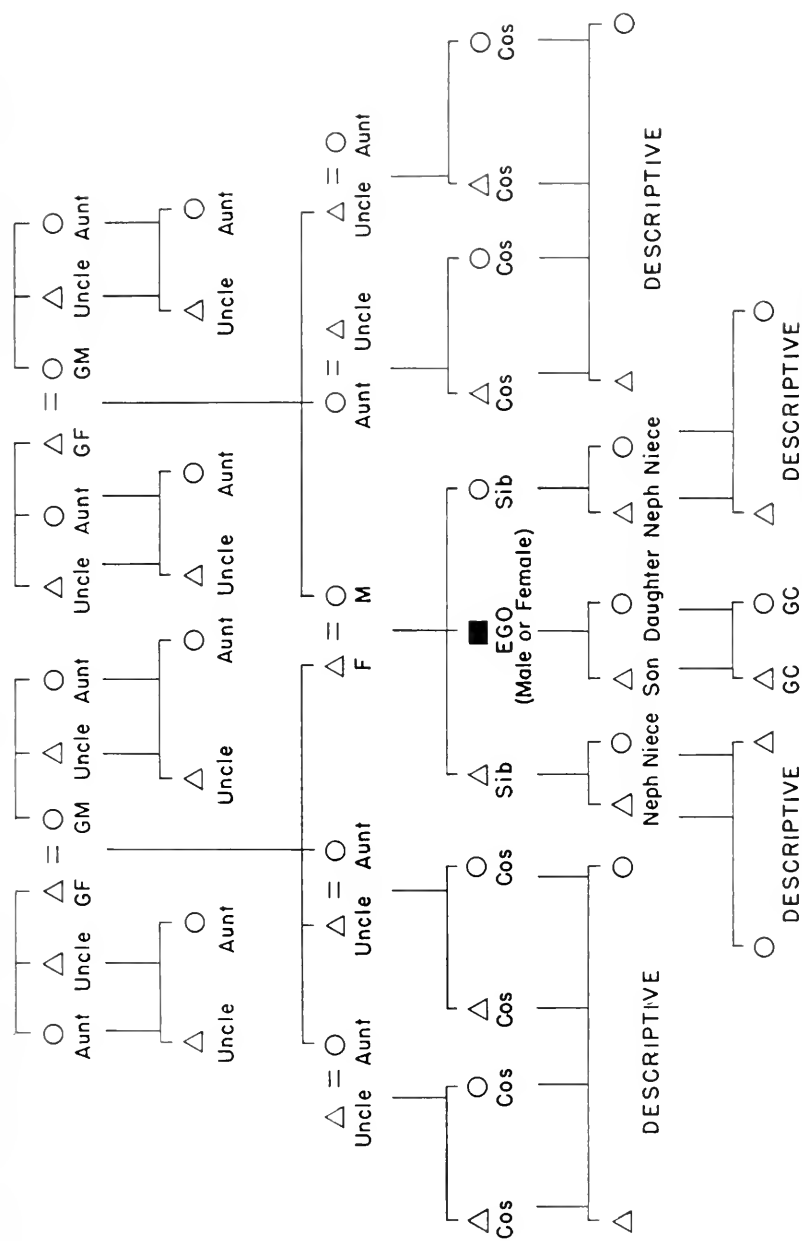


FIG. 23. Chamorro terminological structure, showing consanguine terms used in reference. Ego is male or female. Abbreviations on the chart are as follows: *F*—father; *M*—mother; *GF*—grandfather; *GM*—grandmother; *Sib*—sibling; *Cos*—cousin; *Neph*—nephew; *GC*—grandchild. For the Chamorro terms, see page 241.

have heard a cousin's children referred to by the son and daughter terms ("*la'hiho*" and "*ha'gaho*"), though the usage is not general.

The application of the kinship terms as shown on the charts (figs. 23, 24) is the same regardless of the sex of ego. In the extension of terms, the system is bilateral in that terms are extended as far on the paternal as on the maternal side. Likewise, neither side is favored in the remembrance of genealogies. The Chamorros on the whole are not concerned with remembering genealogies far back in either the maternal or paternal lines of ancestry; more often than not a man or woman cannot trace a genealogy back of the grandparental generation. It must be remembered in this connection that Saipan was populated in relatively recent times from Guam, so that the migration itself may have acted to remove concern with genealogy.

### Vocative Terms

As in referential use, personal names instead of kinship terms are much used in direct address among relatives. Names are generally used among siblings, often among cousins, and for relatives of descending generations in preference to kinship terms. For relatives of ascending generations other than the parents, personal names are also used more than kinship terms, but are often joined with the respect prefix, *tun* or *tan*. The use of names and of vocative kinship terms is explained in the following list.

For siblings of either sex: personal names are used; brothers among themselves may occasionally use "*lahe*" ("man," "son").

For cousins: personal names are generally used among children; among adults either personal names or "*primo*" and "*prima*."

For parents: "*tata*" ("father") and "*nana*" ("mother") are employed. The terms are the same as those in referential use, but in the vocative term the accent shifts to the second syllable. Actually, the familiar forms "*ta*" and "*na*" predominate. Occasionally the referential "*ta'taho*" and "*na'naho*" may be used vocatively. I have also heard the father's name used, preceded by the possessive form of the father word ("*tatan*").

For parents' siblings: Personal names are generally used, prefixed with the respect form "*tun*" for males and "*tan*" for females. Interestingly enough, occasionally the terms for "father" and "mother" ("*tata*" and "*nana*") are used for siblings of the parents. Also, the possessive form of the familiar word for "father" ("*tan*") may

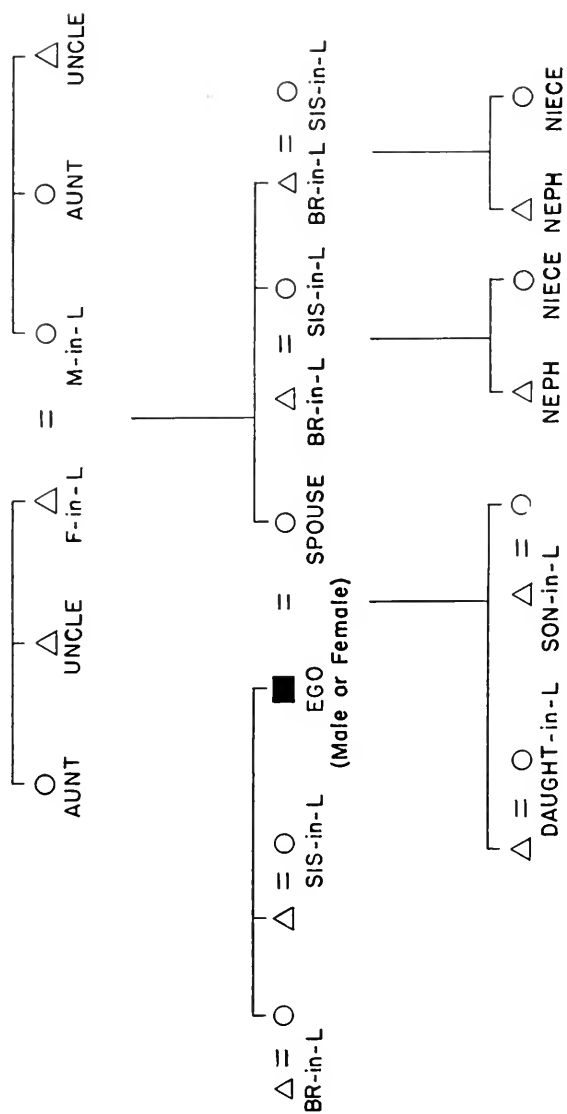


FIG. 24. Chamorro terminological structure, showing affinal terms used in reference. Ego is male or female. Abbreviations on the chart are as follows: *Br-in-L*=brother-in-law; *Sis-in-L*=sister-in-law; *F-in-L*=father-in-law; *M-in-L*=mother-in-law; *Son-in-L*=son-in-law; *Daught-in-L*=daughter-in-law; *Neph*=nephew. For the Chamorro terms, see page 241.

be prefixed to the personal name and used for uncles who are "close" to the family and who are frequently on the family scene. The possessive form of the familiar term for "mother" ("*nan*") may be similarly used for aunts. Thus there is a classificatory element in the vocative terminology for parents' siblings that is not present in the referential terminology.

For grandparents: In direct address, the referential terms "*guelo*" and "*guela*" are seldom if ever used; during the period of field work I never heard them used vocatively. The most usual manner of address for a grandfather is to use his name with a respect prefix. This prefix is the possessive form of the father term, either "*tatan*" or "*tan*." Thus, vocative usage for "father" and for "grandfather" is often the same. For the grandfather the word "*bihu*" ("old man") may be substituted for "*tan*" or "*tatan*" as a respect prefix. The grandmother's name is used, preceded by a respect form, usually "*biha*" (possessive of "*bihan*"), meaning "old woman." Likewise "*tatanbihu*" ("old father") for the grandfather and "*nananbiha*" ("old mother") for the grandmother may often be heard.

For grandparents' siblings: The personal name is correct, preceded by the honorific "*tun*" for males and "*tan*" for females. This usage of "*tun*" and "*tan*" as respect prefixes may be extended in direct address to all elderly people.

For own children: Personal names, usually nicknames, are mostly used. The kinship terms "*la'hiho*," or "*'iho*" ("my son") and "*ha'gaho*," or "*'aho*" ("my daughter") may also be used. I have heard the kinship term followed by the name.

For nephews and nieces: Personal names are most frequently employed. If a kinship term is used, which it is very frequently, it is the son and daughter term, another reflection of a classificatory element in the vocative terminology. This same usage holds for the children of cousins.

For grandchildren: The personal name is used for grandchildren as well as for other related children of the second descending generation.

For the spouse: The personal name is used.

For the spouse's brother: The referential kin term, "*cuñiao*," or "*ñiao*" (derived from "*cuñiado*") is most frequently heard, although sometimes the personal name is used. This is true regardless of sex of ego.

For the spouse's sister: Here the personal name is more frequently used; occasionally I heard the kinship term, "*ñiao*."

For cousin's spouse: Brother-in-law and sister-in-law usage is also extended to the spouses of cousins.

For parents-in-law: Usage is the same as for parents.

For godparents: The godfather is usually called "*nino*" (shortening of "*padlino*," derived from Spanish), and the godmother is "*nina*."

For godchildren: The godson is "*la'hiho*" or "*iho*," after the referential term for "son"; the goddaughter is "*ha'gaho*," or "*aho*," after the referential term for "daughter." Personal names may also be used.

For *compadre*: In formal usage "*compaire*" is correct; on most occasions the word is shortened to "*paire*." Names may also be used, though "*paire*" is more frequent.

For *comadre*: Usage parallels that for *compadre*; on formal occasions, "*comaire*" (informally "*maire*").

The most significant differences between the referential and vocative terminology are the relative extent to which Spanish terms have penetrated the system, and the presence in the vocative but not in the referential terminology of a trace of a classificatory, generation type principle. In the vocative terminology, Spanish terms for certain classes of relatives are not noticeably present, a principal example being the use of "*guelo*" and "*guela*" for grandparents in the referential terminology but not in the vocative. The second point is illustrated by the occasional use in the vocative system of parental terms for uncles and aunts, and of son and daughter terms for the children of siblings and cousins, a feature absent from the referential terminology. This usage may be a retention from the pre-contact Chamorro system but the source cannot be determined on the basis of available documentary materials. It is normally a feature of generation type systems of nomenclature. In view of the pronounced culture change among the Chamorros since the time of first Spanish contact, it is doubtful that the usage is a survival, particularly in view of the fact that vocative terminology elsewhere seems more susceptible to change than referential terminology (Spoehr, 1947, 1949). Rather, it might be viewed as an expression of a certain inadequacy of "fit" of the adopted Spanish terminology to the behavioral system, the latter having in it certain elements favoring the classing together of parents with parents' siblings, and of own children with nephews and nieces. This tendency finds further verbal expression in the extension of the referential term "*manñaina*" to include parents and parents' siblings, associated

with a distinct respect relation to all persons in this category, who as a unit are particularly important at times of crisis rites.

### Extension of Kinship Terms

It has already been noted that the Saipan Chamorros as a whole are not particularly preoccupied with remembering genealogies. On the other hand, for a group in which the conjugal tie and the elementary family are particularly stressed and where unilineal exogamous descent groups are absent, the Chamorros extend relatively widely the limits of their kinship terminology. The lateral extension of terms is effected largely by using the known relationship of members of the first ascending generation. Thus two men will recognize each other as being second cousins because their fathers were known to be first cousins; seldom will they bother to attempt to trace the actual link through additional ascending generations.

Among the Saipan Chamorros, there are two distinct aspects of terminological range: (1) assumed range and (2) observed range. If one discusses the subject of kinship range in a general way with a Chamorro, more likely than not he will say that kinship terms are applied to third cousins, that they are included in the extension of terms, but that they mark the outer limits of the system, fourth cousins being too far removed to be referred to by a kinship term, though logically the system can be extended indefinitely. This limit marks the assumed terminological range. Closer investigation will then reveal that the terminology is seldom if ever applied beyond second cousins. It is doubtful that any person knows all his third cousins; they are not of particular importance. The observed range is here indicated. Thus the assumed terminological range is wider than the observed range. For purposes of structural analysis, the observed range has greater significance because it is more closely linked to behavior among relatives.

In the determination of observed range, cousin and sibling relationships—that is, consanguineal relationships within the same generation—are of particular importance. It is this category of relationships which is principally relied upon to include or exclude individuals within the range of a person's kin term extensions. Cousins are classed as "*primo gi primet grado*," "*primo gi secundo grado*," and "*primo gi terced grado*" and the genealogical distinctions that separate these classes are known and remembered by all adults.



## XVIII. Formation, Functioning, and Dissolution of the Family

Marriage is the prerequisite to the formation of the family; the family becomes a functioning unit with the birth of children and their rearing to adulthood; and with the marriage of the children and the establishment of their own families, a group of linked families results. The death of the original parental pair dissolves the ancestral family. In the following sections, the data are organized according to this sequence of events. Much of the description concerns crisis rites, considered not for their relevance in the relation of culture to personality formation, but rather for their significance in delineating the structure of family organization and of the kinship system as a whole.

### Marriage

*Courtship.*—As a result of Spanish influence, a system of strict chaperonage of unmarried girls was introduced among the Chamorros and was still a strong tradition among the families of higher status during Japanese times on Saipan. As a result, courtship activities were narrowly channelled, and a young man admired from a distance the girl in whom he was interested. Though the Chamorro community was actually not large, and young people might have known each other from childhood, there was little opportunity for boys and girls of marriageable age to be alone together. Girls were not supposed to go unaccompanied about the town of Garapan, and they were by custom expected to remain at home assisting their mothers with household tasks. Many middle-aged Chamorro husbands and wives told me they had barely spoken to each other in the years immediately prior to their betrothal.

Although the strict supervision of unmarried girls is still looked upon with favor by many of the more conservative families, relationships, at present, between unmarried young men and women are considerably more informal. They meet casually in stores, at baptismal and wedding parties, at family novenas, in government ad-

ministration offices, and on the street. It is not inappropriate for a young man to call on a girl at her family's house in the evening. On the other hand there is no "dating," and there are no parties primarily for young people. Unmarried girls do not go out alone, particularly at night, if their parents can help it. At wedding parties, young unmarried men and women seldom meet and talk in casual fashion; there is often a certain stiffness and self-consciousness in their relationship, though they may have gone through school together and have known one another for years. Although the pattern is not that of a rigid social separation of the unmarried under the constant surveillance of their parents and elders, the controls of custom over social contacts between young men and women are still rather rigid. This is partly related to the inhibitions surrounding the subject of sex, about which the Chamorros tend to be very reticent.

In courtship it is the man who takes the initiative and by small attentions attempts to elicit an occasional smile and a friendly word from the girl of his choice. Beyond this, the proper girl seldom goes. As one might expect, there are a number of approved ways of helping a young man in his suit.

Juan was in love with Maria and having a hard time making headway. So a married friend of his asked him to be his *compadre* at the time his second child was born, and the friend's wife asked Maria to be *comadre*. Juan and Maria went alone to the church for the baptism, Maria carrying the baby and Juan an umbrella. In this simple way they shared together an important occasion, for the parents of the child do not go to the church when their child is baptized.

*Marriage Prohibitions.*—In 1917 the Catholic Code of Canon Law was changed to allow the marriage of third cousins without special dispensation. Some older Chamorro adults, however, are still opposed to third cousin marriage, an attitude undoubtedly related to the former position of the church. Actually, there are a few second cousin marriages in the village. These are church-sanctioned and were performed with the full consent of the resident priest, who as a missionary is allowed considerable discretion by the church authorities in performing marriages. By and large, most of the community would not favor a second cousin marriage, though they would tend to be guided by the decision of the priest. One second cousin marriage aroused great opposition from the family of the bride, who disapproved highly of her marrying a relative of such close degree. The bride insisted, however, and the priest gave his consent, so that the marriage was performed.

The Chamorros follow church teaching in that they regard the Catholic marriage ceremony as an essential sanction for the existence of a marriage. Legal provisions for civil marriage exist but they had not been taken advantage of by anyone on Saipan in the post-war



FIG. 25. Chamorro matron, Chalan Kanoa, Saipan.

period, although one civil marriage had been performed on Rota. A few common-law marriages have existed in the past and at least one was an established union on Saipan in 1950, though the Chamorros do not regard such unions as marriages. The offspring of common law marriages are considered to be illegitimate.

*Asking for a Girl's Hand.*—When a boy has finally decided to ask a girl to marry him, he goes to the girl's parents or he asks his own parents to call on them. The Chamorros do not use a special "go-between." "The parents are enough of a go-between," one in-

formant explained. If the boy's own parents go first, the girl's father will say, "Send the young man over, so that we can talk to him." With the ice thus broken, the young man goes to the house of the girl's parents.

He knocks on the door, and says "Good evening."

"Come in," says the *padre de familia*. "Who sent you?" (Boys and unmarried young men are often sent with messages.)

The young man enters and sits down stiffly. "Do not be angry, *señor*. I have come because I wish to marry your daughter."

The girl is not present. Her father assumes a judicious manner. "Do you love her?" he asks.

"Yes, very much."

"Can you support her?" continues the father.

"Yes, indeed," says the young man.

The discussion continues politely in this vein. Finally, the girl's father says, "We shall ask our daughter and consider the matter. It would be well if you returned at a later time—in two weeks." So the young man leaves.

At the appointed time, the suitor returns to the house of the girl's parents. In the meantime they, particularly the mother, have discussed the question with the girl. If they dislike the boy and feel he is unsuitable they will attempt to dissuade her, but if the girl stands her ground they usually agree. So if the word is favorable, the parents then give the boy his waiting period, the *plaso*. Usually today it is six months, often even three, but most married men of middle age waited at least a year. Sometimes the girl's parents may say, "Find or build a house first. Then we shall see."

If the girl's parents do not like the boy or wish to hinder the marriage in the hope that arrangements will be broken off, they make the waiting period longer. In this connection, a number of instances were recorded of virtually pathological resistance of fathers to the marriage of their daughters. In one case this apparently has doomed an attractive woman to spinsterhood, as she is now nearly middle-aged and no longer has suitors; in another case it was only the stubbornness of the girl, whose previous suitors had been chased away by her father, that led to the marriage; in a third case, the girl eloped.

During the period of engagement, the young man calls regularly on the girl. He is particularly respectful to her parents and to the girl's *manñaina*. He helps at odd jobs and generally makes himself useful. Finally, the engagement period draws to a close. The boy's parents pay a formal call on the girl's parents to seal the understanding. Together they speak to the padre. Then comes the presentation of the *aog*, and the publishing of the banns in church,

announced by the padre on three successive Sundays before the wedding. Thus the *plaso* is terminated. This termination is called "*gutus finiho*" ("cut the words").

*The Aog.*—A Chamorro marriage involves an intricate pattern of reciprocal obligations among relatives of the groom, among those of the bride, and between these two groups. The *aog* is an expression of these relationships.

Shortly before the banns are published, the groom's nuclear family formally notifies the groom's *manñaina* of the forthcoming marriage. The bride's family does the same for her *manñaina*. Today, the *manñaina* comprise essentially a man's or woman's parents, the parents' siblings, the grandparents, and the godparents. Although they all know about the engagement of bride and groom, they must receive formal notification. The godparents are notified by the bride or groom personally, or, in the case of the former's godfather, by her parents. The other *manñaina* are notified by a family representative, often a sibling of the bride or groom.

Following this notification, it is usual for the *manñaina* of the groom to meet on a succeeding evening at the house of the groom's parents. A parallel procedure is followed on the bride's side. At the meetings, the work of the wedding day is organized. Also, the groom's relatives discuss who is to take the *aog* to the bride's house.

The *aog* is a gift made by the groom's family to that of the bride. By custom, it consists of food to be used at the bride's wedding banquet. The *aog* is provided by the parents of the groom, though uncles or aunts of the groom may contribute to it. A typical *aog* traditionally consists of a live pig, a 100-pound sack of rice, a 100-pound sack of flour, 5 10 pounds of lard, 10 liters of vinegar, and 10 pounds of beans. Sometimes a large stack of firewood, cut by the groom, and other food items are added.

On the Saturday night before the banns are to be published, this gift is loaded on an oxcart, or today more often a jeep, and taken to the house of the bride's parents by the groom's relatives. Included in the party will be the siblings of the groom and sometimes his first cousins. The party may be led by a brother of the father or of the mother, preferably an older brother, for thus more respect is shown. Sometimes a sibling of the father and one of the mother, with their spouses, will lead the party, thereby representing both sides of the groom's family. The groom himself does not go. When the party approaches the bride's house, it is traditional for one of the group to give the pig a sharp kick. The pig squeals loudly. This

is the signal for the neighbors to rush to peek through their windows to see the *aog*. If it is large, credit is reflected directly on the groom's family, and indirectly on the bride's. "It is a competition," said one Chamorro.

The party unloads the *aog* and the spokesman knocks on the door and presents the gift to the bride's parents.

"Excuse us," he says, "we have come about the case of the two young people that are planning to be married."

"Good. We appreciate very much your coming," the girl's parents will reply.

After a short time spent in conversation, the party leaves.

Formerly, about three days before the wedding, the *masa* was taken over to the bride's house by the groom's relatives. This gift consisted of gold jewelry (necklace, ear-rings, and bracelet), the bride's wedding clothes, and a sum of money. Today, more often only money—properly at least \$100, sometimes \$500—is given, or money and jewelry, and the gift is presented with the *aog*. The money is used by the bride's parents for her wedding clothes. Actually, some families buy the wedding clothes for their daughters, and, if they are fairly well off, may present the money gift to the bride and groom to give them a start on married life.

*Approach of the Wedding Day.*—The final three weeks is a period of much planning and increasing activity on the part of the families of bride and groom. The publishing of the banns in church on three successive Sundays serves to announce the forthcoming marriage to the community. No further invitation is sent to the *manñaina*, but friends and distant relatives are invited to the wedding festivities.

On the day before the wedding there is great activity at the houses of the families of bride and groom, for on this day much of the preparation for the wedding festivities takes place. The groom's family sends two or three young men who are relatives of the groom, often cousins, or younger brothers, to the house of the bride. These young men are called "*taotao i nobio*" ("people of the groom"). Their job is to do heavy work—cut firewood, haul water, move tables and chairs and the like. They are helpful and do a good job because it reflects adversely on the groom's family if they do not. The bride's family does not send helpers to the groom's home. If the groom's parents slaughter a bull for the wedding, they send a hind leg to the bride's house.

In the morning of this same day, the groom and his godfather go to the bride's house and ask her parents if it is agreeable with

them to have a *kumplimento*. If it is, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the groom, his godparents, his parents and his other *man-ñaina* and younger relatives go to the house of the bride. They take with them betel nut and tobacco, soft drinks, and often beer. The bride's family and relatives are assembled in the *sala* when they arrive, but the bride is in another room. The boy's godfather presents the things they have brought to the bride's family. The groom is then seated on a chair in the center of the room. His godfather calls, "Where is the bride? Let her be seated with the groom." The bride then makes her entrance and takes her place next to the groom. The refreshments brought by the groom's family are served, and later the bride's family reciprocates by serving similar refreshments. Sometimes the groom's family hires musicians to play. Before leaving, the groom's godfather tells the girl's parents that he and the groom will call for the bride in the morning.

The *kumplimento* in the old days did not last much longer than an hour. Today, it is often omitted entirely, the reason given being that it is too much work, for the house of the bride must be cleaned again before the activities of the next day. When the *kumplimento* is held, it usually lasts longer than before and seems to be less staid. To judge from informants' accounts, it used to be rather a stiff and formal occasion.

By tradition, following the *kumplimento* a *fandango*, with music and dancing, was held at the bride's house for her family, relatives, and friends, and another was held at the groom's house for his family, relatives, and friends (see Thompson, 1947). Today this is omitted, and the term "*fandango*" on Saipan is generally used for the festivities held on the wedding day rather than on the night before.

In the afternoon of the day before the wedding, the godfather of the groom and the godmother of the bride escort their respective charges to the church for confession. The groom and his godfather then go to the groom's house for supper; the bride and her godmother go to the bride's house for this meal. It is customary for the godparents to provide cakes, coffee, chocolate, cream, and sugar for these suppers.

*Wedding Day.*—At about four o'clock in the morning, the godfather of the groom goes to the latter's house, and the two proceed to the house of the bride, where the bride and her godmother await them. The bride, the groom, the bride's godmother, and the groom's godfather then go to the church, arriving just before early mass.

The wedding ceremony, conducted in accordance with Roman Catholic ritual, then takes place in conjunction with the mass.

Only girls who are members of the sodality (*ihas de Maria*) may be married on Saturday. All others are married on a week-day, generally Thursday. When a marriage takes place on Saturday, the church is usually well filled. Chamorros enjoy watching a bride walk down the aisle quite as much as do Westerners.

After mass, the newlyweds walk to the house of the bride, followed by their *manñaina*.

This Saturday, there were two weddings, both held at the same time. After mass, in the light of the early dawn, each party walked homewards in two quaint processions, the bride and groom leading, followed by the *manñaina* and by the younger relatives, all strung out in an uneven line. One wedding party was enlivened by three young men playing guitars as they walked behind the bride and groom. The bride also was attended by two bridesmaids and two flower girls, a decidedly post-war innovation.

When the wedding party reaches the house of the bride, she and the groom then kiss the hand (*'ninge*) of all the *manñaina* present. Thereafter they go to pay their respects to any of the bride's *manñaina* who are ill or too old to attend the wedding. After this, they return to the bride's house for a wedding breakfast. The parents of the groom and his *manñaina* are invited to the breakfast. The meal is served at a long table. At the head of the table sit the bride and groom. Next to the bride sits her godmother; the godfather of the groom sits next to his godson. Often there are so many people that at least two seatings are necessary. In this case, usually the groom's *manñaina* are served at the first sitting. The guests are served by the women relatives of the bride, usually sisters and cousins, who generally eat after the others have been served.

After the wedding breakfast, though sometimes before, the bride and groom go to pay their respects to the groom's *manñaina* who could not come to the wedding, after which the couple returns to the house of the bride. About noon, a messenger arrives from the groom's family and invites them to the noon meal. The bride changes her wedding gown for a colored silk dress, removes her white veil, and puts a flower in her hair. The bride and groom, together with the girl's *manñaina*, then repair to the groom's house, where a second repast is served. Here, too, the diners are served at a long table placed on the house veranda or in the yard, with the bride and groom at the head of the table. The servers are in this case the women relatives of the groom.



For each of these meals there is an appropriate menu. For both, a great effort is made to serve only the best food. In the morning, at the house of the bride, the menu consists of a variety of cakes, bread, and pastry, with an abundance of coffee. At a small party this is enough, but at larger ones several beef, pork, and chicken dishes will be added, together with plain rice. The noon meal at



FIG. 26. Preparing food for a Chamorro wedding party, Chalan Kanoa.

the groom's house is more elaborate. Soup, beef, pork, chicken, *ensaladas*, two kinds of rice (plain, and the Spanish *balensiana*), tortillas, bread, cake, lemonade, cocoa, and beer will all be served.

Both the wedding breakfast and the noon meal are sumptuous and leisurely. The emphasis of the occasion is placed on an abundance of well-cooked food. After eating, the guests talk and drink beer and soft drinks. Sometimes there is music, supplied by two or three musicians playing guitars, or by a gramophone. Seldom, however, is there dancing. After a time the guests thank their hosts and depart.

In the afternoon or evening, the bride and groom must call on all the *manñaina* of each. If they do not finish their calls they continue on the succeeding night. The first to be called upon are the godparents, who at this time give them advice for a happy married life.

The first night of married life is usually spent at the house of the bride's parents. Bride and groom may continue to stay here for several days, and then either live in their own house or remain at the house of the groom's parents until they have a house of their own. During the latter part of the Japanese period, the island was so crowded and housing so difficult to obtain that patrilocal marriage seems to have been common. The Chamorro ideal, however, is for each married couple to have its own house.

*Organization of the Guput.*—In Chamorro, a festive party or occasion is called a “*guput*.” A baptismal party is a “*guput bautismo*,” a birthday party is a “*guput compliamos*,” a family novena is celebrated with a “*guput nobena*,” and the secular festivity on the wedding day is a “*guput fandango*.” All kinds of *guput* require organization, but the *guput fandango* is the largest and requires the most complicated organization of all.

There are actually two *guput fandango*, one given by the groom's family and one by the bride's. The organization of each is similar and the events leading up to each parallel one another. However, the financial burden is much heavier on the groom's family, for it must supply the *aog* to the bride's family, and this gift in itself greatly lightens the responsibilities of the latter in providing sufficient food.

For the smooth running of a Chamorro *guput fandango* there are two key roles that must be performed effectively: those of the *mentu halom guma* (“supervisor within the house”) and the *mentu halom korsina* (“supervisor within the kitchen”). In addition, there is occasionally a *mentu sanhijon* (“outside supervisor”). The *mentu halom guma* and the *mentu halom korsina*, who are usually chosen by the bride's or the groom's mother, are always women and by convention usually sisters of the bride's or the groom's father, or sometimes sisters of the two mothers. These two *mentu* have the direct responsibility for seeing that the party runs smoothly.

The *mentu halom guma* receives the guests; often receives and records the *chenchuli* (money gifts) brought to the family by the guests; sees that the long banquet table is properly set and that there are chairs enough; decides when the food should be served; and oversees the serving. In addition, she sends gifts of food to *manñaina* who are unable to attend, and takes care of the multitude of small details that inevitably arise.

The *mentu halom korsina* is responsible for the kitchen. She does not do the cooking, for by custom a cook, preferably a man,

is hired for the day. The cook tells the *mentu halom korsina* the food items he needs. She then sends a person to the store with the money from the parents of the bride or groom to cover such expenses. As a result, she controls the disbursements. In addition, she or the *mentu halom guma* notes the relatives who have come to help and those who bring gifts of food.

After the festivities of the day are over, the two *mentu* sit down with the parents to settle the accounts of the party. The cash disbursements are listed, the gifts of *chenchuli* recorded, and the gifts of food recounted, if not listed. This closes the affair for the *mentu*.

The size of a *guput fandango* varies with the wealth of the family. Friends as well as relatives attend these occasions; at a large party several hundred people may be present, at a modest party forty or fifty.

Maria F.'s *guput fandango* was the largest of the year. Over two hundred guests attended, and \$450 was received from them as *chenchuli*. It took three days of hard work to get ready for the party. In this case, there were three *mentu halom guma*—two sisters of Maria's mother and one sister of her father—and two *mentu halom korsina*—one sister of Maria's mother and one of her father.

*Ajudo, Chenchuli, and Ika.*—A characteristic feature of all Chamorro *guput fandango* is a system of gift-giving. A gift of food or service is called "*ajudo*." A gift of money is called "*chenchuli*," except when the occasion is a funeral, when it is properly called "*ika*," though younger Chamorros often use the word "*chenchuli*" for both gifts.

Every Chamorro *guput fandango* involves the giving of food, services, or money by relatives of the bride to her family, and by relatives of the groom to his. The brothers and sisters of the parents have a strong obligation to give *ajudo* at this time. If a brother of the father or mother of the groom gives a pig for the *aog*, his obligation is fulfilled. Otherwise he gives *chenchuli*, the size of which depends on what he can afford. Likewise, it is the obligation of married siblings of bride and groom to help to the limits of their economic circumstances with gifts to their parents. If they are unmarried, they need not contribute formally, for *ajudo* and *chenchuli* are gifts from elementary family units, not from individuals within a single family.

A grandparent or a grandparent's sibling may make a gift, but it is not considered really necessary, for service is due the aged, not

expected of them. Married first cousins of the bride or groom should also give a small gift of *chenchuli*, two or three dollars. Married second cousins of the bride or groom and first cousins of their parents do not today always give *chenchuli*, but by convention they give one or two dollars. Third cousins of the bride and groom may

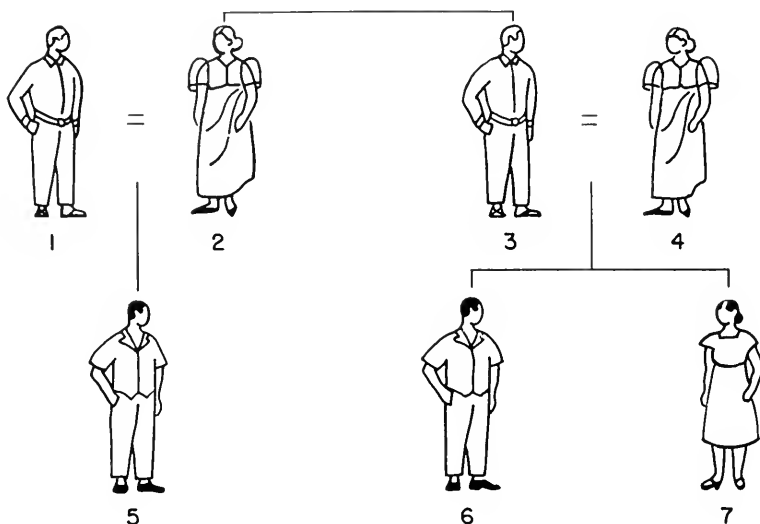


FIG. 27. Diagram of Chamorro reciprocal obligations. When 5 is married, 3 and 4 as a unit will give *ajudo* and *chenchuli* to 1 and 2 as a unit. If 6 and 7 are unmarried, they will be expected to give *ajudo* to 1 and 2 as part of the services rendered by the family of 3, 4, 6, and 7. 6 and 7 are not obligated to give *chenchuli*, because 3 and 4 have already contributed. 6 and 7 may if they wish give a little *chenchuli* directly to 5, who will repay it when 6 and 7 marry. If 6 and 7 are already married, they should give *chenchuli*, and preferably *ajudo* too, to 1 and 2; in this case, the *chenchuli* will be presented by the spouses of 6 and 7 to emphasize the fact that the gift is from a family unit.

not attend the wedding *guput*; if they do they will give a dollar or two, as will invited friends.

In addition, *ajudo* in the form of service is given at the *fandango*. This is particularly true of women relatives, who help in the kitchen or serve. On the day of the wedding, it is virtually obligatory for at least one representative of the families of the parents' siblings to help. Married women who are first cousins of the bride or groom will also often help or will send one of the members of their families. Women who are helping in the kitchen almost invariably bring some small gift of food.

These donations of *ajudo* and *chenchuli* are made, it should be emphasized, not to the bride or the groom but to their families, and in particular to the parents. Furthermore, these gifts come from related family units or from non-related but friendly family units, not from individuals, usually. A specific illustration is given in the accompanying chart (fig. 27).

Another characteristic of *ajudo* and *chenchuli* is that any specific gift is but one event in a chain of reciprocal gift-giving. The parents of bride and groom record, in writing, after the *guput fandango*, the amounts of *chenchuli* that have been received. It is their obligation to return this *chenchuli* to the donors when the latter give a wedding party, a baptismal party, a novena party, or experience a death. In the last-named case, the return gift ("*ika*") evens a *chenchuli* account. Thus, sooner or later, *chenchuli* given is cancelled by *chenchuli* returned. Among close relatives, the return gift need not be equal. There is a nice adjustment according to ability to pay. A man would not expect much *chenchuli* at his son's wedding from a poor brother. He would appreciate whatever the brother felt he could afford to give. On the other hand, a man might be hurt if a wealthy brother gave only a very small gift of *chenchuli*; and he would be indignant if his brother was a wastrel, spending money on beer, and on women other than his wife, and then gave only an insignificant gift of *chenchuli*, for the brother's actions and his small gift would be an insult to family solidarity.

Though leeway is allowed in return gifts of *chenchuli* to close relatives, in the case of more distant relatives, such as the varying degrees of cousins, and of friends, the reciprocity is usually exact.

When *ajudo* in the form of service is given, it too is returned at a future date, though a written record is not kept. Here too, though the return in hours of work need not be exact, the Chamorros have a sensitive eye to reciprocity of service. If a woman comes to help at a *guput fandango* but spends most of her time sitting in the kitchen, drinking coffee, and gossiping, she will not get much *ajudo* in return. Also, it should be noted that work is given for work, *chenchuli* for *chenchuli*. The two are kept separate and I learned of no instance where one was substituted for the other in the return gift.

Finally, *ajudo* and *chenchuli* at the time of marriage are given only within the circle of relatives of the bride's family on one hand and of the groom's on the other, and are not made between these two constellations of relatives. *Ajudo*, *chenchuli*, and *ika* are material expressions of reciprocity among family units already linked by con-

sanguineal ties. It is probably a very old aspect of Chamorro social organization and may well date from pre-contact times.

*Obligations of Attendance.*—At marriage, obligations between elementary families linked by relationship ties also include the obligation to attend the *guput fandango*. Siblings of the parents, siblings of the bride and groom, and also their first cousins must either attend personally, or, if they cannot and are married, must send a family representative from their own elementary family groups. The sending of family representatives is characteristically Chamorro and occurs not only at the *guput fandango*, but also at other kinds of *guput*, at ceremonials at the time of death, and on all other occasions in which the elementary family is obligated to participate. Even in local elections a family may feel it has fulfilled its responsibility by sending one representative to cast his vote.

A usual term for the family representative is "*kuentan i familia.*" On arriving at a *guput fandango*, the family representative always is careful to tell his or her host that he has come "for the family" or "for his father and mother," if the representative is an unmarried child. In this way the attendance of the family as a unit is recognized. Thus, attendance, like *chenchuli* and *ajudo*, emphasizes the fact that reciprocity units are elementary families.

Non-attendance at a *guput fandango* results in hurt feelings. Any *manñaina* who have been notified but who do not come or who fail to send a representative are sure to incur the hard feelings of the parents; the latter will take this as a distinct offense. On the other hand, non-attendance is also used as a means of showing disapproval of a marriage. If any of the *manñaina* strongly disapprove of the marriage of a nephew or niece, they will use this method of indicating their disapproval, realizing nevertheless that friction will be sure to result.

Carmen M.'s marriage to José was marked by the absence of at least one-third of her *manñaina*. José is from the Philippines and is a merchant sailor aboard a ship that only rarely touches at Saipan. The *manñaina* felt that his absence augured ill for a stable marriage. They strongly disapproved and for this reason absented themselves.

*The Expense of a Fandango.*—The actual cost of a *fandango* varies with the degree of Saipan's prosperity. When government employment was high after the war, an expensive *fandango* might cost the groom's family at least a thousand dollars. Even in 1950, a pretentious wedding would cost as much. An estimate of the expenses would be approximately as follows:

<i>Aog</i> : jewelry for the bride; her wedding dress and accessories; food gifts to the bride's family . . . . .	\$600.00
<i>Kumplimento</i> (often omitted): tobacco, betel, soft drinks, beer . . . . .	30.00
Groom's <i>guput fandango</i> . . . . .	350.00
Groom's clothes . . . . .	45.00
Gift to the padre . . . . .	5.00
	\$1,030.00

Whatever the cost of a *fandango*, it is almost always more than the groom and his parents can afford. Gifts of *chenchuli* and *ajudo* assuredly help them a great deal but do not defray the total expense by any means. The remainder must be raised by the groom and his parents through earnings or by borrowing from those better off.

The elaborateness associated with a Chamorro *guput fandango* is based on the reciprocal nature of the wedding arrangements between the family and kinfolk of the groom on one hand and the family and kinfolk of the bride on the other, and the relation of this reciprocity to social status. A wedding is the occasion for one side to show proper respect to the other and at the same time enhance its own prestige and status. A baptismal party is much easier to simplify—and during 1950 many were less elaborate—because only one set of related families is involved. But in a marriage there are two such sets and a much larger number of people are affected. It is much more a public affair and is the occasion of display. The size and elaborateness of a *guput fandango* enhance a family's prestige, and its social status is accordingly buttressed. For this reason, the appeals of non-Chamorros, from Governor Fritz onward, to simplify not only wedding parties but also parties held on the occasions of large family novenas have had little effect on Saipan's status-conscious Chamorro group.

In connection with the payment of debts and the raising of cash for *fandangos* and other family expenses, the Chamorros have a custom called "*uñon*," particularly used in reference to the slaughtering of livestock. A bull, steer, cow, or pig represents more meat than one family can eat in the limited time that fresh meat will keep without refrigeration in the tropics. Also, a cow, bull, or pig represents considerable wealth. So a man who wishes to slaughter an animal asks each member of a small group of relatives and friends to buy a share of the meat at an agreed price. The Chamorros are very fond of fresh meat, and there is usually not enough to supply the demand in the stores; so a man seldom experiences difficulty in getting others to *uñon* an animal with him.

On the day agreed upon for the slaughtering, several of the persons entering into the *uñon* agreement gather at the house of the owner of the animal. After the animal has been slaughtered, and the meat butchered and hung up, the host serves a meal to the workers. Then the meat is delivered and the cash collected.

About two months ago, Joaquin's son was married. After providing for the *aog* and the *fandango*, Joaquin was over two hundred dollars in debt. All he had left was a very large bull. So he made an *uñon*, got as high a price as he could for the meat, and was able to pay off his debts.

In proposing an *uñon*, a man will always ask a core of relatives. If he asks a brother or a cousin he always uses the second person plural to indicate that he is asking the brother and his wife as a unit. The man usually replies that he will ask his wife. The next day an agreement is reached and the date set for the slaughtering.

I observed a typical case of the *uñon* of a young bull. The owner of the animal asked these people, in the order listed: his parents, his wife's parents, three married brothers and sisters, his mother's mother, a favorite uncle of his wife's (his wife's mother's brother), his father's two brothers, his wife's father's brother, his wife's father's sister, his father's first cousin, and seven friends, three of whom are neighbors.

The owner's father, his brother, his brother-in-law, his father's two brothers and his father's first cousin helped to slaughter the bull. After the slaughtering, the owner and his wife served a meal to these men. The meat was then delivered; 45 to 50 cents a pound was collected for the meat and 15 cents a pound for bones only. The owner also gave small gifts of meat to his parents and parents-in-law, to his mother's mother, and to his married brothers and sisters, about seven dollars' worth in all. This meat was in addition to the amount purchased by these relatives.

I was told that in later Japanese times the *uñon* for slaughtering animals became mainly a social occasion, as the Japanese butchers bid up the prices of beef and pork so high that the Chamorros who wanted to make money sold directly to the butchers.

The term "*uñon*" is also used for other co-operative ventures. Thus, a man died, leaving his family very poorly off and without a proper house. His married brothers and sisters all contributed enough to buy a small house for the widow and her family. This, too, was called "*uñon*."

*Parental Resistance to Marriage.*—The sequence of events outlined above is the general marriage pattern for Saipan. However, out of



some thirty marriages that were intensively investigated during the year, at least half were marked by some initial disapproval of the groom by the girl's parents and four of these marriages by extreme resistance to the marriage on the part of her parents. That the reason for this resistance is economic, in that the family is losing a productive member, seems very doubtful. A similar pattern of parental resistance did not occur among the parents of boys, an important fact in that the elementary family is strongly emphasized, bilateral kinship ties are strong, and a boy after marriage shifts his primary economic responsibilities from his family of orientation to that of his family of procreation. A complex of factors is undoubtedly responsible. One of these may well stem from the fact that the parents are the guardians of a daughter's sexual inviolability before marriage, and this responsibility is coupled with an emphasis on restrictions surrounding relations between the unmarried and an emphasis on sexual inhibitions as such. I suspect that in this cultural tradition the prospect of marriage gives rise to internal psychological conflict, particularly among those fathers labelled as "very conservative" by the community, and that this is an important factor in parental resistance. However, a degree of parental resistance seems to be an expected part of the culture pattern. Foster (1948, p. 246) describes similar forms of parental resistance, particularly on the part of the father, for Tzintzuntzan. Among the Chamorros this feature is undoubtedly due to Spanish influence.

On Saipan today the waiting period is shorter than it used to be. Three months is often the duration, instead of the six months or longer of former times. A number of elderly women commented adversely on this trend by stating that the waiting period is now too short, for "it makes girls too cheap," or "marriage is now too easy; the couple should really know they want each other." A case of parental resistance is given below.

Joaquin fell in love with Maria and wished to marry her. He pressed his suit, for he knew that Maria was willing to marry him. He could not, however, obtain a definite answer from Maria's parents. They did not like him, nor did a number of Maria's *manñaina*. They circulated ugly rumors about him—that he had an illegitimate child, that he was afraid to work, and that he was fickle and unsuitable for their daughter. Finally, Joaquin went to the girl's parents and asked them how long he was to wait. "Your waiting period will last until the girl's death," Maria's father answered.

"I shall remember that statement as long as I live," Joaquin said afterwards. "I rose and left. I was embarrassed and hurt and angry. That night I went to Maria's house after everyone was asleep. I succeeded in awakening Maria. I took her from that house to the house of Maria's uncle.

This uncle's wife was the first cousin of my mother, and both she and her husband were friendly to me. About 4:00 A.M. someone in Maria's house awoke and found that she had gone. There was a big uproar. One of the boys was sent to see if she had gone to early mass. But she was not there."

This created a curious situation. Maria's uncle refused to turn her out, and as long as she was under his protection, her father could not force her return. The next morning, Joaquin's mother went to Maria's parents. Maria's grandmother was there and said many ugly things about Joaquin, in order to make Joaquin's mother angry. But Joaquin's mother remained calm and finally convinced the parents to agree to the marriage. At the *guput fandango*, however, many of Maria's *manñaina* refused to come. However, Joaquin and Maria went to 'ninge at the houses of these *manñaina* after the wedding. "Maria was now mine," said Joaquin. "There was nothing these *manñaina* could do about it. I wished to make friends with them, so we went to pay our respects. By custom, they could not refuse to receive us."

The breach between Joaquin, Maria's parents, and these *manñaina* has slowly healed, particularly as some of the latter have since died. Maria's parents now fully accept Joaquin as their son-in-law.

Regardless of how Chamorro parental resistance to marriage is to be interpreted, in cases where the boy and girl are stubborn enough they win out in the end. Only one instance of elopement was recorded, but it does show that elopement exists as a final solution to an *impasse*. Traditional Chamorro marriage customs do not favor the weak-hearted, but the strong-minded eventually get by the barriers of even the most discouraging parents.

*Structural Significance of Chamorro Marriage.*—Apart from being a necessary condition for the establishment of the family, Chamorro marriage provides important data for understanding the range of the kinship system. At the time of marriage the kinship system, viewed as a system of reciprocal obligations and rights, expands to its full extent. This expansion is effected through the gifts of food and services and money to the elementary families of bride and groom by other families linked to them by ties of relationship, as well as by obligations of attendance at the *guput fandango*. Because these gifts are merely one step in a series of reciprocal gift-giving events, the range of the system thereby is established through time. Furthermore, the reciprocating units are essentially elementary families, so that Chamorro marriage brings out the significance of the elementary family in the larger social structure.

### Divorce

Divorce is, of course, not recognized by the church and in this sense does not occur. However, as one might expect, separations

(*umachuti*) do occur, though they are not frequent. I recorded only four on Saipan during my period of field work, though a few others may well exist. In the case of separations, Chamorro informants stated that it was often usual for one partner to move to a different island. This was true of two of the four cases recorded, one partner having gone to Guam and the other to Rota. The other two cases involved a married man and a married woman who separated from their respective spouses and formed a common-law union thereafter, both remaining on Saipan. They have since reared a family.

In the case of three of the four separations recorded, the couple had one or more children. In two instances, the children remained with the mothers, who continued to live on the island. In the third case, an only child is being reared by the mother's brother, and the mother has moved off the island.

In other parts of Micronesia the young people ordinarily participate in several transitory unions which stabilize as the individual grows older and as more children arrive. This pattern is associated with a widespread system of adoption and a widely extended kinship system. The Chamorros offer a marked contrast, for church-sanctioned marriages of greater stability are the rule, and separations much less frequent.

### Parenthood: The Formation of the Family

Chamorro families are often large. I know a mother twenty-three years old with four children; her case is not thought to be unusual. The record for a living person is held by a village *grande dame* who had eighteen living children at the time of the war. Two were killed during the invasion of Saipan, but sixteen are alive today. She has over fifty grandchildren.

Following a marriage, it is not long before children begin to arrive. They are desired and wanted. Contraceptives are known through contact with Japanese and more lately with Americans but are not in common use and are condemned by the church.

*Pregnancy and Birth.*—Pregnant women observe certain restrictions on conduct similar to those recorded by Thompson for Guam (Thompson, 1947, pp. 237–240). These restrictions are supposed to protect her from malicious attacks of the *taotaomona*, protect the unborn infant from harm, and ensure an easy birth, with no complications.

Pregnant women are considered particularly susceptible to the evil acts of the *taotaomona*. If a woman in this condition goes out at night she takes a companion, and she carries a strong-smelling object, preferably an onion, in her pocket or she rubs her hands with an onion, for the *taotaomona* are particularly sensitive to smells. In addition, a pregnant woman is careful to keep her diet in balance between "hot" and "cold" foods. The former she avoids. After being some five months pregnant, she takes a Chamorro plant medicine periodically, thought to be good both for herself and for her unborn child. *Amot ka'ma*, *amot akangkang*, and *amot gasusu* are three that are favored.

She does not sleep in a doorway, and she walks directly through doorways. She does not wear a towel around her neck nor does her husband carry a coil of rope around his shoulders or lean with arms akimbo on a window sill. Neither she nor her husband sleeps crosswise to and facing outward to a door. The woman avoids outbursts of spite or anger, for the spite will "turn itself" upon the child. "*Utut han sa guaha nai man hujok i patgon*" ("Cut out your whims or the child will resemble your acts") is a favorite saying.

Enough birth difficulties occur to support this precautionary type of behavior. As a middle-aged woman observed:

When I was pregnant with my first child I did not bother with these precautions. They seemed useless superstitions. My child was born with the cord wrapped around his neck and he strangled and died. My husband had carried a coil of rope over his shoulder one time during my pregnancy. When I became pregnant again, my husband and I were more careful.

In addition, pregnant women observe precautions in no way magical. They avoid overly hard labor such as carrying heavy burdens and are careful about slipping and falling, particularly in the early months of pregnancy.

When they have been pregnant for about eight months, women who have had difficulty in previous childbirths may ask a benediction of the priest. This is known as the "*benedision palauan*" and is given following mass.

Before the war, unless complications were evident, Chamorro births took place at home, under the supervision of a midwife (*partera*). Although both Chamorro and Japanese midwives were licensed and practiced, a number of informants reported that the latter were preferred as being more competent. Today all Chamorro births take place in the maternity ward of the hospital, where the mother and child remain for about five days after birth.

*Baptism.*—Every child must have a *padlino* (“godfather”) and a *madlina* (“godmother”). The godparents for the first child may be selected shortly after the marriage of the parents, or even when the latter’s banns have been published and before they are married.



FIG. 28. Chamorro godparents and godchildren waiting at the church before the baptismal ceremony, Chalan Kanoa, Saipan.

Usually a number of people ask to be the godfather or godmother, and the parents fix on one of those who have made the request. Godparents are usually of the same generation as the parents and, unlike those in much of Latin America, they are often closely related. The parents’ siblings often act as godparents.

The baptismal ceremony takes place on a Sunday when the child is about ten days old, unless the infant is sickly and may possibly die. In the latter case the ceremony is held as soon as possible. The father of the child notifies the godparents when the baptism is

to be held. He also notifies his own and his wife's godparents, his own and his wife's parents and *manñaina*, and his own and his wife's married siblings.

On the day of the baptism, the godfather and godmother go to the parents' house in the morning after mass. The godmother helps dress the infant. Sometimes she gives the christening dress. When the child is ready, the godmother takes the child in her arms and with the godfather goes to the church, today usually by car. Neither the father nor the mother accompanies them, nor do any of the other relatives. Only once did I see a relative at the ceremony, in this case the child's grandmother. The infant is entrusted entirely to the godparents' care, a fact that emphasizes their responsibility.

At the church, the godparents and child wait outside in the shade of the entrance. The birth rate is high on Saipan and usually each Sunday there are several infants and their godparents waiting for the priest. The ceremony takes place at about ten in the morning. The godmothers line up in front of the entrance holding the babies, with the godfathers standing behind, and the priest baptizes the infants in turn. Then they all enter the church for the concluding part of the ceremony. When the ritual has been finished, the godparents return with the child to the house of the parents.

During the time of the ceremony there is much activity at the parents' house, for this is the day of the *guput bautismo*. The *guput* consists of a meal served at about noon, or in the early afternoon. Baptismal parties are usually much smaller than weddings; less food is served and there are fewer guests. When many people were employed by the government, baptismal parties were often large, but now the trend is to smaller parties again. A *primerisa*, or party for a first-born, however, is usually larger than succeeding ones. The *primerisa* is important, for it signals the establishment of a bona fide family and receives emphasis accordingly.

At a *guput bautismo*, there are virtually always present the grandparents of the child, the parents' siblings, and usually the siblings of the grandparents, as well as the godparents. These are the child's *manñaina*, to which ever after he must accord marked respect. In addition, the godparents of the parents usually attend, as well as a few close friends. First cousins of the parents need not come, though usually some will be present. The size of the party depends primarily on the family's economic circumstances. At an average party, twenty to thirty people will be present, at a larger one, fifty to seventy-five or even a hundred.

The women do the kitchen work and serving; the men cut wood, fetch soft drinks, carry tables and chairs, and sit and talk when there are no small jobs to be done. One woman takes charge, often the sister of the mother. At a larger party a cook is hired, if the family can afford one.

At a *guput bautismo*, *ajudo* is given but *chenchuli* is not obligatory, though it may be given. The siblings of the parents and the grandparents, particularly the paternal ones, give food as well as service, though the provision of adequate food is still a large burden on the parents. The godparents bring no food but give about ten dollars each to the mother of the child; this is not considered *chenchuli*. Either the father or the godfather pays the priest for his services.

The party itself usually lasts for about two hours. The food is served buffet style. Before and after eating, the guests converse quietly among themselves. The baby remains in a bedroom under the mother's care. The child may be taken before the guests, and in any case all the elderly women stop to see the baby in the bedroom. "Now you have seen God," they will say to the child, or "now you are a Christian."

The *guput bautismo*, like the *guput fandango*, is an expression of kin solidarity among elementary families linked by relationship bonds. As such, it is an indication of kinship range. However, the *guput bautismo* is smaller than the *guput fandango* and usually does not bring in relatives at the outer peripheries of the system. Nor does it, as does the *fandango*, involve two large unrelated constellations of kinfolk, one centered around the groom's family, one around that of the bride. There is not the same pressure to put on a big show to maintain or improve status.

*Names.*—The name given a Chamorro child is selected by the parents. Most given names among the Saipan Chamorros are of Spanish origin, the familiar "Jesús," "Maria," and "José" being favorites in the community. The German, Japanese, and now American periods of administration have also left their mark. During German times, "Herman," "Oscar," "Victor," "Wilhelmina," and "Frida" came into favor, though these names no longer are selected with as much frequency. In the Japanese period, the Spanish names continued to provide most of the given names. Japanese names do not fit well into the European name system established among the Chamorros, and I recorded no Japanese names given at baptism. According to informants, in Japanese times when a Chamorro went to a Japanese school he was required to assume a

Japanese given name. Students who went on for further training, including those few who went to school in Japan, acquired an entire Japanese name, a process that was looked on with favor by the Japanese authorities as leading to a greater assimilation of Japanese culture. It is doubtful that more than a dozen individuals were affected, however, and they have since resumed their Chamorro names.

Today most Chamorro names are still drawn from the corpus of Spanish-diffused given names. A few names of American origin are making their appearance and others are being Anglicized, for example, "Guillermo" to "William." In most cases single names are given, but a few double combinations have appeared in the last few years, two examples being "Victor Segundo" and "Evelyn Ruth." On the whole, however, the Spanish tradition survives as the main source for given names.

Spanish practice also is followed with respect to surnames. A Chamorro bears first, his given name; second, his father's surname; and third, his mother's surname. The father's surname descends in the paternal line. The mother's surname is used by her children, but descends no farther. Thus, in the example, "Juana Reyes Guerrero," "Reyes" is the father's surname and "Guerrero" the mother's surname. Juana's children will use her father's surname "Reyes," as their third name. In common speech, the third name is usually omitted. Sometimes it is referred to by initial only, in which case it shifts position, for example, "Juana G. Reyes" rather than "Juana Reyes G.," the more usual Latin-American practice.

By Chamorro custom a woman does not change her surname to that of her husband. If Juana has married Francisco, she is referred to as "Juanan Francisco" (Juana of Francisco). In comparable fashion her husband is designated as "Franciscon Juana." This is the usual way of referring to a married person.

The coming of the Americans has brought some uncertainty to the naming system. With large numbers of Chamorros on government payrolls confusion resulted, because Americans did not understand Chamorro practice with respect to surnames. As a result, the mother's surname is shifting position. Thus Juana may call herself "Juana Guerrero Reyes" as much as "Juana Reyes Guerrero." Fortunately, the middle initial custom of Chamorro and American usage is close enough so that "Juana G. Reyes" does not require a shift. Also, a few wives are taking their husbands' surnames, though the practice has not gone far. The titles "Mr.," "Mrs.," and "Miss"



used with a name have made greater headway. "*Señor*," "*Señora*," and "*Señorita*," it should be noted, are not by custom used with a name and in this respect do not offer competition.

Saipan Chamorro surnames, like the given names, are largely derived from Spanish sources. A few English surnames exist as a result of marriages with English or Americans. There are likewise a few Japanese surnames. Chamorro-derived names, linguistically speaking, are much in the minority. The following Chamorro names were collected. A longer list made on Guam and Rota by Gertrude Hornbostel and published by Thompson (1932, pp. 71-74) shows that the Saipan names are drawn from one or the other of the two southern islands.

Aguon	Gumataotao	Quitugua
Agulto	Hokog	Quitano
Alig	Mafnas	Songao
Apatang	Manglona	Taitano
Atalig	Matagolai	Taimanao
Attao	Namauleg	Taitingfong
Ajuju	Napute	Taisague
Babauta	Pinaula	Taisakan
Chatfaurus	Quichuchu	Taga
Chargaulaf	Quinata	Tatlahe
Gogue		

Nicknames are of two types: personal nicknames and those applying to a whole family. A personal nickname is associated with a given name, either by shortening the name or by substituting an entirely different root. The nickname is conventional, and its association with the given name is rigid. For any given name, the nickname follows as a matter of course. Although a few nicknames were adopted in Japanese times, most have been long established. The following list of given names and their associated nicknames is included as illustration:

<i>Given Name</i>	<i>Nickname</i>
Antonia	Tona
Antonio	Ton
Bicente	Ben or Teti
Concepcion	Chon
Francisca	Ika or Tika
Francisco	Kiko, Tiko, or Pakus
Ignacia	Acha
Ignacio	Acho or Inas
Jesús	Chung
José	Ping
Juan	Iku
Juana	Ijang
Luis	Lito

Margarita .....	Magirik
Maria .....	Kita
Mariana .....	Manang
Mariano .....	Nanu
Manuel .....	Ne or Manium
Ricardo .....	Rikat
Soleda .....	Da
Trinidad .....	Trining or Nining

Personal nicknames are used particularly for individuals of one's own generation or for those of younger generations. In this case, the nickname indicates affection. Among friends, in direct address the given personal name is considered too formal; the nickname is preferred for its greater feeling of friendliness. Nicknames used vocatively to older persons are appropriate, provided they are used with the respect prefix "*tun*," or "*tan*." I never heard nicknames used in direct address to parents and was told it was impolite to use them in this fashion.

The other kind of nickname is used for whole families. These are the type discussed by Thompson (1947, p. 245). These nicknames are descriptive terms, such as "*katu*" ("cat"), "*katingting*" (a sharp, repeated sound), or "*lalo*" ("fly"). They are used in conversation, often in jokes, not often when a member of the family concerned is present. A few of these family nicknames are resented, such as "chicken-stealer," whose use among children has resulted in more than one fight on the school grounds. A list of Chamorro family nicknames collected by Gertrude Hornbostel has been published by Thompson (1932, pp. 74-76).

*The Maina.*—The *maina* ("churching of women") takes place about three weeks after the birth of a child. The ceremony is held in the church after early mass on Saturday. On the appointed day the godmother comes to the house of the child's parents and helps dress the infant; then, carrying the godchild, she accompanies the mother to the church for the ceremony, which is an orthodox Catholic one performed by the priest. After the *maina* there may be a small family party, attended by grandparents and usually by at least some of the siblings of the father and mother, as well as by the child's godparents, and usually by the godparents of the father and mother as well.

The social significance of the *maina* is that it marks the return of the mother to normal life. Before the *maina*, the mother should not leave the household area, particularly at night. Partly these restrictions are linked to the fear of the *taotaomona* and the belief

that pregnant women and those who have recently borne children are susceptible to *taotaomona* attacks. It is true that a Chamorro woman avoids hard labor for several months after the birth of a child. Otherwise, however, after the *maina* she tends to follow her routine activities. It is the *maina* which ends her isolation and marks her resumption of these activities.

### Children and Parents

Small children spend their first years in the house and house area under the care of their mothers. If the mother leaves the house area she generally takes a small child with her. If infants and small children are left at home, they are cared for by an older sister, or sometimes by an adult sister of the mother, or occasionally by a neighbor. Older siblings—usually but not always girls—frequently watch over young children, and adult sisters help each other a good deal in caring for each other's young children. Grandmothers too are called upon for assistance in this way. But there is not, as there is among the Carolinians, a handing around of children for a period of days among related families. The child's life is tied to his parents and to his household and it is under his parents' roof that he spends his nights.

In early years, Chamorro children are treated leniently. There is no early imposition of strict toilet training, though mothers are stricter with their children when they are in the house than when they are outside. Young children are free to play and roam about their yards. By the age of five or six, however, the Chamorro pattern of discipline has begun to take effect. This discipline is first of all focused upon obedience to the parents and upon respect behavior towards them.

Children early learn the Chamorro '*ninge* that is the characteristic mark of respect towards parents and elders. By tradition, every morning and every evening before retiring, the children '*ninge* to their parents, though the morning '*ninge* is tending to be omitted.

In the imposition of discipline, Chamorro parents use both verbal scoldings and physical punishment. Ears are tweaked (*deska*), pinched (*chaga*), and twisted (*atilik*). Children are spanked (*saulag*), occasionally slapped (*mapatmada*), and whipped (*kuatta*). When children dawdle and are restless in church, do not say "*buenos dias*" or "*adios*" to visitors to the house, or do not '*ninge* when they should, they are variously rewarded with a shake of the body or an ear twisting, accompanied by a scolding. More serious breaches call for

a whipping, administered mostly to boys, though small mischievous girls are often spanked or slapped. For whipping, a switch, a braided bull's-tail, or a leather strap may be used. For light punishment one lash is given, for serious punishment five lashes. Boys between five and fifteen are the usual candidates for this form of discipline. The mother generally administers punishment to the younger children; for older children and for more serious infractions, the father generally metes out the punishment. Unquestioning obedience to the parents and the learning of proper respect behavior toward parents and elders are the first canons of Chamorro child-rearing.

In addition to learning to obey their parents, children learn the appropriate patterns of respect for sacred places and occasions. By the age of six, they are familiar with the church, with religious symbols, and with religious occasions such as the performance of the mass. At home, morning prayers said by the family on arising and evening prayers before retiring are regular features of daily life. These prayers are learned and said under the mother's supervision.

At about the age of six, children commence their schooling. On week-days they attend the public school in Chalan Kanoa and afterwards attend catechism school under the supervision of the nuns. At the same time, they start learning household chores, such as sweeping the yard, piling firewood, helping with small jobs on the farm, and the like. Home and the farm, the public school, and the church and the church school are the major loci of interest. Children are told not to tarry and loiter as they daily trudge from one of these places to another and are instructed not to wander from their familiar circuit.

At the age of six or seven, children also experience the first major religious rite of which they are cognizant—their first communion. From thirty to forty children take part in this rite. An excerpt from field notes is given below:

Today was Trinity Sunday (June 4, 1950) and at early mass a group of six-year-olds received their first communion. The children were dressed in newly pressed, spotless white clothes—the boys in shirts and long trousers, the girls in white dresses resembling miniature wedding dresses. After the church had filled, the group of small children filed down the center aisle, shepherded by older girls in white dresses and also wearing the white wings of angels. The children occupied the front pews. The sermon was directed toward the significance of the day for them. At the time of communion, they were brought to the communion rail in small groups, under the supervision of the nuns. Many adults stood during this part of the service to get a better view, and parents held up small children so that they could see over the heads of others. The day clearly belonged to the children receiving their

first communion. The service was impressive and smoothly conducted by the priests and the sisters.

After the mass is over, it is the obligation of the child to call at the houses of his godfather and his godmother to '*ninge* and to pay his respects. At this time, it is customary for the godparents to give their godchild a small gift. Thereafter, at the noonday meal, a small family party is held, given by the child's parents. At this *guput familia*, there are present the members of the child's elementary family, his grandparents, and his godparents. Often the parents' siblings may also come, though this is not necessary. A family friend or two may be invited, but the party is a small one. When the guests arrive, the child comes to greet them with a '*ninge*, saying at the same time "*ñot*" (from "*señor*") to a man and "*ñora*" (from "*señora*") to a woman.

On post-war Saipan first communion is a larger event in Chamorro eyes than confirmation. Before the war, the local priest was delegated authority to perform confirmation, as he was isolated from his superior. Today, with Saipan directly under the Bishop of Guam, the traditional procedure is observed, but confirmation services have not been held for some time. The regularity of first communion in the year-to-year cycle of events is at the basis of its marked social significance.

Following the events that have been described, the child continues in the same pattern of life, oriented primarily in the daily routine around school, church, and home. He attends the various weddings, novenas, and wakes in which his family participates, and is supposed to assume a larger share of the family work load. Girls are expected to help with the housework, to care for small children, and in other ways to assist their mothers. Older boys are expected to help their fathers on the farm.

With adolescence and the approach of maturity, no puberty rites are held. The society makes no sharp cultural distinction in this transition period. Theoretically, adolescents, though they may have finished schooling, are still under the supervision and care of their parents. Economically, their role is conceived as giving greater support to the household economy. Socially, they are distinctly part of their family of orientation. At the same time, in Saipan of 1950, there were marked innovations among the adolescent population, which had enthusiastically adopted bubble gum, aloha shirts, Sears Roebuck patterns for dresses, Coca-Cola, American slang and Wild West movies.

With the onset of sexual maturity, there is no sex instruction of the young. In Japanese times, under the Spanish Jesuits, reference in conversation to sex functions and reproduction was firmly prohibited as sinful. This is the tradition in which adults of the present day have grown up. Words such as "pregnancy" were considered vulgar. If parents had need to speak of subjects with a sexual reference while in the presence of their children they tried to use a language not wholly familiar to the children, such as German, Spanish, or Japanese. The arrival of a baby was explained to children by the pronouncement that the infant "had come on a ship from Japan." Children were usually sent to the grandparents just before the arrival of another child. At adolescence, a boy would be told "not to make a girl sick" (*malango*), "*malango*" being used as a circumlocution for "pregnancy." Girls at puberty would be told to "protect their honor," but that was the extent of their instruction. No teaching in biology was given in school.

The picture of sex inhibition can be overdrawn, but it is still rather obvious today. At the present time, the attitude towards sex is not so stiffly conventional as it was. Words with reference to reproduction, formerly prohibited in polite conversation, are now more used, particularly by younger people, and the subject is not so surrounded with restrictions. Yet in no families that I knew was sex education given the children, and topics with a sexual reference are still largely avoided. The prevailing attitudes toward sex are undoubtedly related to cases of "peeping," two of which were recorded; Thompson mentions similar cases on Guam (1947, p. 261). In speaking of this matter, a thoughtful young Chamorro father remarked:

These things come from ignorance. I do not believe that sexual matters should be hidden from children. Instruction should be given to young people. But I myself could not speak on this subject to my sons.

*Summary of Behavior Patterns in the Family.*—Behavior within the family stresses the obedience of children to their parents and the appropriate respect behavior that goes with it. It is particularly stressed that children should heed their parents' spoken word. "*I patgon ti debe na uopi i saiñana*" ("a child should not talk back to his parents") is a common saying. If a child misunderstands a direction given by a parent, he should not say "what?," but will respectfully say "*ñot?*" ("*señor?*") or "*ñora?*" ("*señora?*"). Older children are frequently admonished that "parents have experience

—they know what is good and what is bad. They know the wisest thing to do. You, my son (or daughter) are too young.”

As long as a son or daughter is unmarried, regardless of age, he or she is directly under the authority of the parents. If a boy wants to go to the movie with some friends, by custom he should ask his parents. If permission is refused, he should not talk back. Unmarried adults likewise must show proper respect. I know of an unmarried woman of thirty who received a lash for talking back to her parents. As a result, proposed action by a son or daughter is usually put in the form of a question asking advice of a parent.

In conformance with this pattern of parental discipline and filial obedience, the wise child soon learns to say little and keep quiet about his activities.

Gregorio is a boy of sixteen. He is markedly taciturn in the presence of his parents, and his age mates consider him smart for his hold over his tongue, as it has reduced his physical punishment. Last week, however, he was whipped by his father for lying. His younger sister had “told on him.” “Telling on others” is not uncommon.

The father is traditionally a more severe figure than the mother. Over a century ago, Arago wrote (1823, p. 257): “There is no country in the world where sons pay more respect to their fathers. Age does not free them from obedience, and I have seen men of forty tremble at a mere reprimand from their fathers.” Today Chamorro fathers are not such authoritarian figures as this quotation would make them appear, but they are still the center of final family authority. It is they who administer the more severe forms of punishment, and they are the ultimate source of discipline. The mother is a milder figure, in much more constant contact with the children. This is certainly one reason for the affection so commonly displayed by Chamorros for their mothers, and which Thompson (1947, p. 248) observed in Guam.

The relation between husband and wife is not one of husband dominance. The father is the head of the family and is so acknowledged by the family members. It is true that husbands have beaten their wives, but not as a usual thing, and countermeasures have usually been taken. A spirited, middle-aged widow remembered her early married life in these words:

Shortly after I was married I became pregnant, and during this time I got into an argument with my husband. He struck me. I became angry and returned to my father's house. My father said, “Why do you come, Maria?”

"I have come back here to live," I answered.

My father said, "You can't do that, Maria. Did your husband beat you?"

"No," I replied. I wasn't going to tell.

"You must go back to your husband," said my father.

Just then my husband came to the house. "Please come back with me, Maria," he said.

"No!" I replied.

"I just gave her a small beating," said my husband to my father.

"Small!" I cried. "Do you call that small?" And I showed them a big red welt on my arm.

"Come home," said my husband. "I will never strike you again." So I went home. My husband was a good man and we never had any more trouble.

Although the husband as the *padre de familia* is the spokesman for the family, it is the rare Chamorro man who does not consult his wife on all family matters of importance. Chamorro women play a large behind-the-scenes role.

There is no general practice as to who handles the family finances. In some families, the wife handles all family cash and makes all the disbursements. In other families the husband is the treasurer. In the former case, the husband will say deprecatingly of families in which the man handles finances, "It looks as though the men do not trust their wives." The others say it is a man's job "because men know more about money matters." But in virtually all cases, the wife will have much to say about disbursements.

The outward behavior between husband and wife is, on the whole, informal. In the families I knew there was freedom of discussion and argument, except in the presence of strangers. There is not a great deal of formal patterning of behavior in the husband-wife relationship.

Among siblings, relationships are informal and familiar, conditioned after puberty by differences of sex and of age. After puberty brothers and sisters maintain no avoidance relation, but their spheres of daily interest tend to diverge and they are both subject to the conventions surrounding young unmarried men and women. Thus subjects with sexual reference are not proper ones for conversation.

The Chamorro respect pattern towards parents and elders also affects the sibling relationship, particularly that of the oldest son, who is delegated authority by the parents over younger children, especially younger brothers. In numerous cases of punishment that were recorded, the oldest son had been told by the parents to spank



a disobedient younger brother, and also a sister. Such punishment was administered even to adult brothers and sisters.

One of Mario's teen-age daughters was seen riding in a jeep with an American sailor. She was upbraided by her parents, who do not approve of their daughters' associating with American personnel in this manner. The girl talked back, saying she would ride with whomever she liked. Whereupon Mario became very indignant and told his oldest son to give her a lash with a whip, which he did.

Thus, the parents enforce respect for the oldest brothers on the part of younger siblings. "Within the family, the oldest son is next to the father," a Chamorro remarked. It is not only that the oldest son is an agent of discipline; he is also supposed to be looked to for advice by his younger siblings, and contrariwise he has a certain degree of obligation for their welfare during their youth. An older sister should also be respected by a younger sister, though this is not particularly marked. The respect of a younger brother for an older sister is largely a matter of politeness and is otherwise of no great importance.

Discussion of the relations among siblings and between parents and children leads to an interesting facet of Chamorro family life—the selection by the parents of a "favored child."

*Favorite Child.*—The Chamorros have taken the Spanish word "*kirido*" (fem., "*kirida*") and have given it a special meaning—"dearest" or "favorite" child. In many Chamorro families, one of the children is known as the *kirido* of one or both of the parents. Although the term is known to all Chamorros, it carries different shades of meaning, while the degree to which overt favoritism is manifest in parent-child behavior varies a great deal. The extent of formal patterning of intrafamilial relationships around the "favorite" child is by no means uniform.

In discussing the *kirido* as an aspect of custom, Chamorros usually bring up various factors that affect the choice of a *kirido*. These can be roughly classed as follows:

(1) A child who displays affection and attentiveness toward the parents may be chosen as a *kirido* or *kirida*. This is the child who anticipates the parents' wishes—who finds the matches for father's pipe and the betel nut for mother. Or when the father comes home dog-tired from the farm, his *kirido* will be the son who massages his legs. Affection, responsiveness, attention to parents' wishes are all cited as important.

(2) Children who, through physical illness or weakness, are particularly dependent on the parents may become the *kirido* or *kirida*. The fact of illness draws the child and parents closer together.

(3) It is often said that the *kirido* is the child who cares for the parents the longest, and that this child is usually the youngest son or daughter in the family.

(4) Finally, a number of people pointed out that the Chamorros have large families and that it is difficult to have a large number of children without having a favorite among them. "After all, children are all different; one is sure to be more lovable, responsive, and affectionate than the rest," was the remark of several informants.

These, then, are the more important concrete factors that affect the meaning of the term, "*kirido*," in Chamorro minds. Essentially, they all involve the selection of one of several children by the parents. The parents initiate the selection. However, the mere selection of a *kirido* or *kirida* does not necessarily mean that overt favoritism will be shown the child. Maria and José may agree that Juana, their second child, is the most affectionate and attentive of all their children; they may privately or together consider her their *kirida*; and they may also be careful that this feeling of fondness for Juana does not result in a display of favoritism for Juana that might cause hostility to develop among the other children. Many Chamorros are quite aware of the phenomenon of sibling rivalry. A number of parents said they had no favorite child and would have none. Although it was impossible to investigate all the families on the island, certainly over half had no *kirido* or *kirida*. In view of this fact, the presence of the concept as a facet of Chamorro culture and its manifestation in overt behavior among the families that do have *kiridos* are all the more striking.

The *kirido* and *kirida* are in all recorded cases associated with families containing four or more children. It is essentially a large-family phenomenon. Chamorros often say that the youngest will be chosen as *kirido* or *kirida*. This choice is probably a common occurrence, but I recorded two cases where the oldest child—a girl in one case, a boy in the other—was the *kirido* or *kirida* and several others where the second oldest child was chosen. Also, the mother may have a *kirido* or *kirida* even if the father does not, the parents may regard one child as *kirido* or *kirida* of both, or each parent may have his or her own *kirido* or *kirida*. In the latter case, a family will have two favorite children. I did not record any instance of more than two favorite children in a single family.

If the favorite child is the youngest, even though the parents give him particular attention and affection and openly announce that he is their *kirido*, little or no resentment may result on the part of the other children, simply because there is often a large age span separating the *kirido* from his older siblings. In this case he is the family "baby" and the object of affection by siblings as well as parents.

In other cases, however, overt favoritism is manifest in parental behavior, and relations become charged with tension. It is these we now consider.

Overt favoritism shown by a parent toward a *kirido* may result in tension between the parents, though I recorded only one such case, and this was the result of an informant's observation.

Concepción, an adult woman, recalled her own upbringing. In her family were six children, of which she was the oldest. The second child, Joaquin, was her mother's *kirido*. The third child, José, was her father's *kirido*. Her father was a farmer and also a blacksmith. Often he had errands and small jobs for his oldest son—an adolescent—to do. Sometimes Joaquin would not be around when his father wanted him.

"Where is Joaquin?" he would ask his wife.

"He is not here," his wife would reply.

"Why not!" the father would exclaim. "He knows I have work for him!"

"Why not have José do it? He is here," the mother would say.

"It is Joaquin I want," the father would reply.

Often there were angry words between husband and wife over incidents like these, where real or implied favoritism was shown by one parent for his or her *kirido*.

Favoritism shown toward a *kirido* or *kirida* may also affect the relations between other children and the parents, in that animosity is focused on the parent rather than, or as well as, on the favored child.

Juan is an adult and his mother, now elderly, is a widow. He complained one day of his mother's attitude. "I visit her, treat her respectfully, bring her food, and even money. Yet all she does is talk, talk, talk about José, her *kirido*. Does José care for her as I do? No! he does little but neglect her."

Magdalena is a widow with seven children. She says she has no *kirido* or *kirida* among her children, but she admits it is hard not to be attracted to José, her oldest and a lad of seventeen. He is always making jokes and trying to keep her spirits up, for times have been hard for Magdalena. Carmen, her fourth, is a lovable child and appreciates everything she gets, but Margarita, her sixteen-year-old second child, is brusque and short-tempered and she and Magdalena are always having spats. Margarita does what is asked

of her and nothing more. She complains to Magdalena that José is Magdalena's *kirido* and receives favored treatment that she does not get. José was Magdalena's husband's *kirido*. Once, when they were at their farm, Magdalena was busy and asked her husband to look at the baby—their third child—who was inside the farmhouse crying. After a while the baby continued to cry, so Magdalena went to investigate. She found her husband on the doorstep, playing with little José.

"What's the matter with you?" said Magdalena.

"Oh, the crying baby is all right," answered her husband, "and this little one needs company."

Most pronounced, however, are inter-sibling hostilities over the favoritism shown a *kirido*. The following instances are illustrative:

Benedicto is one of eight children. His parents are dead. The second oldest child was the *kirido* in their family. "There has always been jealousy among my brothers and sisters because one of us was *kirido*. It has done nothing but make for anger and bad feelings among us. *Kirido* is a bad custom. Never will there be a *kirido* among my own children."

In Chalan Kanoa, there is a family of two middle-aged parents, who have four children. The oldest, a girl, is the father's *kirida*. She was often ill during her childhood and the father became very attached to her. The youngest child, a boy, is the mother's *kirido*. This favoritism is acknowledged by the parents. It is noticeable that the other two children resent it and express their resentment in verbal behavior directed against the other two when the parents are not present.

Gregorio is a man of thirty-five. As a child he was thin and weakly. His parents considered he was having a hard time, and, according to Gregorio, this was the reason he became his father's *kirido*. Gregorio is the second oldest of five children. The youngest, a girl, later became his mother's *kirida*. Gregorio was seldom spanked as a child, though his brothers were. He was sent to school on Guam—his brothers were not. When he returned to Saipan, he noticed that gold teeth and gold fillings graced the mouths of many of the recently arrived Japanese and that it was becoming a matter of prestige among the Chamorros to have these also. Gregorio asked his father if he could have gold fillings in his teeth and perhaps a gold tooth also. His father consented. His brothers have no gold teeth or fillings. Gregorio received the gift of a wrist watch from his parents, the only child to receive one. Gregorio's brothers were jealous, and several times they upbraided him. They also complained to the father.

Now Gregorio is a father himself, with four small children. He commented: "I remember the jealousy of my brothers and do not wish to have a *kirido*, but to treat all my children equally. And yet, Juana, my third child, is more loving and attentive than the others. She is sensitive and I have to be careful not to be too harsh; a scolding hardly affects the others. That is one way a child becomes *kirido* or *kirida*."

A son or daughter who is *kirido* or *kirida* may be conscious of latent antagonism on the part of his brothers and sisters and may attempt to overcome it by special efforts of assistance.

Augusto recalled his childhood, remarking that his brother Gregorio was a *kirido* and that often his parents overlooked Gregorio's misbehavior, while disciplining the other children. One day Augusto, Gregorio, and several other boys wanted some mangoes from a tree in their yard. They had been told not to touch the fruit. "Let me get the mangoes," said Gregorio. "I am *kirido* and they will not whip me."

Manuel is a man in his late fifties, belonging to one of the landed and, in pre-war Saipan, wealthier families. He has always been concerned with his land and with farming. "I was my parents' *kirido*. Since the time I was a young man, I have always tried to help my brothers and sisters with their land problems. It is something special that I could do to preserve harmony among us." In this he has been successful. A very intelligent man, he is among the most respected members of the community.

A few other observations should be included. In no recorded case did a parent shift favoritism from one child to another. Once a *kirido*, always a *kirido*. Also, the selection of a child as a favorite is made after a family has at least three children, and usually more. Seldom is the oldest child a *kirido*; much more frequently the youngest is selected.

In summary, the Chamorro institution of a *kirido* derives from the facts of temperamental differences among children and the tendency of some Chamorro parents to respond to a responsive and affectionate child by admitting that this child is the favorite. The ideal culture construct also pictures the parents as rather stern disciplinarians; the *kirido* is an alteration of this role, allowing the parent to be an openly affectionate father or mother spoiling his favorite child. In one family a *kirido* or *kirida* may be no more than a name for a lovable child with the parents careful to show no overt favoritism, while in another family the *kirido* may be shown overt favoritism, accompanied by marked tension and outright hostility in intrafamilial relationships. It is interesting that the Chamorros are quite aware of the disrupting nature of the institution when it is carried to its extreme form. Yet it continues to exist, with no really effective counteracting institution, apart from the fact that *kiridos* are by no means a universal feature of Chamorro family life.

*Adoption.*—Among many Micronesian societies, the adoption of children occurs with great frequency, often regardless of whether or not a child is lacking parental care. The incidence of adoption is much lower among the Saipan Chamorros, and the practice is more nearly similar to that prevailing in western Europe and America. The situations in which adoption occur are in the case of (1) orphans, (2) the separation of the parents, (3) childless couples desiring to adopt a child, and (4) the birth of an illegitimate child.

An adopted child may or may not change his surname to that of his foster parents. There are at present no legal formalities attending adoption, common agreement among the families involved being all that is necessary.

In cases where both parents die, leaving small children, a grandmother will often care for the children. In Chalan Kanoa today two elderly women are caring for orphaned grandchildren, and these latter are considered as adopted children. Also, it must be remembered that there is often a considerable age difference between youngest and oldest child. At the death of the parents the older children may already have reached adulthood, in which case they will care for young siblings. Theoretically, the oldest brother has the primary responsibility for seeing that his young brothers and sisters receive proper care.

There are on Saipan two Japanese children adopted by Chamorro parents. In one case, the child was orphaned during the war. In the other case, the parents were repatriated to Japan after the war but left one of their several children with Chamorro foster parents. Both of these children have changed their surnames to those of their foster parents.

Only one case was recorded in which a childless couple adopted a child.

Fernando and his wife are middle-aged and have not had children of their own. They adopted one of Fernando's sister's children, a twin. Fernando's sister has a large number of children. The adopted child, however, has not changed his surname.

One case was recorded in which the only child of a couple who had separated was adopted by the mother's brother. This was the single case recorded of the adoption of children of separated parents.

In all except three cases, the recorded adoptions took place between relatives, grandparents, uncles and aunts being the adopters. Two of these exceptions are the Japanese children just mentioned; the third is a Chamorro. The third exception is interesting in that the adopted child became the *kirido* of the foster parents. At the time of the foster-parents' *partido*, the adopted child shared in the land division with the real children. The latter are still disgruntled, feeling that the adopted child should not have shared in the inheritance. Whether or not an adopted child is entitled to a land inheritance is a matter of opinion. Most informants felt that if the foster parents had little land, the adopted child would not share the land with the real children, whereas if there was much land, he

might. Also, the question is affected by whether or not the adopted child already had a land inheritance from his own parents. It is up to the foster-parents to decide; there is no well-defined customary practice in this matter.

*The Illegitimate Child.*—The Chamorros have adopted the Spanish word “*bastardo*” for children born out of church-sanctioned wedlock. The incidence of illegitimacy among the Saipan Chamorros is not particularly high. During the one-year period covered by my field work, illegitimate births constituted 3 per cent of the total births among the Chamorro group. It was not possible to obtain reliable data for previous years. The presence on the island of large numbers of American troops during and immediately after the war did not result in numerous American-Chamorro offspring, partly due to the measures taken to control contacts between American personnel and the Chamorros and Carolinians, partly due to Chamorro attitudes against promiscuity, and partly due to the unplanned channelling of contacts resulting in sex relations to the ten to twelve prostitutes and promiscuous girls among the local residents and the use of contraceptives by service personnel. Only four American *bastardos* were recorded for the Chamorro and Carolinian community on the island, though there may be a few more.

Among the Chamorros, the unwed mother is at some disadvantage. The unmarried girl who has become pregnant is constantly scolded by her parents and upbraided for having “lost her honor.” There are two reputed infanticides of illegitimate children in the last four years, though no concrete evidence could be obtained. Although the unwed mother is not ostracized, there is no doubt that shame is attached to her status.

*Bastardos* are also at a disadvantage. Normally they bear only two names: the given name and the mother’s name. A *guput bautismo* is held for a *bastardo* as well as for a legitimate child. As children, *bastardos* are occasionally taunted and fights sometimes result. Inasmuch as they bear only two names, when they reach adulthood and marry and their banns are announced in church, the older people frequently recall the circumstances of their birth in gossip afterward. On the other hand, in a good many cases—just how many it is very difficult to say—the father and mother of an illegitimate child marry after the birth of the child. The child takes the father’s surname, the circumstances of the child’s birth are forgotten with time, and for all usual purposes the child is considered legitimate.

If an unmarried woman has an illegitimate child, and if she marries a man other than the father, the child will be taken with her, if her husband is agreeable, and will become part of the newly established family. On the other hand, if the husband is not agreeable to accepting the illegitimate child, the latter will be adopted by the mother's parents or by an older married sibling of the mother. In three recorded cases the mother's parents had adopted the child. In one of these cases the husband was notably jealous when the mother paid attention to her *bastardo*, instead of to his own children. In the other two cases relations were perfectly amicable, but the illegitimate children were clearly not a part of the families established through their mothers' subsequent marriages. It is relatively clear that a husband is not obliged to accept his wife's illegitimate child, born before the marriage. On the other hand, Chamorros typically will say that "a kind man will accept his wife's *bastardo*. He knows the situation when he marries her. He should accept the child."

There is considerable variation in the degree to which the father of a child by an unmarried mother feels obligated to aid the mother financially and to include his *bastardo* in his *partido*. This question of the *partido* has been discussed previously in the section on Chamorro land tenure (pp. 141-142). In at least three cases recorded, the father extended little or no assistance. In two other cases, the father or his family did extend assistance. It should be mentioned that if the fact of an unmarried girl's pregnancy is brought to the attention of the padres, they will attempt to persuade the couple involved of the desirability of marriage.

One case of illegitimacy involved the "favorite child" institution.

A young man's illegitimate child was adopted by the father's mother and became the *kirido* of the mother. The brothers and sisters of the father became disgruntled, because the *bastardo* had become the favorite of their mother and was given preferential treatment among her grandchildren.

Only one case was recorded of a married man's having a child by a woman other than his wife. In this instance, the man later married the child's mother, after the death of his wife.

Finally, the offspring of common-law marriages are considered illegitimate and bear only the given name and the mother's.

### Lengthening of the Generation Span: The Children Marry

Until a person—either son or daughter—marries, he remains part of his parents' elementary family and subject to their word. In-



vitations to wedding and baptismal parties go to his parents, not to him, even though he is automatically included. If he is to be the godfather of a friend's child, his *compaire* must formally notify his parents of the time of baptism; the parents will then tell him, even though informally he may have been told of the event. If an unmarried child is working for wages, by custom he must turn all his earnings over to his parents and ask them for such sums as he feels he needs. If he wishes to take a trip to another island, he should ask his parents' permission before going. Socially and economically the unmarried remain under the authority of the parents, regardless of sex, age, or maturity. It is the unmarried son or daughter, furthermore, who has the first obligation to care for aged parents and to remain under the parental roof.

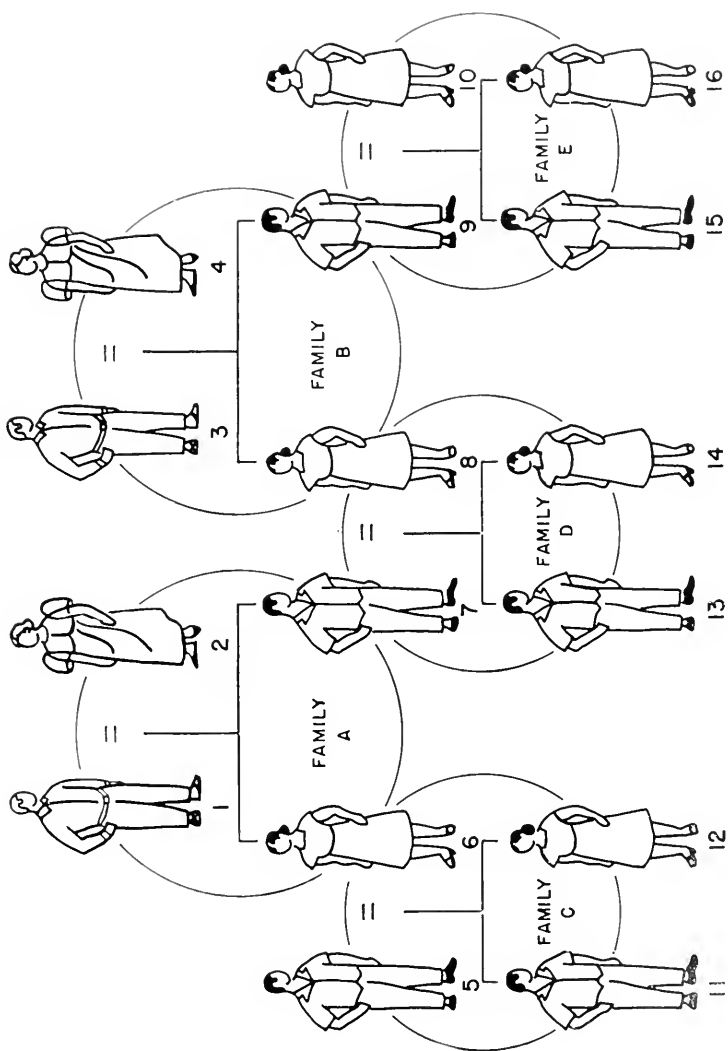
Marriage is the event that sets a person up in his own right. It is the principal institution that serves to mark full adulthood. Marriage does not sever the bond with the parents, but it is a social acknowledgment that the basis of a new family has been formed. A married couple occupies a completely different position than either spouse did before marriage. Now invitations and announcements of weddings go to them directly, not indirectly via the parents. The newly married couple now forms a reciprocating unit in its own right. Its freedom of action is markedly greater. It was my experience that only a married person knew about the niceties of *chenchuli* reciprocity.

Man and wife are inseparably linked as a social unit. In talking to a man or woman about a matter that might possibly involve the other's spouse, one always uses the second person plural form ("*hamjo*"); to use the singular form would be impolite. The usual method of referring to a married person by linking the given name with that of the spouse is another example of this principle. The same idea is expressed in the giving of a going-away gift ("*teñguan*") to a person about to depart on a trip. An example follows:

Maria was about to leave for another island to receive training as a teacher. She received a small going-away gift from each of her married siblings. In the case of Maria's married sisters, this gift was presented by the husbands of the sisters to Maria's mother. In the case of Maria's married brothers, the gift was given by the brothers' wives to Maria's mother. Thus, it was the brother-in-law or the sister-in-law who actually presented the gift, thereby emphasizing the fact that the gift came from a married couple, not from an individual. Furthermore, the gifts were not given directly to Maria, but to her mother, because Maria is unmarried and hence subordinate to her parents, and because the gifts were from one elementary family unit to an-

FIG. 29. Chamorro family linkage and chains of authority. The linkage of related families is either *vertical*, stemming from parent-child relationships; *horizontal*, resulting from sibling relationships; or a combination of the two. In the accompanying chart, Family D is linked by vertical ties to Families A and B, and by horizontal ties to Families C and E. Family D is further linked by ties combining horizontal and vertical factors to the families of the siblings of 1, 2, 3, and 4, and also to the families of first cousins. Families with vertical linkage overlap, in that they have a common member; families linked horizontally have no common member.

In matters of conduct, vertical linkage is important. If 13 is a misbehaving, young adolescent and his misconduct is brought to the attention of 1, 1 could speak to 13 directly if 13 were habitually very respectful toward 1. The more usual method, however, would be for 1 to speak to 7, who in turn would speak to 13. The principle here is that the position of 7 as *padre de familia* in his family of procreation should be maintained. Comparably, if 12 were misbehaving, either 1 or 2 would speak to 6, who in turn would speak to 12. Thus the internal structure of authority within the nuclear family is preserved.



other—in this case the parental-family unit. If Maria had been a boy, the gifts would have gone by way of Maria's father.

Thus, upon their marriage, a man and woman acquire a new status. When a child is born to them they have established their family. Important as this newly established familial unit is, it is nevertheless linked by bonds of consanguinity through the father and mother and through siblings to other elementary family units. The social nature of this linkage is important and is illustrated in figure 29.

As far as the social concomitants of genealogical relationship are concerned, the Chamorros are essentially bilateral, but there are a few unilineal emphases. Surnames are inherited in the paternal line. Further, when a man's sons marry and establish their own families, he is still considered the head of the larger familial unit comprised by his own family and his sons' families. The amount of his authority varies a good deal, but he is still to be accorded respect by virtue of his senior position. If he has not yet made a *partido* of his land, his sons are to a degree economically dependent upon him.

The tie between siblings and their families is also strengthened by the tie to the parents, particularly in the case of latent hostility between siblings. As long as the parents are alive they serve as a force strengthening the horizontal linkage between the families of siblings. On the parents' death, the children may tend to drift apart, and it is at this time that latent sibling conflict comes into the open.

Joaquin and José are brothers, both married and with families. They have tended to quarrel since childhood. When they grew up they tried to keep their hostility subdued for their parents' sake, but when their parents died a few years ago they no longer made any attempt to stay friendly. José finally moved to another island.

Finally, when a young man and a young woman marry, each assumes the respect attitudes toward the other's *manñaina*. When the young couple has children, these too assume the required respect attitudes toward the family elders. This raises the question of dyadic relationships outside the elementary family, a feature of kinship organization that is described briefly below.

*Kinship Behavior Outside the Elementary Family.*—The Chamorros have no institutionalized avoidance or joking relationships. The formalized aspect of behavior patterns among kinfolk is largely centered around expressions of respect. In a particular relationship, it is the presence or absence of verbal or non-verbal forms of respect

that determine how strongly patterned the behavior will be. This respect behavior is closely related to differences of generation. Toward the parents, a son or daughter observes patterns of respect and obedience. This same respect behavior is extended to uncles and aunts, though it is the outward forms of respect—the honorific prefix for the older person's name, the *'ninge*, the avoidance of expressing an opinion that might lead to argument—that are particularly obvious. The uncles and aunts, as well as the parents, are *manñaina*, and to all *manñaina* respect behavior is demanded.

Toward the grandparents, also *manñaina*, as well as toward the grandparents' siblings, the grandchild likewise observes this same pattern of respect. There is no familiarity, expressed in joking or teasing or a relaxation of the outward forms of respect and politeness, on the part of a grandchild towards the grandparents. The face-to-face relation is not stiffly formal, but the respect component is nevertheless marked. On their part, the grandparents have a more relaxed attitude toward the grandchild. They accept the politeness and respect extended by the former but do not have the immediate responsibility of inculcating the traditional pattern of respect into the behavior of the grandchildren. The older Chamorros on Saipan are, however, conservative as far as family matters go, and they lend their support to attempts at preserving the system of respect behavior toward the *manñaina*.

It is toward those classed as *manñaina*—parents, aunts, uncles, grandparents, usually grandparents' siblings, and godparents—that respect behavior is particularly marked. This behavior is structured on the lines of the parent-child relationship as a cultural construct: the child respectful, helpful, obedient, attentive to the instructing, authoritative, wise, but strict parent. These attitudes are the model for *manñaina* relationships.

The respect behavior toward members of ascending generations is extended in weaker form outside of the circle of relatives to elderly members of the community generally. Toward any older person a man or woman uses the honorific prefix "*tun*" or "*tan*" in direct address, never ridicules the person, and usually assumes an attitude of deference, depending in its degree on the status of the person in the community.

Towards cousins, behavior is largely an extension of that expressed towards siblings. In the cousin relation, no particular respect forms need be observed, and behavior is generally relaxed and informal. The principal qualification is that introduced by dif-

ference of sex. A brother does not joke with a sister on subjects with a sexual reference. Neither do cousins—at least first cousins—of opposite sex joke on such subjects. In relations within a single generation one finds the greatest degree of familiarity within the system of consanguineal relationships as a whole; this familiarity is tempered by the sex factor. On the other hand, where respect relations are dominant, it is the generation factor that is of most importance.

When a man or woman marries, he extends the vocative kinship terminology for parents to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and extends similar patterns of behavior. Immediately after marriage, parent-in-law-child-in-law relations are rather correct and formal; later they become more relaxed. Towards brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, behavior tends roughly to conform to the sibling-cousin category.

### Death

Among the Saipan Chamorros, the most important crisis rites are those at marriage and at death. Of the two, death is probably the more significant in bringing out the strength of social obligations. Two brothers may be enemies and have little or nothing to do with each other, ignoring the marriages of each other's children; but if one brother dies, the other will attend his funeral. Death cancels old conflicts and enmities. It is at the time of death that a Chamorro feels most strongly the obligations imposed by the ties of kinship.

Despite the acknowledged benefits of medical practice, death to the Chamorro is an event one must be prepared for at any time. In the old days, everyone kept a suit of good clothes ready in case of death. Old people even had a coffin made ahead of time. Today, the attitude is perhaps not so pronounced, but many people are still careful to keep their best clothes in order. Parents also keep a suit of good clothes ready for each child.

The rites at death follow a well-defined sequence of events that center around Catholic church practice but also embody usages developed out of Chamorro tradition.

*Notification of Relatives.*—If a person is about to die, every effort is made to notify the priest, so that the dying man or woman may receive the benefits of final confession. At the same time, or immediately after death, one of the family is sent to notify the *manñaina* of the dying person. If the latter is an adult, his parents, parents'

siblings, grandparents, and godparents—all *manñaina*—will be notified, as well as his married brothers and sisters. First cousins will not be notified, but they will hear the word from their parents and they must drop what they are doing and come to the house of the deceased. Second cousins are not so obligated, but usually at least some of them will feel they should attend.

If a child dies, his *manñaina* must likewise be notified. It is not so imperative that first cousins of the parents appear, but most of them will come.

Neighbors and good friends, though they are not officially notified, will also come. A death draws many non-relatives, probably because they feel that if they come to pray for the soul of the deceased and assist him on his way toward heaven, others will do the same for them when they die.

*The Vigil.*—When death comes, the body of the deceased is dressed and placed on a bed or table in a bedroom and adorned with flowers. If the dead person is a married woman, her oldest daughter prepares the corpse; if a man, the oldest son fulfills this duty. A carpenter is hired to make the coffin. A married woman wears the plaited leather belt of the *Correa* in death. If the dead person is an unmarried girl and a member of the Daughters of Mary, she wears the white dress and veil of the society and a crown of flowers. If a child under the age of *primet communion* dies, the godmother and godfather may provide the death clothes and will tell the priest of the death.

Burial is within twenty-four hours after death. During this period, relatives and friends join the immediate family in standing vigil at the house of the deceased. If a man dies, his widow, his sisters, and his daughters will stand vigil by the body all night. Men will walk around the house and yard, and, outside the room in which the dead person lies, the atmosphere is often not particularly solemn.

After administering the last rites, the priest departs until it is time for burial, but during this interval prayers are periodically said by the assembled group at the house of the deceased. The prayers are led by a *te'cha*, usually an elderly woman, who comes for this purpose.

During the period of the vigil, food is served to the people who have come to the house. If the vigil lasts through the night, coffee and biscuits are served at midnight, and a full meal, including meat and rice, is served the next day at noon. The food is prepared at

the house of a neighbor to avoid confusion in the house of the dead person. It is obtained, cooked, and served by the close relatives of the deceased, as well as by others who wish to help. A *mentu* is appointed who supervises the arrangements regarding the food and who receives the gifts of money. I was told that in case of a child's death there are four *mentu*, two from the mother's side of the family and two from the father's side, but I had no opportunity to observe such an instance. Often the *mentu* is a daughter of the deceased, if the latter was an elderly married person. The oldest son must help with matters such as obtaining the coffin, getting a *te'cha* and the like. If the dead person was married, the surviving spouse need take no responsibility for the food or other funeral arrangements. The same is true of parents whose child has died.

At the time of death, *ika*, a gift of money, is brought by those who come to the house. *Ika* is often called "*chenchuli*," but traditionally a cash gift at death is known by the former term. As in the case of *chenchuli* at a wedding, the *ika* is a gift from an elementary family as a unit. To emphasize this fact, it is given by the spouse who is not related to the deceased. Thus, if Juan and Maria attend the funeral of Juan's cousin, the *ika* should be given personally to the *mentu* by Maria, who is not related to the cousin, thereby emphasizing the fact that the money comes from the elementary family unit of Juan, Maria, and their unmarried children. The amount of the gift tends to vary in proportion to the closeness of relationship between the donor and the deceased. As in the case of *chenchuli*, a careful written record is kept of the *ika* given at a funeral.

An hour or two before the body is taken away from the house it is placed in the coffin. At this time all the children and grandchildren will pay their respects to the dead person for the last time.

At the death of Gregorio, before the body was placed in the coffin, all Gregorio's lineal descendants paid their final respects. First Joaquin, the oldest son, bowed and gently touched Gregorio's head. Then in turn each son and daughter bowed low and touched the hand of the dead man. Finally, the small grandchildren came forward and said "*ñot*" and bowed.

About thirty minutes before the coffin is carried from the house to the church and the cemetery, the lid is nailed on. At this time there is loud weeping on the part of the women relatives. Otherwise, the mourners are largely silent as they mourn by the side of the deceased.

*Burial.*—The coffin is carried from the house to the church and from there to the cemetery, accompanied by relatives and friends.



The procession is led by a relative carrying a large crucifix, flanked by two candle-bearers. The pallbearers are also close relatives and friends. At the church and at the cemetery the rites are consonant with Catholic orthodoxy and are conducted by the priest. After the coffin has been lowered into the grave, the priest puts in a handful of earth, and the relatives follow his example. In case a woman's husband or child dies, it is not necessary that she attend the burial.

*Post-Burial Rites.*—At 8:00 P.M. on the day of burial, a *lisajo* (“rosary service”) led by the *te'cha* is held at the house of the deceased. This service is repeated for eight nights; the whole series is known as the “*lisajon matai*.” Although some people who have come to the vigil do not come to the *lisajo*, it is obligatory for the relatives of the deceased to attend both. On the ninth day, a cow or bull—or at least a pig—is usually slaughtered, and meat is given to each elementary family who had at least one member present at the *lisajo*; or a large meal may be served at the house of the deceased for those who attended. The former practice is known as “*mand'chan*.” Sometimes as many as eighty families will expect a share of meat, while the *te'cha* will be given a generous gift for her services. The serving of a meal is more economical.

Following the nine-night *lisajon matai*, a second nine-night service called “*lisajon guma*” (“house rosary”) is held for members of the elementary family only, together with a close *manñaina* or two who wish to attend. No *te'cha* is engaged, and relatives need not attend.

For six months after the death, the elementary family is in mourning; widows and bereaved mothers stay in mourning for a year. The wearing of black clothes applies primarily to the women. For the first six months they wear full black, while thereafter they sometimes wear a light blouse. Many of the older women wear partial mourning clothes for several years.

Every year, on the anniversary of the death, a *lisajon guma* is held by the elementary family at home, and they may arrange for a mass for the dead to be said in church. The anniversary *lisajo* is not held for a child who has died before receiving first communion.

Funeral expenses, including the church costs, the expense of the food served those who attend the *lisajo*, and the gift for the *te'cha*, are partly met by the gifts of *ika*, but the remainder must be paid by the elementary family suffering the death of one of its members. Also, the *ika* must be repaid at some future occasion. An exception

is made in the case of the death of an elderly person who leaves a spouse of advanced age, for no one expects that the latter can maintain all the couple's *chenchuli-ika-ajudo* obligations.

#### SOME SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF DEATH

*Chenchuli-ika-ajudo*.—Marriage establishes a *chenchuli-ika-ajudo* reciprocating unit that further includes all children born to a couple until the children marry. The death of the parents then finally and completely terminates the couple's *chenchuli-ika-ajudo* obligations. These are not inherited by the married children. In a few isolated cases an older son may assume some of the obligations, but they are then his own family unit's, not his parents' duties. The social obligations expressed by *chenchuli*, *ika*, and *ajudo* are essentially adjuncts of the elementary family. As these families come into being through marriage and the birth of children, and as they dissolve through the death of the parents, social obligations likewise tend to form, adhere to the elementary family, and then dissolve. Marriage, birth, and death are therefore the biological facts to which social obligations adhere.

*Position of the Oldest Son*.—When the father dies, the oldest son is supposed to assume authority over his brothers even though they are married and to become head of the group bearing the father's surname. However, the oldest son's authority is usually more nominal than real. It is tempered by the fact that the mother, if she is alive, has a good deal of prestige. It further tends to be controverted by the strength of the elementary family, which leads siblings to base their actions on the interests of their own elementary families. And finally, there are numerous cases of siblings who drifted apart in the daily routine of life when the authority of the father had been removed by his death. The succession of a father's authority to his oldest son is a type of unilineal emphasis that is not highly developed.

*Care of the Aged*.—An elderly couple maintains its own household unit until one spouse dies. If there is an unmarried child, this child should remain with the parents and care for them. If either father or mother dies and there is no unmarried child who can care for the widow or widower, it is usual for the surviving spouse to move in with a married son or daughter. If an unmarried child lives with the parent the household continues to exist. There are also a few elderly people who prefer to live alone. Usually, however, elderly widows whose children are all married live with a married daughter—very seldom with a married son. Widowers live with either mar-

ried sons or daughters, and, in two instances recorded, tended to rotate among their children, depending largely on the widower's whims.

*Hardship Cases Caused by the Death of a Spouse.*—Among the Chamorros, the primary subsistence and residence unit is the elementary family. When one of the parents dies while the children are still young, a crisis is precipitated. If the grandparents are alive, they will be called upon first for help.

Antonio's wife died, leaving six children. The oldest—a girl—was working and was able to help, but some of the children were small and outside assistance was necessary. Antonio's mother, a widow, came to live at the house, to care for the children, and to supervise running the household.

Gregorio's wife was killed during the invasion of Saipan. There were several small children, and Gregorio was badly in need of aid. His wife's parents were alive and moved into Gregorio's house. Later Gregorio remarried and his first wife's parents returned to their own household.

If there are no grandparents alive, recourse must be had to brothers or sisters, usually but not always those of the surviving spouse.

Francisco's wife died. They had several small children. None of the grandparents was living, and Francisco had no siblings. Francisco's wife's sister is married and has a large brood of her own, but she and her husband took all of Francisco's children to live with them, bringing the children up as their own. Francisco helps by supplying food, but lives in his own house nearby and cooks his own meals.

Not always are siblings so generous or self-sacrificing. Often they are poor, with large families of their own to support. In such cases, real hardship may be the result for the family who has lost a father or mother. There are in Chalan Kanoa at least five or six families of this category, who are in very difficult straits.

Juan's wife died, leaving a number of children, ranging from about five to fourteen years of age. The wife's mother is alive but has long been ill and cannot help. Neither Juan's wife's siblings nor his own brothers and sisters have given any real material aid. While Juan works, the fourteen-year-old girl struggles to care for the children. They have had a most difficult time.

Maria is a widow with several small children. She has neither parents nor brothers and sisters, nor are her husband's parents living. The brother of her husband has said he would help her but has done very little. People say it is because the brother's wife is jealous. Maria works and barely ekes out a living.

Francisca is also a widow, her husband having been killed during the war. Neither her own nor her husband's parents are alive. She has received a

little help from her brother, and fortunately her two older children are now old enough to work and help, but it has been very difficult for her to raise her five children. Her husband's siblings have given her no aid.

These few village hardship cases are significant in that they highlight certain characteristics of Chamorro family organization. First, the relationship of the elementary family with the grandparents is particularly strong. It is to them that a distressed parent will first turn. If the grandparents are dead, the parent must turn to a brother or sister, and here feelings of mutual obligation in giving economic aid may be very much weaker, principally because each married brother or sister is committed to support his own elementary family and there is little in the way of social sanctions to extend this commitment. In the three hardship cases given above, the married brothers or sisters felt little real obligation to help, granted that one case involved a sister-in-law jealous of any money going outside her elementary family. The municipality has attempted to maintain a welfare fund to aid these hardship cases. But it is instructive to note that although comparable situations exist among the Carolinians, and although they have on the whole a lower living standard than the Chamorros, I did not record during the year a single case of familial hardship among them. The reason lies in the difference in kinship structure between Carolinians and Chamorros. Among the former group the extension of kinship outside the elementary family involves a more or less continuous flow of food and assistance in the day-to-day routine of life. Among the Chamorros, the extensions of kinship are centered primarily on the obligations associated with crisis rites and not on economic assistance in daily living.

## XIX. Kinship Range and Family Status

### Kinship Range

An important feature of every kinship system is the range of socially recognized kin relationships included within the system. In the preceding discussion, an indication of the range of Chamorro kinship has been given in connection with the description of kinship terminology and the organization of various crisis rites. In this section, the data will be drawn together and conclusions presented in systematic form.

#### TERMINOLOGICAL AND OBLIGATIONAL RANGE

There are two distinct aspects to the range of the Chamorro kinship system. The first of these, the terminological range, refers to the relationships covered by the extension of kinship terms. The second aspect of range refers to the behavior associated with the terms. Among the Chamorros this behavior tends to crystallize around reciprocal rights and duties. Virtually every right is sooner or later associated with a duty, and it is convenient to consider the range of institutionalized kinship rights and duties as the obligational range of the system.

In the section on the extension of kinship terms, it was pointed out that the terminological range has two significant aspects: (1) an assumed range and (2) an observed range. The assumed range is that given by informants without reference to actual genealogies and is a kind of conjectural norm. The observed range is based on the use of terms in observed situations and on genealogies collected by the field worker. It was noted that the assumed range included third cousins, whereas the observed range seldom if ever extended beyond second cousins. The observed range of the terminology is therefore narrower than the assumed range.

The assumed and observed aspects of terminological range have their counterparts in the obligational range of the Chamorro system.

The obligational range finds expression in behavior primarily in crisis rites, particularly those associated with marriage and with

death. At these times, the system of the reciprocal giving of gifts and services in the form of *chenchuli*, *ika*, and *ajudo* comes into play, associated also with the obligations of attendance at the secular festivities connected with the rites. The range of the system becomes operative through these forms of reciprocity. They are the key to an understanding of obligational range among the Chamorros.

Furthermore, obligational range is particularly clear in forms of interfamilial reciprocity. In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to show how custom emphasizes the strength of the elementary family as a social unit. Obligational range among the Chamorros cannot be understood only on the basis of dyadic relationships between individuals. The elementary family is the primary unit in the system of reciprocal gifts, services, and attendance.

If one combines the testimony of informants without reference to observed cases, and considers the resulting conjectural norm as the assumed obligational range, one finds that the range includes second cousins at times of major crisis rites. However, the observed range includes first cousins surely, but not necessarily all second cousins. The observed range is somewhat narrower than the assumed range, thereby paralleling the situation with regard to terminology. The assumed obligational range tends to be close to the observed terminological range. There is, therefore, a series of progressively narrower kinds of kinship range. I suspect that this differentiation of the various aspects of range is a result of recent change in the kinship system.

Obligational range may also be classed according to whether it is constant or fluctuating. It tends to be constant if it varies little from day to day; fluctuating if it shows swings from narrow to broad over a given period of time, such as a year. Among the Chamorros, obligational range finds its widest expression at the time of crisis rites; in ordinary day-to-day affairs the system is quite restricted. Interfamilial economic co-operation is greatest between parents and married children, weaker between siblings, and sometimes negligible among cousins. Also, there is considerable variability, some brothers working closely with each other, others having little to do with each other. On the whole, however, in the daily routine there is no strongly marked feeling of obligation and economic co-operation among the members of a widely extended body of kinfolk. The Chamorro kinship system is a fluctuating type, in that obligational range is narrow in day-to-day relationships, wide at times of crisis rites.

There is evidence that this difference was not always so marked and that formerly the range of the system expanded more frequently and at times other than at crisis rites. Examples are the building of houses and thatching of house roofs in the German and early Japanese periods, described by older informants as occasions when a wide circle of relatives would gather for the work. If a man needed his house thatched, he would ask his father for assistance. The father would tell his brothers, who could in turn inform their sons. All these relatives, together with those on the wife's side, would then go out with their oxcarts for thatch. About ten cartfuls of coconut palm fronds would be needed. Then, for several weeks, in the evenings the women would sew thatch. On the appointed day, the new thatch would be put on the roof by the men, with a few older men supervising. After the job had been finished, a large meal would be served by the man's family to the workers. The preparation and serving of the food would be supervised by a *mentu halom guma*, following the pattern of marriages, baptisms, and deaths today. Those who came would also give *chenchuli* to the woman's family. A similar procedure took place at a house-building. It is probable that an expanded obligational range was formerly more closely tied to economic co-operation in production than is the case today.

Finally, for any given Chamorro family, obligational kinship range is related to intrafamilial conflict and tension. The kinship structure achieves the breadth of its range through the system of *ajudo*, *chenchuli*, and *ika* and attendance at crisis rites. In cases of bad feeling between relatives—first cousins, for instance—the parties involved may refuse to attend each other's social functions or give *chenchuli*. This is tantamount to a formal severing of relations. The person who does not give *chenchuli* to a relative at an appropriate occasion is ignoring a kinship obligation and consciously committing an act of non-recognition of a kin relationship.

The Chamorros are particularly touchy about attendance at social functions. If one cannot attend a *guput*, one should send a family member, preferably a grown, unmarried son or daughter, or explain carefully ahead of time why one cannot come, and perhaps leave a small gift. Two examples from field notes follow.

Alberto and his first cousin once removed, an older woman who may be called Maria, live next door to each other. Two weeks ago was *primet communion* for Alberto's child, and a party was given by Alberto and his wife in honor of the event. Alberto and his wife invited Maria. Just before the

party, Alberto saw her, all dressed up, with a bundle of what looked like food, pass his door. "Where are you going?" he called.

"To the store," she replied.

Alberto said nothing but knew she was not telling the truth. "Dressed like that to go to the store!" he thought.

Actually Maria was on her way to another *guput primet communion* at the house of her sister. She did not attend Alberto's party, and he was hurt and angry. "To think of all the times I have helped her!" he said.

On the same Sunday as Alberto's party, Henrici and his wife were invited to three *guput primet communion*, given by various relatives and friends. Henrici and his wife could attend none of them because the latter's sister was leaving that day by ship for Guam, and they had to see her off. So they were very careful to explain to each family that invited them to a *primet communion* party the reason that made it impossible for them to attend.

So it is that the very mechanism by which obligational kinship range is achieved—reciprocal gifts, services, and attendance—is at the same time a principal source of tension and conflict that disturb the smooth working of the kinship system.

### The Family and Status in the Community

One cannot understand the Chamorros without knowing the Chamorro concept of *champada*, "to compete," in particular, to compete for status, with an underlying feeling of jealousy, real or implied. Two men compete for the affections of a girl, two girls for the handsomer sodality dress, two housewives for the more pretentious *sala*, two men for a better job, two or more families for the largest *fandango*. *Champada* explains some oft-repeated observations made by the more thoughtful people: "The Chamorros are apt to be jealous; one man does not like to see another get ahead"; or, "The Chamorros are always competing with each other to see who is a little higher. I wish they would compete on their farms." *Champada* is related to the fact that the Chamorros are quick to criticize one another. It is, I believe, a basic factor in their difficulty in maintaining effective co-operating groups in situations where the group is not controlled by a strong authority. *Champada* also underlies the large *guputs* which Chamorros enjoy so much and to which they cling tenaciously, for the *guput* is a principal form for the validation of status. And finally, *champada* is a factor in the readiness with which Chamorros adopt new things, particularly goods such as radios, jeeps, washing machines and the like, for these are closely related to status. The newcomer to the village wonders why the few phonographs and radios (Guam has a radio station) are always turned up as far as the volume will go. The noise is deafening, the



sounds raucous, but it is all sweet music to the owner, for he is letting the village know that he is the proud possessor of the radio or phonograph. *Champada* is a theme that runs throughout Chamorro life.

Manuel and his father-in-law, Jesús, started a store. At the same time, Jesús' wife's brother, Henrici, also started a store next door. Manuel, Jesús, and Henrici agreed on a common frontage for the two stores. Also, Henrici would sell only beer, and Manuel and Jesús only canned groceries. After all, they were all relatives and why compete? But the first thing Jesús and Manuel knew, Henrici was selling canned goods, so Jesús and Manuel started selling beer. Then much to Jesús' disgust, Henrici built his store out five feet more in front. Jesús was angry. So he and Manuel built their store out fifteen feet, ten feet beyond Henrici's. Henrici bought a small radio, so Jesús got a larger one. Jesús' played considerably louder, so Henrici hired a man to put up a higher antenna. Then his radio played as loud as Jesús'. But as soon as this happened, Jesús' daughter administered a real blow by turning the volume up all the way on their radio, which had heretofore not been so extended. So Henrici bought a new radio, which is indubitably larger and louder than Jesús'. Henrici went bankrupt, but at least he has the consolation of having the louder radio. Here the matter rests.

This example might be taken as merely an isolated instance of friction among relatives. But similar cases are constantly occurring in the daily life of the community. They are all examples of *cham-pada* and of sensitivity to status.

This competition in Chamorro life goes on with reference to rather clearly discernible bases of prestige, which are in turn the foundations of status. To one who comes to Saipan, the Chamorros do not at first appear highly differentiated in this matter. But the appearance is deceptive and due largely to the fact that the war wiped out all wealth except land, so that the people tend to live much alike. But differences are again emerging. What are the prestige bases that underlie status, in the sense that some people in the community are high and others low?

Wealth is probably the most important of the criteria of status. With wealth differentials largely wiped out by the invasion, the place of wealth in the total scheme is perhaps not as clear as before the war. In pre-war Garapan the wealthiest man was clearly at the top. He owned fourteen houses, all except one rented to Japanese, and his total holdings of real property were worth over 400,000 yen. No other individual or family was so rich, but there were about ten or twelve families who held considerable land, who were in the higher brackets of the tax rolls, and who were acknowledged as the superior Chamorro families of the island.

Today there is some shift evident, as some of the older wealthier men of pre-war times have died, and in the unstable post-war scene a few others are managing to acquire some wealth through merchandising. Until the economy is more nearly stabilized, however, wealth will be much desired but hard to come by.

Associated with wealth is "good taste" in house furnishings. A well-painted and comfortably furnished *sala*, running water in the kitchen, a washing machine, fresh curtains and drapes are all important to the Chamorro matron and are characteristic of the families of higher social status in the community. Also, servants are employed by a few families today.

Occupation is also significant. Office and store work are more desired than work on the farm by the Chamorros as a whole, although the man who was the wealthiest in pre-war Garapan has always been and is today, in spite of his advancing years, a devoted farmer.

Education, primarily literacy and the learning of foreign languages, is likewise accorded prestige. The reason is obvious, for the Chamorros have come under successive Spanish, German, Japanese, and now American regimes, and to be able to understand and inter-act satisfactorily with the succession of foreigners that have seized control of Saipan has demanded linguistic facility and put an emphasis on literacy and on a command of the language of the governing power.

Finally, political status is important. Although the post-war political organization is still in a state of flux, political leadership is of growing importance.

These status criteria are all inter-related, though the ones that are emphasized vary with the occasion. Yet the Saipan community is not large and these status criteria tend to cluster, so that wealth, occupation, education, and political leadership tend to form a combined base for the higher status of the more prominent families.

Status in the community is closely tied to the elementary family. Married siblings and their families do not necessarily occupy similar positions. It is true that since the war four brothers have joined forces and through shrewdness and hard work are accumulating wealth and they and their families are moving upward together; but, more commonly, adult siblings will occupy different positions, as far as the community is concerned. Likewise, there may be actual conflict between related families over the question of their status.

Mario and José are brothers who lived with their families in adjacent houses. Mario had a little better job in the administration than José. Mario's

wife had the interior of the house painted, and put up new curtains. She considered herself superior to José's wife and said so. Sometimes she sat complacently in the open window, which made José's wife angry, because she thought the other was gloating. The two women got on such bad terms that finally José sold his house and moved to a different neighborhood.

The status system of Saipan is not rigid from one generation to another. There is no sharply marked system of ascribed status associated with a hereditary class system, partly because Saipan was resettled in the nineteenth century, so that there are no families that have from time immemorial occupied high positions. The wealthiest man in pre-war Garapan, who is a respected leader today, is the son of a poor man who migrated from Guam. There is very considerable fluidity from generation to generation. At present, some twelve or fifteen elementary families are at the top, in the opinion of almost everyone. The rest of the community grades downward to the poorest families at the bottom, the members of which have also had the least formal education and exercise no political leadership.

Particularly important to a family's status are properly impressive secular festivities at the time of crisis rites, especially those at marriage and death, and at the time of family novenas. These are occasions of special importance to the women. Women are not political leaders and they do not occupy any of the best jobs, although some of them are in very responsible positions, and until the post-war period they did not receive as much formal education as the men. The Chamorro tradition is for women's interests to be centered in the family and, associated with the family, in the church. The relation of church to family is expressed to a large degree in crisis rites, while it is the secular celebration of these that helps establish a family's social position in the community. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, a matron's concern that her family's crisis rites be properly celebrated.

## XX. Family and Church

The relationship between family and church is effected first and foremost through the crisis rites, which have been described in the preceding pages. Baptism, *maina*, first communion, confirmation, marriage, and death all link family to church in a close and binding relationship. This tie is further strengthened by religious obligations that pertain essentially to the individual but are supported by parental encouragement: children must learn prayers in the home, must say family prayers, must go to confession, and must take communion. In addition, familial life on Saipan is related to Catholicism through family novenas, and even more importantly by the institution of *compadrazgo*.

### Family Novenas

By no means every Chamorro family observes a family novena but many of the more prominent ones do, and there are probably between forty and fifty family novenas celebrated each year. A novena is first held after a man or woman or a couple together make a vow (*promessa*) to hold a novena in honor of a particular saint, usually though not always at the time of deliverance from illness or bodily danger, or when these threaten the safety or health of the individual. Thereafter the couple hold the novena annually on the saint's day until they die. The family novena is associated with a married couple, for it takes a man and wife to prepare properly for the celebration, though only one spouse may have made the vow.

At the death of the couple, one of the sons or daughters may take over the novena, and the son or daughter and his or her spouse will continue to celebrate it. If a novena is to be inherited, however, the son or daughter must ask specifically for it, unless the child was the original cause of the novena, in which case he has an obligation to continue it.

Before the war, Vicente underwent an eye operation in the Japanese hospital. He was still a child at the time. Before the operation, Vicente's father and mother made a vow to St. Vicente. Vicente's operation was suc-

cessful and Vicente's father and mother hold the novena every year. When they die it will really be Vicente's obligation to carry on the celebration, for it was instituted for his benefit.

If a son or daughter does not ask to carry on the novena, it will cease to be held after the parents die. It is relatively common to find novenas that have passed through two generations, but only one instance was recorded of a family novena's passing through three generations. In this case, an elderly woman and her husband hold a novena that the woman took over from her mother, who in turn inherited it from her own mother. Inheritance need not, however, be in the maternal line, as Thompson (1947, p. 192) reports for Guam. If all the children ask for the parents' novena, the oldest son has at least theoretical priority. Thompson also notes that, particularly in upper class families, novenas have been celebrated for generations and implies that these have been inherited in family lines. The different situation on Saipan is probably due to the fact that only a few Chamorros have lived on Saipan for any appreciable number of generations, and the nineteenth and twentieth century immigrants to Saipan were not of the upper class, landed, Guamanian aristocracy.

The following saints were recorded in connection with family novenas: San Vicente, San Isidro, San Antonio, San José, Correson Jesus, San Juan, San Rocce, Santa Cruz, San Ramon, Bitgen (Virgin) del Carmel, San Pedro. Undoubtedly there are others not on the list, but these are the most popular, particularly San Vicente.

The procedure for holding a family novena is the same as that on Guam (see Thompson, 1947, pp. 191, 317, 336). For nine consecutive nights, friends and relatives meet in the home of the family giving the novena. They join in a service led by a *te'cha*, who recites the prayers, the whole group joining in the responses and in the hymns. On the ninth evening, a large party, the *guput novena*, is held, to which many more people come. This party is organized in a fashion similar to the *guput fandango*, held at the time of marriage. A *mentu* is appointed, women relatives as far removed as first cousins help in the kitchen, and men and women relatives and friends contribute *ajudo* and *chenchuli*.

Today, Francisco held his annual *guput novena* in honor of Bitgen del Carmel. Francisco's wife and her own and Francisco's women relatives worked in the kitchen most of the day preparing the food for the party. Francisco had slaughtered a bull for the occasion. About 5:00 P.M., guests started to arrive. They talked quietly in small groups in the house and yard, and smoked and drank some beer. About 6:00 P.M., the final night's services

were held in the *sala* of the house. At the end of the room a statue of the Virgin was set on a table. The statue was flanked by candles, and the table and wall were decorated with paper flowers. The service was led by a man *te'cha* who read or chanted the prayers from a small leaflet, written in Chamorro. These were followed by a hymn. Those present in the *sala* were mostly women—about thirty—with some children. A half dozen men took positions near the door. Most of the men stayed outside in the yard, drinking beer, smoking and talking about their farms, the difficult economic situation, and family matters. The service lasted a little over half an hour. Then food was served, buffet style, the guests sitting at tables set up outside. The menu consisted of typical party foods: a variety of meat dishes, bread and pastry, rice, beer, and coffee. Approximately one hundred people were present. After the meal, the guests talked, smoked tobacco, and chewed betel for a time, then thanked their hosts, and one by one gradually departed. It was an informal and pleasant occasion.

The family novena party ranks with that at marriage in size and importance, and like all large Chamorro *guputs* it is completely bound up with family status. Certain foods, such as meat and rice, are essential. It is an old Chamorro feeling that the vow that is the basis of the novena includes the slaughtering of a cow, bull, or pig for the party. A man will feed a pig for a whole year. He will not sell it and will save it for slaughtering at the time of his novena. He and his wife will serve only party foods and will feel it necessary to invite many relatives and guests. Sometimes a husband will demur at going into debt, but usually to no avail.

On July 16, Joaquin held his annual party in connection with his novena in honor of Bitgen del Carmel. Joaquin did not want a large party, as he has little money and gets only a modest wage by working for the administration. But Margarita, his wife, insisted on a large party. Joaquin had to slaughter a pig and buy two hundred pounds of rice. He spent all his money and went into debt besides. But Margarita felt the size of the party was a necessity, as being consonant with family tradition.

The large Chamorro party is an inseparable part of the pattern of interpersonal and interfamilial relations and is closely linked to the mechanisms for maintaining status. It is an essential element of Chamorro custom. As such, it is extremely resistant to change, even in the face of an unstable economy.

### Ritual Kinship: *Compadrazgo*

Every Chamorro child on Saipan has two sets of godparents. The first are the godparents of baptism: the *padlino bautismo* and the *madlina bautismo*. The second are the godparents of confirmation: the *padlino confirmacion* and the *madlina confirmacion*.

The godchild refers to his or her godfather as "*padlino*" and in direct address uses the term "*nino*." The godmother is referred to as "*madlina*" and in direct address this is usually shortened to "*nina*." The godparents refer to a godson as "*hado*," the term for son; and to a goddaughter as "*hada*," the term for daughter. They also use these terms in direct address.

Between the parents of a child and both sets of godparents the terms "*compaire*" and "*comaire*" are used. In direct address these are generally shortened to "*paire*" and "*maire*" and often are substituted for the personal names in greetings and conversation.

The terminology of ritual kinship follows certain logical extensions. If a man is the *padlino* of a child, his wife is called a *madlina* of the child and a *comaire* of the child's parents, regardless of whether or not she is the actual *madlina bautismo* or *madlina confirmacion*. Similarly, if a woman is the *madlina*, her husband is a *padlino* of the child and a *compaire* of the child's parents, even though he is not the actual *padlino bautismo* or *padlino confirmacion*. However, no special obligations or functions devolve upon the "godparents by extension." Also, if a *padlino* is unmarried, after his marriage his wife becomes a *madlina*; similarly, if a *madlina* is unmarried, after her marriage her husband becomes a *padlino*. The use of these terms is again simply a logical extension of the terminology of ritual kinship and does not necessarily involve the assumption of special duties and obligations.

The number of godchildren of a Chamorro adult more than thirty years of age varied from three to more than thirty in my sample. Persons of high status in the community invariably have the most godchildren, and few in this position have less than fifteen. The Chamorros also exhibit a contrast with many Latin-American communities in that godparents are very often relatives—either siblings or first cousins of the parents—particularly those of the first child, at least one of whose godparents is often a sibling of father or mother. If the first child is a boy, the *padlino* frequently will be the father's brother or first cousin, and if the godparent is married the *madlina* will often be his wife. Contrariwise, if the first child is a girl, the *madlina* often will be the mother's sister or cousin. I found no cases in which an adult did not have either siblings or cousins among his or her *compaire* and *comaire*. There is no conscious attempt among the Chamorros to exclude close relatives from the *compadrazgo* relationship and to select instead non-relatives. Rather, the reverse is true.

The fact that an uncle or aunt is often a child's godparent results in the possibility of using alternative kinship terms. The choice is usually made according to the following example.

The *padlino bautismo* of Manuel's first child is Manuel's brother. In this case Manuel does not use the *compaire* term instead of the brother term, either for reference or in direct address. But Manuel's child uses the *padlino* term for Manuel's brother instead of the uncle term (*tio*). *Padlino* is a "closer" relationship than that of a *tio*, and the reciprocal obligations between a *padlino* and godchild are more specific than those between an uncle and a nephew. A *padlino* is not "closer" than a grandparent, however.

A special case is that of the child of an unwed mother. If the child is a boy, he will have a *padlino bautismo* but no *madlina bautismo*, except for the logical extension of the term in the manner previously described. If the child is a girl, she will have a *madlina bautismo* but no *padlino bautismo*.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF CHAMORRO COMPADRAZGO

In the institution of *compadrazgo*, there are two relationships of particular importance: that between the godparents and parents, and that between the godparents and godchild. These can be contrasted and compared.

The relationship between parents and godparents, whether of baptism or confirmation, is one of friendliness and mutual regard. The godparents are chosen largely on the basis of friendship when they are siblings, as well as when they are not related, and even when the godparent is of higher social position. The families of higher status are not a clique and do not confine their relationships out of working hours to their own group. Friendship is an important component in the initial relations among *compaire* and *comaire*.

At the same time, the relationships between godparents and parents and between godparents and godchildren are treated seriously. These relationships in no sense belong to the trivial aspects of community life. *Compadrazgo* is a serious institution to the church and its representatives on Saipan—the priests and the nuns—and it is similarly considered by the people.

On the other hand, just as the Chamorros have not made a point of using *compadrazgo* to establish a wide network of relationships of a personal kind among non-kin, so they have not used the institution to establish well-defined reciprocal economic obligations in production or exchange. Nor can the *compaire* relationship among the Chamorros be considered as a substitute for a widely extended, proliferated



kinship system. In fact, specific obligations between *compaire* are few and are not sharply patterned. If a man dies, his non-related *compaire* and *comaire* need not be notified, and they will come to his funeral only if they were his close friends. They are under no obligation to attend it. If the *compaire* is related to the deceased and the relationship falls within the obligational range of the kinship system, he must attend the funeral, but his attendance is an obligation of true kinship, not of *compadrazgo*. What specificity attaches to the *compaire* relationship is primarily derived from the godparent-godchild relationship. If the godparent of a man's child dies, the man should assuredly go to the funeral if the child is still very young, because surviving godchildren must always go to a godparent's funeral. This obligation is mutual, for a surviving godparent must attend the funeral of his godchild. If the godchild is still small, the father goes as an adult substitute for the child, as well as a friend of the deceased. Likewise, at the time of marriage of a godchild, the godmother will help the parents in the work of preparing for the *guput fandango*, but this is part of her obligation to the godchild. Among the Saipan Chamorros it is the godparent-godchild relationship that is strong and sharply patterned.

Toward both sets of godparents—those of baptism and those of confirmation—a godson or goddaughter observes marked respect behavior. At least once a year the godchild should call on his two sets of godparents. The approved time for this call is Christmas or New Year's. If the godchild calls on Christmas day, he will '*ninge* to his godparents, saying "*ñot*" or "*ñora*," wish them a *felis Pascua*, and converse politely with them. When the godson is to be married, he should call on his godparents to inform them at the time or before his parents call on the girl's parents to ask for her hand in marriage to their son. A goddaughter may go to her *madlina* in similar fashion, though her parents will notify her *padlino*.

Of the two kinds of godparental relationship, however, that with the godparents of baptism is stronger and more binding. It is associated with greater obligations than is the relationship with the godparents of confirmation. At the time of marriage, for instance, the godson should call on his *padlino bautismo* before he calls on the *padlino confirmacion*. The former is obligated to give nearly twice as large a gift to the boy's family as the *padlino confirmacion*. The godparents of baptism are generally those referred to when a Chamorro talks of his *padlino* or *madlina*. They assume important obligations at the time of marriage of their godchildren, whereas the

godparents of confirmation play only a minor role. If the godparents of baptism die before the marriage of the godchild, however, the godparents of confirmation step forward to take their place. The godparents of confirmation can be viewed somewhat as "godparents in reserve," to be substituted for the godparents of baptism should the need arise.

As every Chamorro will say, the *padlino bautismo* has the obligation of being the moral advisor of his godson, and the *madlina bautismo* that of her goddaughter. In the case of a respected *padlino*, the godson may call on his godfather for various sorts of advice. Yet in cases where a man has twenty or more godchildren, he will not take this day-to-day relation very seriously, for after all the godchild's parents bear the first responsibility for his upbringing. The same is true for a *madlina* with many godchildren. The specific importance of the relation of godparents of baptism to their godchildren lies in the role the former play at the times of crisis rites in the lives of the godchildren. These roles are well defined and are the principal factors in giving the godparent-godchild relationship its distinctive character.

The godparents of baptism first of all play principal roles at the baptism of their godchild. The godmother helps dress the child for the ceremony and may provide the christening dress. The godparents each give about \$10 to the parents at the time of baptism; this is an outright gift and not *chenchuli*. The godfather or godparents may pay the priest for performing the ceremony. Together the godfather and godmother take the child to the church and assume responsibility for it on this occasion, while the parents remain at home. At the *maina* that takes place several weeks later, the godmother assists the mother.

At the time of first communion, the godchild calls on his godparents after the church service, pays his respects, and receives a small gift, while the godparents attend the *guput* afterward at the house of the child's parents.

At marriage, godparents of baptism play a very important role. They attend the *kumplimento*, and the godfather of the groom presents the gifts of tobacco, betel, and the rest to the parents of the bride and asks that the bride come into the *sala*. He and the godmother may sit with the *nobio* and *nobia* in the center of the room. Next day, the godparents escort their godchildren to church and attend them at the wedding ceremony. The godmother helps with the work of the *guput fandango*. Both godfather and godmother

have places of honor at the first serving of food. They are each expected to give from \$15 to \$20 or more to their *compaïre* and *comaïre*. They receive formal calls from the newly married pair after the festivities. Finally, a man or woman always invites his godparents of baptism to the marriage party of his or her own child. At the party are present not only the godparents of the bride and groom but the godparents of the parents as well. At marriage, it should be added, the godparents of confirmation play no formal role, except that they are invited to the party after the ceremony.

Death is just as important an event as marriage. If a child dies, the godmother of baptism dresses the body, while the godfather is responsible for procuring the coffin. Both godparents, as well as those of confirmation, must be notified of the death of a godchild, particularly if the latter is young. Regardless of the age of the deceased, they must come to the funeral and to the *lisajo* afterward. This is a reciprocal obligation. If a *padlino* or *madlina* dies, the godchild need not be specially notified, but word of a death passes quickly around the island, and when the godchild hears the news he must drop whatever he is doing, come to the house of the deceased, help with the work of the funeral arrangements—a goddaughter will help in preparing the food—and attend the funeral services and the *lisajo* afterwards.

Because of the obligations of godparents and godchild, this relationship is the emphasized one, rather than that of *compaïre* and *comaïre*. It is the vertical relationship between adjacent generations, not the horizontal relationship in the same generation, that is the stronger and more sharply patterned.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that the institution of *compadrazgo* occasionally cuts across the two ethnic groups of Chamorros and Carolinians. The Carolinians have a kinship system quite different from that of the Chamorros. The former is a generation type, with cousins classed as siblings and with the elementary family less sharply marked. The Carolinians too have adopted the *compadrazgo* institution as part of Catholicism. Among Carolinians the *compaïre* relationship tends to reflect their sibling relationship, which is often important in day-to-day economic relationships. When the *compaïre* relationship links a Chamorro and a Carolinian, it may result in a modification of the usual Chamorro pattern. The following instance from field notes is instructive.

Antonio has eight *compaïres*. One of these is a Carolinian friend, not a relative. Several years ago Antonio built himself a house. Without being

asked, his Carolinian *compaire* appeared and helped Antonio with the house. This summer Antonio is moving to his farm and has just about completed a new and substantial house on his farm. By trading labor with a cousin and a brother he got assistance for the heavy work. He never thought to ask any of his *compaire* to help. But one day he met his Carolinian *compaire* in Chalan Kanoa. His *compaire* upbraided him in a friendly way. "Why didn't you let me know, Antonio, that you were building a new house? I would have helped you." Antonio said that a Chamorro *compaire*, on the basis of this relationship, would not have offered his services in this manner. My own observations confirm this.

In a paper on ritual co-parenthood, Mintz and Wolf (1950) have summarized important features of Latin-American *compadrazgo* and offered a number of conclusions of comparative importance. In this wider perspective of comparative studies, Chamorro *compadrazgo* on Saipan has the following significant features:

(1) Godparents are often chosen from the circle of relatives, and no attempt has been made by the society to limit godparents to non-kin, thereby expanding numerically the number of persons with whom one maintains personal, kin-like relations.

(2) On Saipan, there is no proliferation of the kinds of *compadrazgo*, such as Gillin (1945) found at Moche, for which he describes fourteen forms of *compadrazgo*. Also, the Saipan Chamorros have not elaborated the institution so that it serves as a basis for a complex series of reciprocal obligations in the day-to-day economic organization of production and exchange. On Saipan, *compadrazgo* is primarily associated with the ritual and secular celebration of crisis rites.

(3) Mintz and Wolf (1950, p. 355), citing particularly the Moche case, state that "while the custom [of *compadrazgo*] derives primarily from a conception of spiritual parenthood, modern Latin American emphasis seems to be rather on ritual co-parenthood; the *compadre-compadre* relationship outweighs the godparent-godchild relationship." On Saipan, the emphasis is the other way around. It is the godparent-godchild relationship that is more sharply patterned and that carries more specific obligations.

(4) Mintz and Wolf (1950, p. 364) further conclude: "In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, *compadrazgo* is prevailingly horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several inter-acting classes, *compadrazgo* will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class)." The Saipan Chamorros are homogeneous in that every adult is conscious of Chamorro culture as a set of traditional customs

whose principal characteristics are generally agreed upon. The Saipan Chamorros are *not* homogeneous in that there is considerable variation in the amount of formal education received by different individuals, in the degree of literacy, in land-holdings, and, particularly before the war, in wealth. Social status, in the sense of being higher or lower, is very important, but it pertains to a grading of families, not to socially defined classes. A well-defined class system can hardly be said to exist among the Saipan Chamorros, granted the differences among families and individuals. *Compadrazgo* is likewise not clearly either horizontal (intra-class) or vertical (inter-class). *Compaires* are often of the same degree of wealth, education, and social position, whether high or low. On the other hand, persons of admittedly high status often have a great many godchildren, frequently from families of lower status. The parent who selects a godparent of higher status than himself is—given the emphases in the system—opening the way for a future personal relationship between his child and the godparent, rather than establishing a new, economically and socially important relationship for himself, although a *compaire* of higher status always adds “tone” to a baptism, wedding, communion, or confirmation party. Thus the Saipan Chamorros do not provide a clear-cut case against which to test Mintz and Wolf’s statement.

(5) It is my suspicion that Chamorro *compadrazgo* is closer to Spanish practice than to that of Latin-American communities. Regarding the comparative significance of *compadrazgo* in Spain and in the New World, Foster (1951, p. 321) notes: “In Hispanic America this is one of the most important features of social organization, with significant economic, religious, and emotional overtones. In Spain, it is (and from all evidence was) of moderate importance, invoked in the baptism and marriage of the individual, usually kept within the family, and relegated to the category of one of a number of routine *rites de passage*.”

On Saipan, *compadrazgo* as an institution may be more stressed than in Spain, but there seem to be more marked similarities in form to the Spanish practice than to that of Latin America. A decision on the question awaits clarification of the nature of the institution in Spain.

## XXI. Conclusion

### Chamorro Kinship System as a Type

It remains to summarize the principal characteristics of the Chamorro kinship system as a type, in order to facilitate comparison with other societies. By the kinship system is meant not merely kinship terminology alone, for this is but one aspect of the system. Nor are the social usages associated with the system, in the sense that Eggan (1951, p. 4) has defined "social usage" ("behavior patterns expectable between different individuals or groups under given conditions"), of primary importance in themselves. Rather it is the principal structural features of the Chamorro kinship system, as a system of social relations, that need to be isolated and generalized in order to make the preceding analysis of use in a comparative framework. To me, the following characteristics of the Chamorro system seem particularly important:

(1) The strength of the nuclear or elementary family. This is the residence unit, the production unit in agricultural activity, and the consumption unit. It is a significant factor in land tenure, in that the holdings of real property of a man and his wife are divided among their children. The elementary family is the reciprocating unit in the system of reciprocal giving of gifts and services—*chenchuli*, *ika*, and *ajudo*—associated with crisis rites. It is the unit assuming obligations of attendance at the secular festivities associated with crisis rites. These rites themselves support and emphasize the social solidarity and unitary nature of the elementary family. Marriage removes a couple from the immediate authority of their parents and establishes the necessary condition for the formation of the couple's own family of procreation. Baptism, first communion, and confirmation all emphasize the importance of the elementary family. The death of the parents signifies the dissolution of the family and the termination of its existence as a unit in reciprocal kinship obligations.

(2) The kinship terminology reflects this importance of the elementary family. The referential terminology separates parents from

their siblings and grandparents from theirs; own siblings from cousins, and own children from the children of siblings. The terminological emphasis is on the vertical linkage between the family of orientation and that of procreation.

(3) The kinship system is rather widely extended, in contrast to urban Western society where the elementary family is also emphasized as the principal kinship grouping. The extension of terms and obligations is bilateral, and although a familial surname group exists, on the basis of the inheritance of the surname through the male line, the extension of terms and obligations is not skewed by the presence of the surname group. The kinship terminology is presumed to include third cousins and theoretically could be extended indefinitely. However, the observed terminological range is actually slightly narrower than the presumed extension to third cousins, while a distinction can be made between the extension of terms and the extension of obligations, with the obligational range somewhat narrower than the terminological range. The kinship range is also a fluctuating type, in that kinship extensions take effect primarily at times of crisis rites rather than in ordinary, day-to-day living. The extension of the kinship system is maintained through time by the operation of reciprocal gifts and services on the occasions of crisis rites.

(4) Formal, dyadic behavior patterns largely express attitudes of respect toward relatives in ascending generations. In this latter group, the *manñaina*—in particular, the parents, grandparents, godparents, uncles and aunts with their spouses—are of special importance. On marriage, a person acquires a set of affinal *manñaina* to which he extends the respect behavior he accords his own *manñaina*. On the other hand, there are no formalized joking and avoidance relations.

(5) There are no clans, either exogamous or non-exogamous, named or unnamed. Some lineal emphasis is found in the presence of the patrilineal, surname group, but the significance of this group is much modified by the strength of bilateral ties.

(6) The family and the kinship system, as a whole, is closely related to religious organization through the ritual performance and religious sanction given crisis rites, particularly those of baptism, marriage, and death. The secular celebration of religious occasions is more elaborated in connection with crisis rites than with the fiestas set by the church calendar. The secular celebration of crisis rites is furthermore the obligation of family and kinfolk rather than

of the community. Ritual kinship, in the form of *compadrazgo*, affects every individual.

### Spanish Influence on the Chamorro Kinship System

The influence of Spain in refashioning the Chamorro kinship system has been noted in the first part of this report. Certain details are given further examination here.

Spanish influence on Chamorro social organization was both obliterative and substitutive. Old characteristics disappeared, and introduced patterns were substituted for old ones. Our knowledge of pre-contact Chamorro social organization is actually so slight that a detailed reconstruction of the former society is impossible. In general, we know that the Chamorros possessed matrilines or lineages; had a well-defined class system that may have tended toward endogamy, at least among the nobles; and possibly had extended families as residence units. A certain amount of material on matters such as the wide leeway permitted in pre-marital sex relations is recorded, but the specific social functions of matrilines are unknown.

In assessing the degree of Spanish influence, recourse must be had to similarities to Hispanic patterns in Spain and Latin America, and to social usages and elements that are conceptualized through Spanish loan words. Thus *compadrazgo* as an institution is clearly identified with Roman Catholicism and is also associated with linguistic borrowing of terms for the social concepts involved.

The positive elements introduced include most of the kinship terminology, the specific ritual forms of the major crisis rites, and some of the social usages that give definition and emphasis to the elementary family. The use of surnames, the social position of *padre de familia* and *madre de familia*, the authoritarian position of the former, the strict disciplining of children, inhibitions in relations between the unmarried of opposite sex—all are probably due to Spanish influence. Also due to this influence are the individual ownership of land and the custom of *partido*, or division of parental landholdings among the children. *Compadrazgo* as well as family novenas are of course also Spanish. The introduction of these patterns was accompanied by the disappearance of class and maternal descent, whatever tendency toward extended families as residence units that may have existed, and any formalized joking and avoidance relations that may have prevailed and that are commonly found in other parts of Micronesia. Although Thompson (1947,



p. 51) reports traces of matrilineal descent surviving on Guam, specifically the matrilineal inheritance of surnames, there is no evidence of this on Saipan, unless it be the case of illegitimate children.

What does seem to be a Chamorro inheritance is the system of reciprocal giving of gifts and services among relatives—the system of *ajudo*, *chenchuli*, and *ika*—as well as the social importance of kinship as such in the life of the community. Here there seems to be a carry-over from old times, though many associated social usages are undoubtedly Spanish.

The principal Spanish contact agents responsible for altering the kinship system were undoubtedly the priests, and the principal medium through which change occurred was probably the church. However, Spanish lay individuals no doubt also played a role. Those who married Chamorro women may well have introduced the individual ownership of land and the custom of the *partido*.

### Contemporary Kinship Change

The evidence for contemporary change in the Chamorro kinship system must be based largely on the testimony of groups of informants of different age levels. Such evidence must be treated with caution, for past conditions as remembered by older persons tend to assume a rosy hue with the passage of the years. Nevertheless, the kinship system does appear to be changing with respect to two features: (1) its range; and (2) the relation between adjacent generations, in particular that between parents and children. Each of these aspects of change is commented upon below.

In discussing the subject of the assumed obligational range of the kinship system with older informants, I found that they generally extended the range of obligations farther than younger adults, to include either all second cousins, or, in specific illustrations, more of them. Also, older informants stressed the importance of keeping an exact record of *chenchuli* obligations, whereas some of the younger adults were considerably more casual in their attitude. Lastly, although there is no documentary proof of the fact, I suspect that the differences exhibited by obligational and terminological ranges, in their assumed and observed aspects, are at least partly due to a gradual retraction in the range of the system. Now that house-thatching and house-building are no longer the occasions for a gathering of relatives in co-operative work, the obligational range of the system does not take effect as frequently as was formerly the case. Change in the kinship systems of societies undergoing accul-

uration is often marked by a retraction in the range of kinship, and I believe this same process is operative among the Chamorros.

Changes are also occurring in the relations of parents and children. The authority of the *padre de familia* was considerably more stressed by older informants, who felt that it was once greater than now. The previously cited statement of Arago (p. 279) bears this out. The shortening of the engagement period before marriage and the greater freedom of girls from parental chaperonage are likewise indications that the relationship of parents and children is tending toward greater freedom of individual action on the part of young unmarried adults. On the other hand, taking the island as a whole, there remains a marked stability in Chamorro familial and kinship organization. There certainly is no widespread familial disorganization.

The persistence of structural patterns in Chamorro kinship is partly due to the buttressing of these patterns by the church, particularly through the maintenance of crisis rites. There is also a strong element of tradition that finds its sharpest definition in the family and the relations of kinfolk; and in the ongoing process of the transmission of tradition within the family, the strength of this tradition itself strikes the observer as being a stabilizing element in the perpetuation of the kinship structure.

In connection with kinship change, mention should be made of juvenile delinquency. This is a community problem that exists among both Chamorro and Carolinian groups. During the period of observation, fifteen Chamorro boys between the ages of 15 and 18, and six between the ages of 12 and 15 had either been suspected with good reason or apprehended by the constabulary for thefts of small sums of money or beer, principally from stores. A number of cases of vandalism were also reported. Most of these boys exhibited a disinclination to work and spent most of their hours loafing and riding around in jeeps. Without an intensive case history of each individual in this group—data which I do not possess—it is impossible to make a valid general statement of the relation of this form of juvenile delinquency to family structure and kinship change. A few points, however, can be mentioned. It is the obligation of Chamorro parents to feed unmarried children. Though older children might be neglected, they would not be forcibly turned out of the home. So delinquents can generally count on food at least. In three of the cases, the children had been "spoiled" by their parents, according to American or Chamorro standards; my Chamorro friends

strongly felt that the parents of these boys were not strict enough and considered these cases as deviating from the traditional norm. In two of the three cases, the fathers, like the sons, were no ornaments to the community as far as drinking, lack of industry, and theft were concerned, and they had consistently neglected their children. In probably most of the cases of delinquency there were maladjustments in family life. Yet it is doubtful that juvenile delinquency can be related in the Chamorro case to any general trend in kinship change. The problem is larger and must take into account the community as a whole, the unsettling influence of the war and American occupation, and a certain resulting confusion in values. Some informants attributed the difficulties to the introduction of movies, while the lads who preferred to spend their time driving around in jeeps were commonly referred to as "cowboys."

Juvenile delinquency among young women and older girls is much lower. Its primary expression is prostitution. In 1949 there were approximately ten Chamorro prostitutes, the number dropping by more than half in 1950 as American enlisted personnel left the island. In all cases there had been a marked lack of parental control. Within the Chamorro community itself, prostitution would be unimportant.

Despite the occurrence of delinquency, for the island as a whole, it is my impression that there remains a marked stability in Chamorro familial and kinship organization. There certainly is no evidence that general familial disorganization has followed the strains of war and economic instability. Beals (1952, p. 230) has recently commented on differential acculturation in Mexico and noted that a sector of culture he terms *los costumbres* evidences most resistance to change. In Chamorro culture, the same phenomenon is found. Among the Chamorros, the pattern of family relationships and the activities which give this pattern definition belong to their own *los costumbres*.



PART IV  
THE SAIPAN CAROLINIANS

## XXII. The Carolinian Community

In the introductory chapter of this account and in other sections, certain differences between the Chamorro and Carolinian divisions of Saipan's population have been briefly described. The cultural contrasts between the two groups stem from their separate ethnic traditions and from the very long period of exposure to western and Japanese peoples and cultures experienced by the Chamorros, as opposed to the much shorter period of contact experienced by the Carolinians. Although the Carolinians share a common religious, political, and administrative organization with the Chamorros, and although they are more acculturated than their cousins remaining in the Carolines, the Saipan Carolinians are nevertheless a separate community on Saipan. In Chalan Kanoa, the Carolinians live in their own quarter; marriage between the Carolinians and Chamorros is not frequent; the Carolinians preserve their own language for use among themselves; their friends and associates are primarily Carolinians; and they are very conscious of their own traditions and cultural background. The purpose of this final part of the monograph is to analyze certain features of Carolinian social organization that serve to set off the Carolinians from the numerically superior and socially dominant Chamorros.

### Saipan Carolinian Origins

The Saipan Carolinians still preserve the memories of their islands of origin. On the basis of informants' testimony, the main body of the Saipan group migrated from atolls lying just to the west and north of Truk: Namonuito, Pulusuk, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Tamatam, and Puluwat.

Two of the principal islands of the Namonuito group are Pissaras and Onoun. The migrants from Pissaras settled Tanapag village, after a sojourn on Tinian. After Tanapag was destroyed by the invasion a number of families remained in Chalan Kanoa, but others moved back to Tanapag in an effort to rebuild the village. Migrants from Onoun, however, moved in with the Garapan Carolinians and now most of them live in Chalan Kanoa.

During the German period, the devastation caused by the typhoons of 1905 and 1907 in the Carolines necessitated the removal of groups of islanders from the Oleai and Mortlock (Nomoi) groups, and from Pingelap and Sonsorol, to Saipan. Most of these people were later returned. However, on Saipan there are a few individuals who, though incorporated into the main body of Carolinians, trace their ancestry, or themselves came, from the following islands: Truk, Yap, Palau, Ifalik, Ulithi, Faroulep, Oleai, Sorol, Ngulu, Mortlock (Nomoi), Sonsorol, and Ponape.

The Saipan Carolinians speak a single language, though minor dialectical differences exist between the groups in Tanapag and Chalan Kanoa. No adequate linguistic studies have been made, but the language is presumably a stabilized version of the dialects spoken in the Pulusuk-Puluwat-Satawal-Namonuito area. Fritz (1911, p. 7) noted that the Saipan Carolinian language contained a wealth of synonymous words and found that Saipan Carolinian interpreters, using the Saipan dialect, were possessed of a better medium of communication in the atolls west of Truk than were individuals from single atolls in this group.

### The Community House

When the Carolinians established themselves on Saipan, they brought with them a typical Carolinian institution, the community house. In Damm's description of Pulusuk house types, a distinction is made between the community house and the canoe house, though their construction was much the same. The former was the center of village life and the place of village assembly; the latter served not only to shelter large canoes but also as a sleeping place for young unmarried men and visiting men (Damm, Hambrüch, and Sarfert, 1935, pp. 115 ff.). On Saipan these two house types coalesced into a single form, the *ut*.

The Saipan Carolinian *ut* disintegrated in Japanese times, but in the period just before their final abandonment, there were four *ut* in Garapan and one at Tanapag. They were all large, well-built, thatched-roof buildings located along the lagoon shore. The Carolinians of Garapan were divided into ward-like districts, each of which had its own *ut*. The *ut* had names, those of the Garapan houses being, from north to south, *falamagut*, *faltago*, *lugan*, and *falso*. According to informants, *falamagut* split off from *faltago* about the year 1917, over a division of opinion as to the succession of the chieftainship of the *faltago ut*.

The *ut* had no walls, but the low eaves of the roof afforded protection against driving rains. The floor was the sand on which the house was built. At the height of the wall plate, the east half of the *ut* was floored to provide a second story, or loft, where the young unmarried men slept. The west half of the structure was unfloored; here fishing nets and other gear could be hung.

Apart from its use as a dormitory for unmarried men and boys, the *ut* served a variety of functions. It was a work place for the men, married and single. In the *ut* they made fish nets and worked on canoes. The *ut* was the place of general assembly for all the members of the district associated with the *ut*. In it were held all political and judicial meetings, as well as the social occasions at which the striking Carolinian dances were performed. Although women did not frequent the *ut* in the daily routine of life, and in fact were not normally permitted in the building, on special occasions they were present as well as the men.

As a social institution, rather than merely as a building, the *ut* was the nexus of political, economic, and festal life. For each *ut* there was a male chief (*samol*) and a set of male lesser chiefs or elders (*repi*), who in Japanese times numbered from six to fourteen, depending on the *ut*. Major communal activities centering in the *ut* were under the direction of the chief and the elders. The chieftainship descended within the limits of a single maternal clan; the succession of *repi* offices is now difficult to ascertain and no definite statement can be made.

The *ut* organization functioned importantly in political and judicial activities. Matters involving the interests of the district were debated in the *ut* by the *samol* and his *repi*, and decisions were reached by these men. Offenses against the moral code were likewise heard by the assembled *samol* and *repi* and penalties meted out. As in most Micronesian communities, offenses against life seem to have been rare; none were recorded for the Saipan Carolinians. More frequent were cases of theft, the punishment for which has been observed by middle-aged and elderly Carolinians. A suspected thief was brought before the *samol* and *repi* and his case debated. If the man was judged guilty, he was tied to one of the main posts of the *ut*. The relatives of the guilty man—particularly clan members—then had to bring gifts of handicraft and, in later times, money. These were placed before the chief. It was necessary for the relatives to continue bringing gifts until the chief judged the amount sufficient. These gifts were, in effect, ransom for the guilty man, and after



they had been placed before the chief he would allow the guilty man to be untied. All the ransom would be given the injured party, or a part would be retained for communal *ut* occasions. The whole procedure of punishment took place at a general assembly of the *ut* members, and much of the effectiveness of the punishment derived from its public nature and the shame attached not only to the guilty man, but also to his relatives and clan mates. A recorded instance, as told by a man who had been punished in this manner, is given below:

When I was a boy of about sixteen, I did not return a large basket I had borrowed from José Q., who was a Chamorro but was respected and liked by all Carolinians, because he knew our customs and understood us. José complained to the *repi* of my *ut*. When I heard that José had complained I grew afraid and ran off to my parents' farm. The chief told the *ut* "policemen" to get me, and so they came to the farm and took me to the *ut*. There I was tied to a post in the customary way. My relatives had to place 200 yen before the chief and *repi* before I was released. This money the *repi* then gave to José. José said he did not wish to take the money, but the *repi* refused to take it back and insisted that José accept it, which he reluctantly did.

According to informants, during the German regime, Governor Fritz thought well of this custom for punishing theft, and it was sanctioned by the German authorities. The custom, however, passed out during the ensuing Japanese period, partly because the Japanese officials wished to assume all responsibility for punishment of offenses, and no doubt partly because the *ut* was a dying institution. The last instance I recorded of a man's being tied to a post in the *ut* occurred in 1926.

The *ut* organization also played an important role in economic life. At periodic intervals, the chief would announce that all men would gather for fishing. The catch would then be divided among all the families attached to the *ut*, or would be cooked and eaten by all together, as the climax to a communal job such as re-thatching the *ut* or making a large fish-net. The *ut* provided the normal working place for the men. In the old days, the school for young pilots was held in the *ut*, and it was the locale for entertaining visitors and holding feasts.

Dances were held in the *ut*. The Carolinians were extremely fond of dances, their principal form of esthetic achievement. The young learned these dances from watching men and women and older brothers and sisters perform. The *ut* was the center for this type of artistic activity, which gave color and interest to Carolinian life.

The Carolinian *ut* as an institution declined during the Japanese period, and all the Garapan *ut* buildings were finally abandoned and torn down before World War II. The legal and political functions of the *ut* organization were assumed by the Japanese administration. As Saipan was developed economically by the Japanese, wage-work opened for Carolinians and men's work tended to become more individualized and more closely related to money compensation—an economic change that may well have acted to weaken the *ut* as a co-ordinating agent in men's work. Today the *ut* is only a memory, remarked on fondly by older men, who contrast the place of the *ut* as a center of attraction where young men combined work and amusement and where boys learned the essentials of right conduct, with the beer-halls, pool-parlors, and movies, where the boys now go for amusement.

Survivals, however, persist. In 1947, a Carolinian meeting house was built in Chalan Kanoa by the Carolinians and it bears the same name as the traditional structure. Only infrequently, however, is the meeting house used as such. Most of the time it is merely a playground for young Carolinian children.

Carolinian dances are still occasionally performed, and performed expertly, even though adults remark that the young no longer express as much desire to learn them. The stimulus to holding these dances now, however, comes from outside the Carolinian community, as it did during the last years of the Japanese regime, when the Carolinians staged dances for the prominent Japanese officials, who in recompense provided food and tobacco for the performers. During my own period of field work, Carolinian dances were held only twice: (1) as part of the secular celebration following the dedication of the new Chalan Kanoa church; and (2) at the time of the visit of a United Nations inspection party. In the first case, the padre suggested that a dance would be appropriate; in the second, the mayor of the municipality suggested the occasion. Although the fondness for dancing is still strong and perhaps is half-consciously clung to as the only indigenous form of artistic achievement that exists in the Saipan community, which is otherwise virtually devoid of artistic forms of expression, it seems doubtful that the vitality of Carolinian dancing will long endure. The Chamorros tend to regard it as "uncivilized," and as the Carolinians become more acculturated they may adopt a similar attitude.

The most important survival associated with the community house is on a less tangible level. Joseph and Murray (1951, pp.

70 ff.) have commented on the communal feeling of the Carolinians. In comparison with Chamorros, the Carolinians display less individualism and less individual desire to raise material standards of living. Wealth as well as status differences associated with wealth are much less sharply marked. At the same time, co-operative activities are common. Friends and relatives frequently volunteer to help another Carolinian build a house or complete a job requiring more than one man's work. If a house is to be built, a Carolinian carpenter often does not ask for a fee, particularly if the house is that of a relative. Boats are borrowed and lent. Food is never denied another Carolinian. Carolinian medicine men freely offer their services in administering to the sick. The Saipan Fishing Company, though suffering from management difficulties, never really lacked the co-operation of Carolinian fishermen. Carolinian women still cultivate a communal taro plot. The Carolinians have a strong feeling of group identity.

These co-operative activities are not, of course, survivals of the community house, but rather manifestations of the feeling of unity that expressed itself in the group activities associated with the *ut*. Though the latter is gone there is marked persistence of sentiments and attitudes that act to bind the Carolinian community together.

Formerly, status differences among the Saipan Carolinians were based largely on the system of chiefs and elders, while men with special competence in navigation, canoe-making, medicine, and magic also enjoyed prestige. Though chiefly lines did maintain superior status, the atoll societies from which most of the Saipan Carolinians were drawn seem not to have been highly stratified. The same condition prevailed on Saipan.

Today, status differences are not sharply marked, and there is a minimum of internal differentiation on status lines within the Carolinian community. The male leaders are largely those who the Carolinians feel can cope best with present unsettled conditions—men with some knowledge of English and of local political affairs. Even in later Japanese times the principal Carolinian man was not of chiefly descent, but rather knew Japanese and the Japanese administration and was the intermediary between the latter and the Carolinians. Although he is no longer active in political affairs, he is often spoken of by the Carolinians as one of their prominent men. At the present time, the Carolinians are relatively homogeneous as regards occupation, economic status, amount of formal schooling, and knowledge of Carolinian custom, and a class structure cannot be said to exist among them.

### **Carolinian Kinship**

The social organization of the Carolinians offers a marked contrast to that of the Chamorros in the way in which kinship relations are organized and in the formal aspects of kin groups. Among the Carolinians, the extensions of kinship are of more pervading importance in day-to-day life and in routine co-operative activities. The remainder of this report consists of an analysis of contemporary Carolinian kinship, from which spring many of the more significant characteristics of the Carolinian community.

## XXIII. Matrilineal Kin Groups

Among the Saipan Carolinians there are two types of matrilineal kin group: the clan and the lineage. Neither of these appears to have the vitality it once possessed. The characteristics of clan and lineage are described below.

### Maternal Clan

On Saipan the maternal clan is a group consisting of individuals of both sexes who count descent through the maternal line and believe they are all related, though an actual genealogical relationship usually cannot be demonstrated. Each clan has a name and is traditionally exogamous.

Although some of the young people were uncertain of their clan affiliation and had to check with an older relative when questioned, only one Carolinian adult was completely ignorant of clan affiliation, and this person was an orphan. Clan names are still remembered and are passed down to the young. Often, however, an adult will know his own clan but will be ignorant of more than one or two other clan names.

As a social unit, the clan is called an *ainang*. The recorded names of the Carolinian clans are given in the following list.

<i>ailingaitau</i>	<i>mangalufash</i>	<i>sausat</i>
<i>ashao</i>	<i>mar</i>	<i>sauwulei</i>
<i>atoliial</i>	<i>pik</i>	<i>sauwulpei</i>
<i>barraga</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>uitö</i>
<i>falemwei</i>	<i>saumesh</i>	<i>uma</i>
<i>lemol</i>	<i>sau palei</i>	<i>un</i>
<i>musalö</i>		

So far as could be ascertained, these clans had no chiefs and held no land, although one clan, *sauwalei*, is the one from whom the chiefs (*samol*) of the *falamagut* and *lugan* community houses in Garapan were drawn and with whom the acknowledged leader of the Carolinians during later Japanese times was affiliated. There are no clan chiefs today, or clan lands, or clan meetings, or clan co-operative

activities. In former times, the clan functioned to extend hospitality, as when the crews of visiting canoes were provided for by their clan mates on Saipan, but this kind of event lies well in the past.

To judge from the seriousness with which elderly Carolinians discussed the matter, the clan was until recently exogamous. Neither marriages nor casual sexual relations were permitted between members of the same clan. Kinship terms were extended to all members of one's own clan and they were all considered related. Today, the situation is by no means the same. There are at least three intra-clan marriages and I found few young Carolinians who would consider the former exogamy a bar to either sex relations or marriage with a person of the same clan. There is in this matter a very marked contrast between old people and young adults in the way in which clan exogamy is regarded. Although there is no accepted, negative social sanction against those who break clan exogamy, elderly informants were most positive in their expressed attitudes against such infractions of custom, whereas young adults regarded clanship as an interesting part of Carolinian tradition but of minor significance in their lives.

The clan is today a traditional entity with little or no actual function, but the ban on sex relations and marriage seems to have been the property longest retained and last to disappear. On Saipan, the lingering sentiments against sex relations within the clan bear on the general problem of incest regulations. Although it is obvious that incest within the nuclear or elementary family is not the same as sexual intercourse between members of an exogamous clan, it is not difficult to find societies where there is a strong aversion to sex relations among clan mates and where strong negative sanctions are applied to offenders. In cases where clan organization is breaking down, as on Saipan, attitudes against clan incest are among the last properties of the clan to disappear. At the same time, when clans cease to be functional and when an increasing number of clan mates have casual sex relations or enter into formal marriage, I have personally never found that parties to this breaking with custom were bothered by the fact. The decline of clan organization among societies such as the Saipan Carolinians is one further bit of evidence that incest regulations have a social and cultural basis rather than an instinctive one, and that when an exogamous group loses its social functions exogamy itself also eventually disappears.

In summary, the maternal clan on Saipan today exists primarily as an element of Carolinian tradition rather than as a fully functioning social group.

### Maternal Lineage

Of more importance in the contemporary scene is the maternal lineage. For the purposes of this report, the maternal lineage is defined as a group whose members trace descent in the maternal line from a known ancestor by virtue of a known genealogical relationship. The Saipan Carolinians today are not particularly concerned with genealogy and seldom go back more than two or three ascending generations in tracing relationships. Maximal lineages among the Saipan Carolinians do not cover a span of more than five generations (usually two above and two below a hypothetical ego). Socially, furthermore, these maximal lineages are not very significant. A minimal lineage whose core is a grandmother-mother-daughter line is much more important, for these minimal lineages still have relevance to land tenure and formerly had to residence. Even then, the minimal lineage can not always be sharply differentiated from larger and more inclusive maximal lineages, because in some cases the actual functioning group may expand beyond the minimal lineage; in other cases it will not. For this reason, I have not differentiated the lineage into smaller component lineal units, or *descent lines*, in Goodenough's usage (Goodenough, 1951, pp. 65 ff.).

The lineage is unnamed and has no formal head. Each clan is composed of a series of lineages, though in the case of one small clan all the members can trace an actual genealogical relationship, and hence the maximal lineage and clan coincide.

Although the nineteenth century social organization of the major home atolls of the Saipan Carolinians is only sketchily known, the data gathered during the German period of administration, as well as Murdock and Goodenough's (1947) recent studies of Truk, an island complex which greatly influenced the atolls to the west, demonstrate that lineage groups are highly important functional units in the social organization of this area. On Saipan today, lineages have declined in social significance, a fact that can be demonstrated within the Saipan community alone. The important point in any analysis of contemporary Saipan Carolinian social structure is the extent to which lineality as a principle, rather than as manifest in clearly constituted descent groups with well-defined functions, tends to survive. Rather than devote further space at this point to lineage groups *per se*, I shall reserve further discussion of lineality to those aspects of Carolinian life where it is most relevant, namely, in residence patterns, family organization, and land tenure.

## XXIV. The Household

The residential group among the Saipan Carolinians is the household, which usually consists of an elementary, or nuclear, family. Each household has its own living house, with a separate cook-house adjacent to it.

### Size and Composition of Households

A census was taken of fifty Carolinian households in the Carolinian district of Chalan Kanoa. This sample accounted for slightly less than one-quarter of the Carolinian population, but it is probably representative for the group as a whole. On the basis of the sample, the average size of the Carolinian household is 4.82 persons.

#### *Saipan Carolinian Household Size*

No. of persons in household	Frequency of occurrence	Total no. of persons
2	6	12
3	10	30
4	9	36
5	8	40
6	8	48
7	3	21
8	2	16
9	2	18
10	2	20
Total	50	241

Although most households consist of a nuclear family of husband, wife, and children, there are survivals of a matrilineal extended family organization that at one time was the prevailing form of residential kin group. Thus, in three cases that were recorded, married sisters were living with their spouses in a single household. Also, every household does not have its own farmhouse, and sometimes married sisters, though living apart in the village, will share a farmhouse. Finally, there is one case of a group of seven nuclear families, all related through the female line, who moved out of Chalan Kanoa to a tract of farm land and are working this land as a co-



operative group. These occurrences are facets of what was once a strong lineage emphasis that controlled the composition of residence groups among the Saipan Carolinians.

The traditional Saipan Carolinian residence unit was an extended family, based on matrilineal marriage. The core of this unit was a line of women—mothers and daughters—who owned the house, held title to much of the farm land, and controlled the household budget. This type of family organization prevailed on Saipan until World War II. It is therefore possible to plot its breakdown through use of the genealogical method.

A sample of ten pre-war households in Garapan was taken and their composition determined for the year 1940. These households were all extended families, ranging in size from 11 to 37 persons. Despite the large size of some of these families, in only one case were they extended beyond the minimal lineage of three or four consanguineous generations of mothers and daughters. In the single exception, a maternal, parallel cousin—a female—of the oldest generation of women in the household was also a member of the group. Marriage was overwhelmingly matrilineal. Of the 51 marriages in the ten households, where both spouses were living and residing together, 45 were matrilineal. The remaining six were patrilineal and are to be explained by a variety of circumstances. In one case, the wife came from Truk and had no kinfolk on Saipan. In another case, the wife was a poor orphan with no sisters and no house. In the other cases, the actual circumstances can no longer be reconstructed satisfactorily, though emotional attachment of the boy for his own parents was a factor in at least two instances. Each of these ten extended families lived in a single living house, with a single cook-house, and used a single farmhouse.

Ten years later, with Garapan destroyed and with all the material possessions of these families gone, a new pattern of residence had emerged. Not including the marriages of sons during the ten-year period and the resulting establishment of their families, the ten pre-war households have now split up into 42 independent households, ranging in size from two to ten persons. Each of these households has its own living house and cook-house, though not its own farmhouse. Marriage today is temporarily matrilineal, most husbands and wives attempting to set up their own households as soon as they commence to raise a family.

There has consequently been a breakdown of the Carolinian extended family as a residence unit in the Carolinian community as a

whole. The factors involved in this breakdown are not entirely clear. One puzzling feature is the rapidity with which the process took place, for it occurred as soon as new housing became available after the invasion. The American Military Government officers encouraged each nuclear family to have its own house, but if the matrilocal extended family had had real vitality it would have persisted in at least an appreciable number of cases. It seems probable that in the years immediately preceding the war the extended family was held together as a residence unit primarily by the housing shortage in Garapan. The town was congested, houses were at a premium, and building materials were scarce. This situation encouraged the continuance of the extended family unit.

A principal point of examination in the break-up of the matrilocal extended family lies in the diminishing importance of the maternal lineage as the core of this family organization. According to informants, the female members of the lineage owned the house. The lineage was furthermore a corporate group holding title to lineage land. Males married to female lineage members worked this lineage land and also supported the matrilocal family by fishing. Through most of the nineteenth century, Saipan did not have a full money economy, and off-island sale of local products was not of great significance. Beginning about the turn of the century, copra became more important as a product of sale, and money as a medium of exchange made a greater penetration of the island economy; also, the German homestead plan was designed primarily for the benefit of nuclear families, and elderly Carolinians said that the German administration encouraged young people to build their own separate houses when they married. In the ensuing Japanese period, periodic wage-work for Carolinians became possible, money became of increasing importance in the economic system, and land was rented and in the latter part of the period sold to Japanese. These changes in the island economy seem to have weakened the economic basis of the matrilocal extended family and the lineage around which it was built, and favored the nuclear family. I suspect that the previous subsistence economy and the importance of the lineage as a corporation controlling land resources were important bases of the extended family. Unfortunately, the details of the breakdown of this family organization are not clear. The Saipan Carolinians provide one more example of the disintegration of extended families as residence units, and high-light our ignorance of just how this process takes place.

### Houses, House-Building, and Household Routine

Carolinian houses today are much like Chamorro houses in outward appearance. In pre-war times there was a difference, as no Carolinian houses equalled in size and massiveness the houses of the wealthier Chamorro families. Carolinian houses are generally more simply furnished. Even today the more elaborate Chamorro houses are equipped with polished linoleum, easy chairs, slip covers, pictures, and other features of western furniture that are seldom found in Carolinian houses. The Carolinians also make more use of the floor for lounging and sleeping; and, though many Carolinian houses are clean inside and out, the Carolinians are on the whole much more casual about housekeeping. Their yards are more frequently cluttered with trash.

The reason for this difference, I believe, is that housekeeping and a prettified house have decided status connotations among the Chamorros, whereas these are of minor importance to the Carolinians. Carolinian nuclear families are not in competition for status in the way Chamorro families are. Houses do not have the same status connotations for their owners and users in the two groups.

Another major difference lies in the way houses are built. Chamorros usually build houses on the basis of contract and hire. Carolinians usually build houses through co-operation among kinfolk and friends. One of the distinguishing features of Carolinian co-operative labor is that it is still largely on a volunteer kinship basis. When a man needs assistance, his kinsmen usually offer to help. I found no instances among the Carolinians of the rather cut and dried *adalag* (institutionalized trading of labor) that is Chamorro custom.

As among the Chamorros, the Carolinians ask a carpenter to supervise the work, but they ask a Carolinian carpenter rather than a Chamorro one. Sometimes the carpenter is hired for an agreed upon sum, but in most cases he offers his services free, particularly if he is a kinsman. It is understood that at some time in the future the builder will return the favor by assisting the carpenter, though this fact is never actually mentioned. In addition, the builder lets it be known that he is building a house, starting on such and such a day. When the day arrives a number of kinsmen and friends will show up to help, generally without being asked; they have simply heard about the housebuilding and come to assist. The builder provides a daily meal for carpenter and helpers. The helpers are not paid.

One difficulty with this system is that it makes house-building a slow process. Some days a large crew of helpers will appear, on other days none. In favorable circumstances, the crew will stay on the job until the heavy work is done, after which the builder and carpenter will finish the job.



FIG. 30. Saipan Carolinian woman weeding sweet potato field.

The kinship ties that are effective in the co-operative labor involved in house-building are not only lineal ones. Bilateral relationships on both mother's and father's sides of the builder are just as important, and affinal kinsmen, such as a wife's brother or a wife's sister's husband, will often assist. Kinship relations in co-operative labor are not sharply restricted to particular types of relationship.

Within the Carolinian household, the men build houses and boats, and do all the carpentry. They spend a very considerable time fishing, at which virtually all Carolinian men are adept. They do some farming, though many are not particularly interested in this activity. They collect breadfruit and help in some forms of food preparation, such as pounding cooked breadfruit. Only a few Carolinians are steady wage-workers, even if the opportunity offers. They prefer not to be held to a steady work routine. Work in itself is not re-

garded as a virtue. Lagoon- and reef-fishing are as much a sport as they are work.

The women prepare the food. A cook-house or shelter separated from the living house is the rule. The Chamorros seldom use the earth oven, but the Carolinians make great use of it. The women are more energetic gardeners than the men. It is the women particularly who plant taro and sweet potatoes, clean the plots of grass and weeds, and harvest the crop. They do some handicraft, make clothes, and do the laundry. They keep house in a casual fashion, and care for young children. Like the men, the Carolinian women do not follow a rigid, day-to-day work routine. Carolinians are seldom too busy to sit down for a talk with a casual visitor.

Carolinian food habits are closer to the original Micronesian pattern and are more closely adjusted to the subsistence resources of Saipan than is the case with the much more sophisticated Chamorros. Fish is the main source of protein, and taro, sweet potatoes, and breadfruit, when available, are important vegetable foods. Rice, tea, sugar, bread, and soy sauce are the principal store-bought items, exclusive of beer. Beef and pork are primarily festal foods. The "hot-cold" food dichotomy of the Chamorros is not a Carolinian culture trait, though individual Carolinians may be aware of the concept.

*Combined Food Consumption of Four Carolinian Households  
in Two Weeks*

Food produced or collected by the Carolinians:

Fresh fish (lbs.)	55
Salt fish (lbs.)	95
Small shore crabs (lbs.)	17
Breadfruit	79
Bananas (raw)	120
Bananas (cooked)	210
Fresh coconuts (grated)	9

Store-bought food:

Rice (lbs.)	65
Sugar (lbs.)	20
Bread (lbs.)	24
Tea (lbs.)	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Soy sauce (bottle)	1
Betel nuts	145

As this was the breadfruit season, no taro or sweet potatoes were consumed. A large number of mangoes, probably several hundred, were eaten, often between meals. These families have several large mango trees. It proved impossible to record mango consumption.

Although three meals a day are usual, the mid-day meal is very light; the women usually cook only twice a day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. Both sexes eat together; fingers are much used, as well as utensils. The combined food consumption of four families, consisting of a total of twelve adults and thirteen children, is given above. The data cover a two-week period, May 24-June 7, 1950.

## XXV. Kinship System

### Kinship Terminology

The referential terminology of the Saipan Carolinians conforms to a generation type system. There has been no assimilation of Chamorro kinship terms into the Carolinian system, though adult Carolinians know most of the Chamorro kinship terms. The only exception to this statement is that the terms associated with the *compadrazgo* relationship have been adopted by the Carolinians. Carolinian referential terms are given below (for the sibling term, a possessive suffix, first person, singular, is included):

father	.....	<i>semei</i>
mother	.....	<i>ilei</i>
grandfather	.....	<i>samalapei</i>
grandmother	.....	<i>inelapei</i>
sibling	.....	<i>pwi</i>
child	.....	<i>lei</i>
grandchild	.....	<i>lailei</i>
spouse	.....	<i>shalimwei</i>
brother-in-law	.....	<i>haushumwei</i>
sister-in-law	.....	<i>hōrshei</i>

The application of these terms is shown in figures 31 and 32. Certain characteristics of the referential terminology are as follows:

(1) Among the Tanapag Carolinians, a slight dialectical difference prevails, in that *s* changes to *h*, and *l* to *n*, in the terms themselves. Also, the initial consonant in the term for spouse shifts to *r*.

(2) A sex distinction is made in the terms for the ascending generations, but not for sibling, child, or grandchild terms. For these latter, sex qualifiers are usually added to the kinship terms. These qualifiers are “*mwual*” for males and “*shabol*” for females.

(3) The consanguine terms, particularly, do not indicate nearness or farness of a relative referred to. In speech, the Carolinians often follow mention of a kin term with a description of the genealogical relationship involved.

(4) For ascending generations above the grandparental level, terms applicable to a grandparent are used. For descending generations below that of a grandchild, the terms for a grandchild are used.

(5) Personal names rather than kinship terms are used extensively in a referential context, particularly for persons outside the elementary family.

(6) There is no reflection of maternal clan or lineage in the kinship terminology.

#### VOCATIVE TERMS

Kinship terminology is primarily used as a system of reference. In direct address, personal names rather than kinship terms are used for real or classificatory siblings, children, and grandchildren. However, for own parents the referential terms for "father" and "mother" are used vocatively. For parents' siblings, the referential term is often prefixed to the personal name. For the grandfather, the referential term for "father" is used; for the grandmother, her referential term is used. For grandparents' siblings, the referential term for "father" is prefixed to the personal name in the case of males; while the referential term for "grandmother" is prefixed to the personal name for females. The vocative terminology for spouse's parents follows that for own parents. Husband and wife usually address each other by personal name. For classificatory relatives of ascending generations, there is a wide use of personal names rather than kinship terms.

#### Kinship Behavior

Formalized joking relationships are not characteristic of the Saipan Carolinian kinship system. Formalized respect relationships, on the other hand, are characteristic, and behavior among kinfolk can be described largely according to degrees of respect demanded in particular relationships.

Much of Carolinian behavior is oriented around two related concepts that permeate Carolinian thought: the concepts of "*epil*" and "*esepil*." "*Epil*" refers to behavior in which familiarity toward a person or thing is proscribed and respect demanded. A brother must never joke with a sister, or a sister with a brother. Furthermore, *epil* behavior involves persons or things considered dangerous. It is *epil* for a menstruating woman to enter a taro field, for her state is believed dangerous to the taro plants. In the old days it



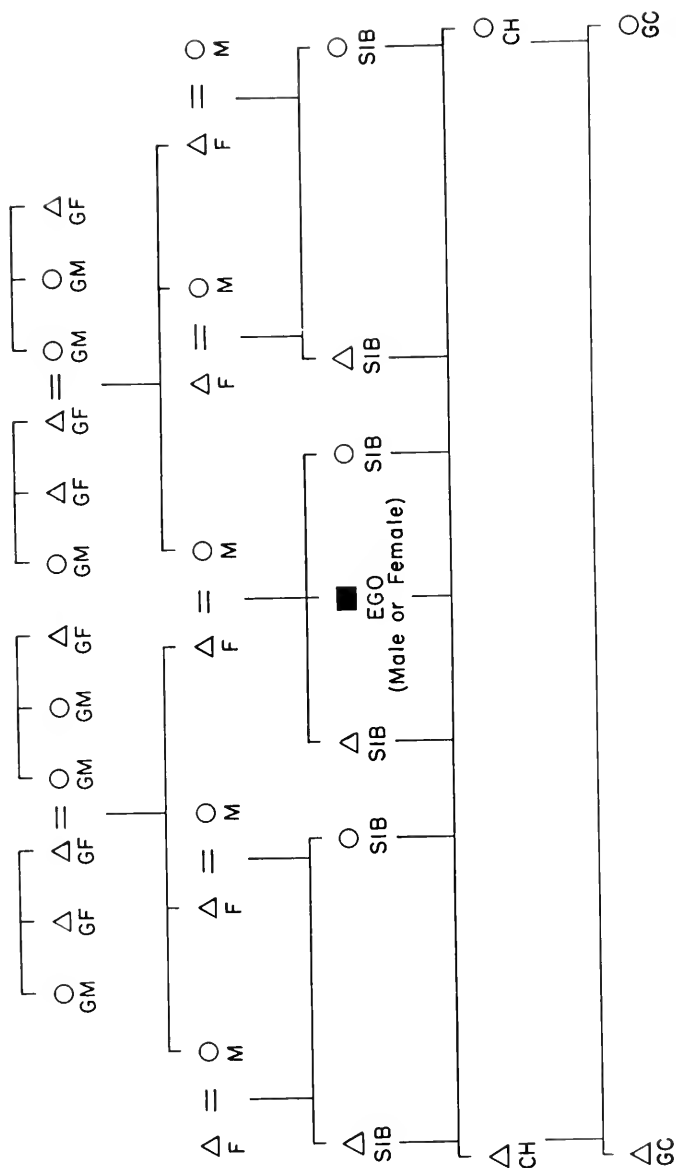


FIG. 31. Saipan Carolinian terminological structure, showing consanguine terms used in reference. Ego is male or female. Abbreviations on the chart are as follows: *F*=father; *M*=mother; *GF*=grandfather; *GM*=grandmother; *Sib*=sibling; *CH*=child; *GC*=grandchild. For the Saipan Carolinian terms, see page 343.

was *epil* for a woman to enter the community house (the *ut*), except on stated occasions. Certain forms of behavior, therefore, and, in particular, behavior considered familiar, are prohibited—they are *epil*. Hence there result from these prohibitions patterned forms of respect behavior toward things or persons. Much kinship behavior falls in this category. The similarity to Polynesian ideas of taboo is apparent. “*Esepil*” refers to the absence of the prohibitions that are effective in *epil* relationships. “*Esepil*” is the reverse of “*epil*” and concerns things, persons, and acts which carry no prohibitions. In a rough and ready sense, “*epil*” and “*esepil*” embody the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane. Projected into the realm of kinship behavior, “*epil*” refers to prohibitions on familiarity, “*esepil*” to the absence of such prohibitions. (For a discussion of *epil* behavior on Puluwat atoll in the Carolines, see Damm, Hambrüch, and Sarfert, 1935.)

Respect behavior takes a number of conventional forms. Among older adults, women still walk hunched over, or, inside the house, on their knees, if a real or classificatory brother is present. A whole series of prohibitions is involved in the brother-sister relationship. Respect forms of speech are demanded in conversation between certain relatives. The outward and heavily formalized respect patterns are less apparent among young adults than in the case of older persons, but they are still noticeably present.

#### THE FAMILY

Within the nuclear family, husband-wife relationships are informal and easy. Spouses call each other by their personal names and do not use respect forms of address. The women often hold the family purse strings. It is customary for a man to bring his fish catch to his wife, who will then distribute surplus fish to relatives. A wife never “crawls” in the presence of her husband.

Young children are primarily under the care of the mother, but the father may help in looking after them when he is in the household area. Although the idea of corporal punishment is not alien to Carolinian culture, and I recorded a number of instances in which boys were whipped, the Carolinians as a group do not punish their children nor deal with them as strictly as do the Chamorros. Children are treated in a more relaxed fashion, and, as they grow older, boys particularly are given much freedom to roam about the island. Largely due to church influences, an attempt is made to keep an eye on girls but they are certainly given more freedom than Cha-

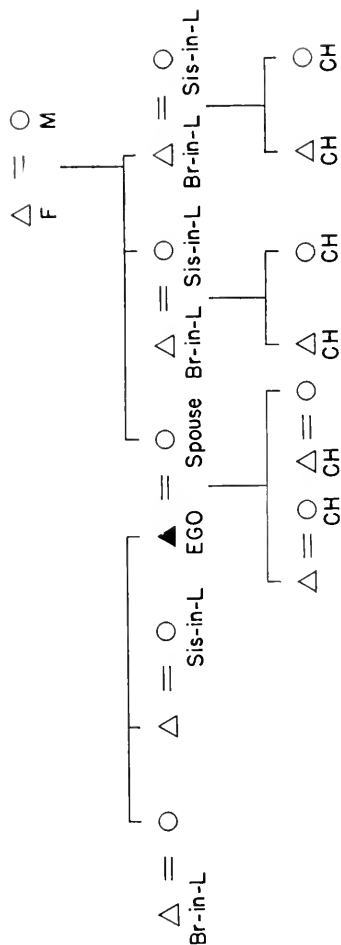
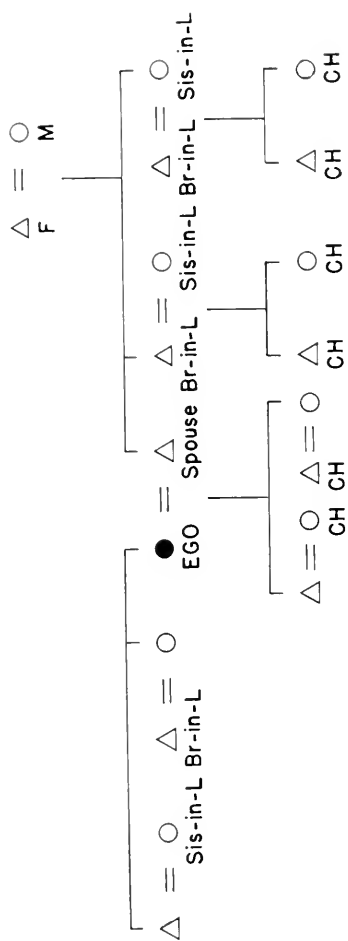


FIG. 32. Saipan Carolinian terminological structure, showing affinal terms used in reference. In top chart, ego is male; in bottom chart, ego is female. Abbreviations are as follows: *F*=father; *M*=mother; *Br-in-L*=brother-in-law; *Sis-in-L*=sister-in-law; *CH*=child. For the Saipan Carolinian terms, see page 343.

morro girls. The set of familial pressures that keep Chamorro children in the home-school-church circuit is considerably relaxed by the Carolinians (cf. Joseph and Murray, 1951, pp. 77 ff.).

Carolinian parents do not give their children a great deal of formal instruction in skills, and a Carolinian child learns largely by watching and imitating others. Boys, for instance, start spear-fishing at about the age of ten, going out to the reefs and lagoons with an age mate, older boys, or occasionally adult men. By the time they are eighteen the boys are usually proficient swimmers and fishermen, able to spend hours in the lagoon. Girls spend much time around the house, learning household tasks from older women, caring for younger siblings, and making periodic trips to the sweet potato and taro plots to help with the garden work.

By the age of puberty, Carolinian boys and girls are expected to know what is *epil* and what is *esepil*, what relationships among kin demand respect, and what the forms of respect behavior are. This knowledge they acquire from their parents and elders. As a mark of respect, the Carolinians do not use the Chamorro *'ninge*, or kiss of the hand, characteristic of the relationship of Chamorro children to parents. Among the Carolinians, other facets of behavior are utilized. One of these is a series of polite forms of address associated with respect behavior. These are taught children by their parents, who use this form of speech in conversing with their sons and daughters. The parents continue to use the respect forms after their children have grown to adulthood. The children, on the other hand, do not use the respect speech to their parents, although they do not act familiarly toward their parents; the relationship is one of mutual respect. The non-reciprocal character of the speech pattern emphasizes the difference in generation between parents and children. Carolinians often said that parents use the respect forms because these are an essential part of the language of instruction. The use of these forms in turn dignifies the user.

Among siblings, patterns of respect and familiarity follow differences in age and sex. The oldest child is called "*lap*," and whether male or female is traditionally in a position of respect with regard to younger siblings. The latter, at least after puberty, use polite speech to the oldest sibling. The oldest, if a boy, will use familiar speech to younger brothers; he should use polite speech to all sisters, although some men today do use familiar forms to younger sisters. If the eldest is a girl, she will use the familiar forms to younger sisters and polite speech to all brothers.

The respect patterns among siblings of the same sex are dependent on age differences. Theoretically the older sibling demands respect from younger siblings but treats them familiarly. As a matter of fact, the relationship between siblings of the same sex, particularly if there is no great age difference, is usually relaxed and casual. Jokes, often with a sexual reference, are not prohibited and the relationship is usually a familiar one. If there is a marked age difference, relations are more formal and there is a greater emphasis on the use of respect language of younger to older sibling.

Probably the most obvious respect relation in Carolinian life is that between brothers and sisters. This is not marked among children, but at about the age of puberty it becomes highly formalized. In olden days, when a boy reached adolescence he was sent out of the household to the men's house to sleep. Today, an attempt is still made to separate siblings of opposite sex after they have attained the age of puberty. A boy will sleep in a different room or on the veranda, or he will be sent to a friend's house for the night.

Excluding children, a brother must never joke with or tease his sister, and he should not address her in familiar language. Subjects with a sexual reference are carefully excluded from conversation. He should not touch his sister or her clothes. He should always be respectful and polite. The sister follows similar rules of behavior toward her brother. In addition, she must never use her brother's drinking cup. The cups of brothers and sisters are kept carefully separated in the household and should a sister by mistake use her brother's cup, he can not again use it. A sister is careful never to hang her clothes near the door, lest her brother touch them in passing. She never uses her brother's bed or his personal possessions. She does not use his betel or cigarettes.

These prohibitions on personal contact and on familiarity in speech and manner are emphasized even more by two old customs. According to the first, a sister passes her brother in a stooped and hunched-over position, so that she will not be above him. If she must pass him outside, and he is sitting down, she will ask him to rise, so that she can pass, if he does not happen to see her. This practice is still followed by older adults, though it is passing out among younger people. The second custom is more widespread and takes place within the house. In this case, a woman always walks on her knees in her brother's presence when he is sitting down. Formerly, if she wished to leave the room she asked her brother to rise, but this custom is seldom followed today.

Among most Saipan Carolinians, the brother-sister respect relationship is still taken very seriously, and infringements are believed to bring illness and death. An example of the violation of prohibitions on familiar conduct in the brother-sister relation occurred a few years ago on Saipan.

Manuel, a young man, did not take the brother-sister respect relation seriously. When his sister passed by, crouched over, he would mock her by stooping. He did not use the respect forms of speech to her and addressed her in familiar fashion. He even went so far as to try to joke with classificatory sisters. One day Manuel fell ill. His condition worsened and soon he died. Today the old people and many young adults, too, feel that his illness and death are to be attributed to his breaking the rules of behavior.

#### RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

In contrast to that of the Chamorros, the Carolinian nuclear family is not so sharply marked off within the network of extended kinship relations. The extensions of kinship beyond the nuclear family among the Carolinians are characterized by a greater amount of sharing of food and labor without the sharpness of reciprocity characteristic of the Chamorros. The niceties of *chenchuli*, *ika*, and *ajudo* relationships are lacking among the Carolinians. The Chamorro custom of *uñon* in slaughtering cattle and selling agreed-upon quantities of meat to relatives is alien to the Carolinian custom. As one man said, "We do not like to sell things we should give." One abortive attempt by a Carolinian who decided to make money through *uñon* was recorded:

Ramon bought a cow for \$150, but soon he needed money; so he decided to kill the cow and sell the meat, after the custom of Chamorro *uñon*; but after slaughtering the animal he gave away all except \$50 worth of meat to his relatives. This left everyone with a full meal, but Ramon \$100 poorer. The idea of sharing food with relatives is so strong that the Chamorro *uñon* does not work.

There is much visiting around of Carolinians among their kinfolk. Children roam between uncles, aunts, and grandparents. It is true that Chamorros are fond of visiting, but a Chamorro family generally returns to its own house at night. Carolinians may eat and sleep for a few days at a relative's house, especially between *lanco* and village. This fact results in an easy life for the "sponger"—the lazy individual who does no work and lives on his relatives' generosity. As one Carolinian remarked of the several examples of this sort of person to be found on Saipan:

We never say anything directly to such a person about mending his ways, though we continue to feed him. In time he may be ashamed, and come to help us. One never knows when one may need help, and even a lazy man may be a friend in time of need.

With this brief statement of the general orientation of the nuclear family in the larger network of kin relationships, we may next note the types of behavior involving relatives outside the nuclear family.

Between parents' siblings and siblings' children, behavior is an extension, in weaker form, of that obtaining in the parent-child relation. Whatever the custom may once have been, no special rights, obligations, and duties were found associated with the avunculate. Between grandparent and grandchild there is also a respect relationship, though it is not stiffly formal. A grandparent uses the respect forms of speech to his or her grandchildren. As with the parents, the grandchild need not reciprocate, but a grandchild does not really joke with a grandparent. One should always be respectful to all older people.

Toward cross and parallel cousins, sibling behavior is extended, with the same prohibitions on conduct that affect the brother-sister relationship.

Behavior toward parents-in-law is theoretically an extension of behavior toward parents and should be marked by helpfulness on the part of children-in-law toward their parents-in-law. In some cases this was not particularly noticeable. As one Carolinian man, who is markedly helpful to his parents-in-law, remarked:

When some Carolinian men marry they will take their wives away and say, "Let her parents look after themselves." This is not right and it is not Carolinian custom.

Towards siblings-in-law, behavior is conditioned by the sibling relationship. A woman maintains a respect relationship with her brother. Her husband is likewise respectful toward her brother and does not treat him familiarly, make jokes with him, or argue with him. Her husband also uses the polite forms of speech. On the other hand, a man may use familiar speech toward the husband of his younger sister. Toward his wife's older sister he uses polite speech, toward his wife's younger sister, familiar speech. His age with respect to his own brother determines whether or not he uses polite speech forms toward the brother's wife. These variations in speech usages, however, do not fully reflect respect and familiarity behavior. In none of these sibling-in-law relationships is there formalized joking or even pronounced familiarity.

### Range of the System

The range of Carolinian kinship terminology is based on two principal factors: (1) the bilateral extension of kinship terms; and (2) the extension of kinship terms to the maternal clan. According to older informants, kin terms are extended to all members of one's own clan, and probably once were to all members of the father's clan. This extension, however, is actually not followed by most younger adults, for the clan is passing out as a fully functioning group and has lost much of its social importance. The extension of terms on a clan basis falls within the terminological range of the system, as assumed by older adults. The observed range of the terminological system, as this has been defined in the chapter on Chamorro kinship, is based essentially on the bilateral extension of terms, with clan affiliation of minor significance.

In the bilateral extension of terms there is some difference between assumed and observed range, but not a great deal. Third cousins roughly mark the outer limits of the assumed system. The observed range of the system for most people includes all second cousins and some but seldom all third cousins. The Carolinians as a group maintain a wider knowledge of actual genealogical relations than the Chamorros, though recourse is often had to such reckoning as "Juan's father was the second cousin of my mother; hence Juan and I are third cousins." This latter calculation does not rely on a complete knowledge of the genealogical relationship involved. Yet one man in his thirties in less than thirty minutes gave me his precise genealogical relationship to 174 relatives, which number does not include the deceased relatives included in the genealogy. This feat was not considered by the informant or any other Carolinian as in any way unusual.

The extension of behavior follows the bilateral extension of the terminology. Brother-sister respect behavior is extended to classificatory siblings. However, I did not personally observe that this conventional behavior ever went beyond second cousins. It is probable that for some individuals even second cousins may fall outside the obligational range of the system. The outer limits of the system, as far as observed obligational range is concerned, are not sharply delineated. The observed obligational range is also somewhat narrower than the assumed obligational range. Informants will say, for instance, that third cousins are included within the range of persons toward whom sibling terms, as well as the appropriate behavior, are extended, whereas this is often not the case.



The Chamorro kinship system is of a fluctuating type, whereby the obligational range of the system is extended widely at the time of crisis rites but is retracted in day-to-day living. The Carolinian system offers a contrast. Its obligational range is more constant, for co-operative labor in house-building and farming is practiced on a day-to-day basis. There is more sharing of food, more visiting, more adoption of children by relatives. Less emphasis relatively is placed on crisis rites, though they are still important. The system as a whole is not of the widely fluctuating Chamorro type.

### **Brother-Sister Respect Behavior and Exogamic Regulations**

As previously noted, the brother-sister respect behavior is extended to classificatory siblings. The respect patterns are strongest between real brother and sister, weaker between first cousins, more of a formality between second cousins, and only theoretically extended to third cousins. I observed no instances involving third cousins. This extension of sibling behavior is related to marriage rules. Older informants stated that third cousins could not marry, a rule that was undoubtedly a result of former church influence. Actually there are a number of third cousin marriages today. It is not clear from my data whether bilateral exogamy is in process of retraction or whether it was never sharply marked. I suspect the latter to have been the case, with marriage prohibitions formerly more a matter of clan exogamy than of prohibitions attached to various degrees of cousinship. The Saipan Carolinians are a small group and could not have extended bilateral exogamy very far.

Among many Micronesian societies wide latitude was and often still is permitted in pre-marital sex relations. Marriage itself tends to be brittle. Although recently changed by church influence, the Saipan Carolinians shared this characteristic. It seems probable that there is a functional relationship between freedom in pre-marital sex relations and strongly marked brother-sister respect behavior. If incest rules are to be preserved in such societies, a mechanism must be developed to demarcate those with whom sex relations are not permitted from those with whom such relations are permitted. The formalized brother-sister respect relationship, extending to classificatory siblings, serves this purpose. This relationship is further buttressed when it is tied to clan exogamy. However, even when clan exogamy weakens, the brother-sister respect relationship may retain its basic strength. This is the situation among the Saipan Carolinians.

### Kinship and the Life Crises

Among the Chamorros, the life crises are the focal points for a long-established set of usages involving both family and church. The religious aspects of crisis rites are Catholic; other aspects, associated with the secular celebration of crisis rites, may stem from pre-contact times. But regardless of their origin, the usages affecting the relations among kin at the times of the life crises are crystallized into well-defined patterns. This is not entirely the case with the Carolinians. They are abandoning their aboriginal crisis rites, but they have not completely adopted Chamorro forms, nor even all the religious features associated with Catholicism. As a result, kinship usages at these times are not so sharply patterned. The Carolinians are comparable to many tribal societies undergoing pronounced acculturation.

#### BIRTH

Carolinian women formerly gave birth to their children in special huts built near the main house. Here they were attended by elderly women midwives. Today Carolinian women are urged by the administration to use the facilities of the hospital, but the Carolinians are reluctant to do so. The birth hut has been abandoned, but some women still prefer to give birth to their children at home, attended by their own midwives.

From two to four days after the child is born, relatives of both husband and wife bring food to the house for the use of the family. On the fourth night, a burning palm branch is taken through the house and around the outside, while the bearer of the branch recites a spell. After this ritual the house is no longer considered dangerous, and thereafter medicine men may enter it without fear of losing their power. For about a month, women relatives of husband and wife, particularly the mothers of each, cook food, wash clothes, and keep house.

It is the Carolinian tradition that the parents of a newborn child should not engage in sexual intercourse for a year after the birth of the child, lest it become ill and sickly. Today this ban is modified, but, particularly after the birth of the first child, continence is observed by many Carolinians for at least six months. For the first few months after birth, it is customary for the wife's mother to see that the husband does not approach his wife at night.

Carolinian children are now usually baptized in the church, but informants agreed that a generation ago many were not baptized.

After the baptism, some parents may hold a small baptismal party for close relatives, but this is not true of the Carolinian community as a whole.

Carolinians have three names. One is a Christian name, Spanish in form, decided on by the parents after the birth of the child. Formerly, if a child was not baptized, a Christian name was simply given him. The second name, a purely Carolinian one, is given by the parents or an older relative. This Carolinian name as well as the Christian name is used in the household and among friends and relatives. The third name is the surname, also of Carolinian origin. To Chamorros and Americans, Carolinians are known by their Christian names combined with the surnames, but both names are post-contact innovations. It is now customary for a child to take his father's surname, but this is recent; only a few years ago the child took either parent's surname. Brothers often bear quite different surnames. Informants stated that the taking of surnames from one of the parents does not antedate German times. As Carolinians are registered in the church baptismal records under a Christian name with a Carolinian surname as far back as the Spanish period, it is probable that in those days the surname was simply the child's given Carolinian name. Finally, some men have a fourth name, a nickname. It is often a joking name, used between friends.

The Carolinians consider it disrespectful to utter a dead person's name in the presence of relatives of the dead person.

With the adoption of Catholic baptism, the Carolinians have of course also adopted the institution of *compadrazgo*. Although time was lacking to make an intensive study of *compadrazgo* among the Carolinians, the institution is of modest social importance. It has not replaced the kinship system by substituting a widely ramifying set of ritual kin ties for the older, socially recognized genealogical ones. It is of little significance in economic activities. The godparents of baptism have little function aside from their formal ritual one. *Compadrazgo* is not in conflict with the existing generation type kinship system, for the relation between godparent and parent is easily assimilated to that between classificatory siblings; that between godparent and godchild is easily assimilated to the relation between parent and classificatory child. Godparents may be, in fact, siblings, real or classificatory, of the parents. As noted previously, there are a number of cases of *compadrazgo* that cut across Chamorro-Carolinian lines. In such cases, Carolinian godparents follow Chamorro custom at times of life crises.

## ADOPTION

Adoption is not a life crisis through which all Carolinians pass, but it is a common feature of most Micronesian societies and is still prevalent on Saipan.

The Carolinians say that adoption was formerly more frequent than now. Their estimates of the number of adopted children at the present time range from 10 to 25 per cent of the total of the number born. My own estimate is from 10 to 15 per cent, though a more extensive survey is needed to determine the number with accuracy. Regardless of its incidence, however, adoption is recognized by the Carolinians as one of their own long-established institutions, and a point of contrast with the Chamorros, among whom it is much less common.

Children are adopted after they have been weaned, usually when they are from seven months to a year old. Only babies are adopted. No adoptions were recorded of older children or adults.

The motivations for adoption are various. If a man and his wife have no children, or if their children are nearly grown and they wish a young child in the family, or if they simply wish to have more children about, they may ask to adopt a child. Babies whose mothers have died, and illegitimate children may be adopted. On the giving side, if parents have many children and are hard put to feed them all, they will be only too willing to have a new youngster adopted.

With only one recorded exception, all adoptions take place between relatives. Adoptions are usually initiated by the women, though it is actually a married couple who together socially adopt an infant, and I learned of no cases where a single person undertook to adopt a child. The adopters are usually of the parents' generation, with respect to the adopted child, and most commonly are parents' siblings or parents' first cousins. Occasionally, however, they are farther removed. It may happen that grandparents, or grandparents' siblings, may adopt a grandchild. In any case, adoption takes place along lines of genealogical relationship. A relative of an older generation adopts one of a younger generation. At the same time, different households are involved. Whether this last was true in the days of extended domestic families is not certain.

For an adoption to be consummated, the prospective adopters and the parents must be on friendly terms. It is the former who ask to adopt a child; the latter do not request the adoption. An offer of adoption can always be refused and will be unless the parents

feel certain that the child will be well cared for; if he is not, they may take him back.

At the time of adoption, an agreement is reached between parents and adopters as to the degree of severance of the child from its parents, and whether, as the child grows up, it can return to its parents' home. A number of Carolinians made a point of this feature, but the adopted children I knew apparently migrated back and forth between the households of their real and adopted parents and were quite at home in either.

At the present time, an adopted child usually changes his surname to that of his foster father. He uses father and mother kin terms for his foster parents and sibling terms for his foster brothers and sisters. The adopted child cannot marry a foster sibling. There is a Carolinian saying that adopted children are treated "even better" than own children. The adopted child may or may not share in the land rights of his foster parents. If a foster mother states that her adopted child will share in land rights with her own children, the latter are obligated to share these rights with the adopted child.

Adoption is also a form of old age insurance, for the adopted child is obligated to care for his adopters when they are old. This obligation is shared by the adopted child's spouse.

Bicente and Maria adopted Juana, who is now grown and married, with a family of her own. Juana and her husband periodically visit Bicente and Maria, bringing them food and even money. Juana's husband works for Bicente and Maria if a job needs to be done. Both Juana and her husband are respectful and considerate of Bicente and Maria.

In summary, adoption serves to seal a bond of friendship among relatives and is a strengthening agent in kinship relations; it serves to provide families with normal complements of children; it is a form of old age insurance; and it spreads out the resources of food, shelter, and parental care among the community's children.

#### PUBERTY

In former times, the Saipan Carolinians held puberty ceremonies for girls. The latter were isolated in a special house, where they remained for some eight days, secluded with older women. At the end of the period, a family party was held, and thereafter the girls assumed respect behavior towards appropriate relatives such as brothers, observed the forms demanded in polite speech, and followed the prohibitions prescribed at the time of menstruation. Although I

learned of no comparable ceremony for boys, at the time of puberty boys were sent to the *ut* to sleep, and they also assumed the obligations associated with respect behavior.

The girls' puberty ceremony has now been abandoned, but puberty is still the age at which compliance with formalized behavior patterns is expected. Certain prohibitions are still attached to menstruating women and these are assumed by girls after puberty. They should stay out of the taro plots and should not visit a cemetery. Their condition is regarded as dangerous for medicine men, and in conservative families they still do not eat with the men or cook food for them, lest the latter become ill. Formerly, menstruating women retired to a menstrual hut for four days, but they may now sleep in a separate part of the house. The menstrual hut has been abandoned.

#### MARRIAGE

Young people select their own spouses. The man or girl will inform the latter's parents and they may give the man a month or two as a waiting period to see whether the engagement will be permanent. The man informs his own parents and makes arrangements with the padre who is to marry the couple. Formerly, marriages were entered into with little formality, but today Carolinians are with minor exceptions married in the church.

Among Carolinians there is a feeling that marriages should be within the same generation and the partners of approximately equal age. There is one case of a Chamorro who married his sister's daughter. This match was often pointed out to me by Carolinians as being very bad, for apart from uniting two who are by Carolinian kinship terminology father and child, and both in the same clan, it mixes the generations. However, it should be reported that one Carolinian man has married his deceased wife's sister's daughter.

The involved Chamorro customs preliminary to the wedding have been adopted only in part by the Carolinians. I was told that fifteen or twenty years ago they were not used at all, but today there are some Carolinian families who have presented an *aog* to the bride's family and have held a *kumplimento*.

The Carolinians also hold a *fandango* following the wedding. As with the Chamorros, two parties are held—one by the groom's family and one by the bride's. If one parent of either bride or groom is dead, however, there will be three parties, the third one given by the siblings of the deceased parent. The death of the parent splits

one side into two parts, each of which has a consanguineal relationship with the person to be married and hence a responsibility to provide a party.

The wedding parties are organized and the food is provided by the relatives of the bride and groom—parents, parents' siblings, and their elementary families. Gifts of food are given for the *fandango*, but *chenchuli* in the form of money is seldom given by more distant relatives. There is not the elaborate organization of the Chamorros, no emphasis on presentation of *chenchuli* by in-laws, no careful record kept of the donors—in other words, the strong feeling for the details of reciprocity exemplified by Chamorro custom is lacking. After the wedding in the church, bride and groom go to the houses of each and to those of old relatives to pay their respects, much in the manner of the Chamorros.

Although it is true that church-sanctioned marriages are now standard practice among the Carolinians, a feature of old marriage customs prevails in that separations occur with relative ease. These separations are essentially divorces, because sooner or later the separated spouses find new partners and establish a new union. Traditional marriage is relatively brittle in the Carolines until stabilized by the birth of children and the advancing age of the marriage partners. This old pattern tends to persist on Saipan. In case of divorce, children remain with the mother and the husband moves out of the household.

It was once obligatory that a man marry his deceased wife's sister, real or classificatory. Contrariwise, it was obligatory for a woman to marry her deceased husband's brother, real or classificatory. Polygamy, however, did not exist, according to the statements of informants, and no cases were recorded. Sororate and levirate were both enforced by a custom called "*ho*." This negative sanction was applied in case a widow or widower did not observe the sororate and levirate and married somebody else. Thereupon the relatives of the deceased spouse could raid the newly established couple's household and make off with their personal belongings. This custom was abandoned in Japanese times. Sororate and levirate are still looked upon with favor, but only three contemporary cases were found. In two of the three, a widow married her deceased husband's brother; in the third case, a widower married a classificatory sister—a second cousin—of his deceased wife.

Remarriages involving stepchildren are also a point of kin solidarity. If a mother dies, the mother's sister has the first obligation to

care for the mother's young children. If a father dies, the children remain with the mother and the chances are that the mother will remarry. In such a case, it is the obligation of the stepfather to treat his stepchildren with consideration and care. If he mistreats them, his wife's brothers will by custom force a separation as being in the best interests of the wife and her children. I learned of no contemporary cases, however, where this has occurred. Actually, Carolinian women are fond of children and usually quite able to discard an unsuitable husband.

A note should be made regarding illegitimate children. In contrast with the Chamorros, the Carolinians are more concerned with social than physiological paternity. Although a married woman's having an illegitimate child would generally result in a divorce, an unmarried girl's having a child would be regarded as regrettable but certainly not a calamity. The Carolinians have not absorbed western concepts of the disgrace attached to both mother and child in the case of illegitimacy. I recorded several instances of Carolinian women who bore illegitimate children and later married men other than the genitor. Their husbands treated these children as their own. One friend, an adult in his thirties, had discovered only a year past that he was an illegitimate child. This was not because his parents concealed the fact particularly, but rather that they regarded it as of slight importance. The Carolinians as a group are particularly concerned with fatherhood as a social role.

#### DEATH

In death rites, as at marriage, Carolinian usage is gradually moving toward Chamorro custom, largely because of the influence of the church. At the time of death, Carolinians seek the offices of the padre, the rites are those of the church, and the dead are buried in the Catholic cemetery.

In older days, when a man was about to die he was removed from his house to that of his mother or his sister. If this was impossible before death, the body was moved immediately after. The vigil was then held in the house of the mother or sister, and the funeral expenses were borne by them and their consanguineal relatives, not by the widow or her family. If the wife died, her body remained in her house, and her family bore the expense. This return of the dying man to the household of his mother or sister was an expression of the strength of the maternal lineage, combined with



matrilocal residence. At death, this act of removal symbolized the importance of lineal ties as opposed to those of marriage.

Today most Carolinians leave a dying man at his own house of residence, and relatives of both sides contribute labor, food for the vigil and wake, and a small amount of cash for the church rites, as well as taking part in the mourning. If a child dies, the parents mourn but take no part in the funeral arrangements. These are taken care of by the brothers and sisters of the parents or by the grandparents, if the latter are still living.

The Carolinians, as do the Chamorros, observe an all-night vigil prior to burial. Around the body gather the close women relatives of the deceased, joined periodically by other women. Formerly, the old women of the clan would gather by the corpse and would sing ancient chants dealing with traditional legends applying to the clan. The women take the dominant role in mourning during the vigil, and an Oceanic pattern of wailing is still followed. The men are less conspicuous. The remainder of the house is kept quiet, however, and there is not the matter-of-fact talking that goes on in a Chamorro house outside the room in which the deceased lies. During the vigil, Carolinian women give gifts of cloth and money to the close female relatives mourning by the dead person.

For four days after burial, the close relatives gather at the house of the deceased. Twice a day, early in the morning and at dusk, they go to the grave, spread it with sand, and sit quietly talking of the dead person and of other dead relatives. On the third day, the ghost of the deceased is expected to give a sign of his presence, often a mark on the sand of the grave. On the fourth day, a medicine man may cast a spell on a stone and gently tap it on the grave, to keep the ghost henceforth where he belongs.

Also on the fourth day the relatives of the deceased clean the house of the dead person and rake the yard. Formerly all the personal possessions of the deceased were burned or thrown into the sea but now only his clothing and bed clothes are destroyed. A plant medicine is also burned in the house to rid it of attraction for the ghost.

On the tenth day after death a wake is held. The male relatives of the deceased go fishing, a cow or pig is slaughtered, a sack of rice is bought, and vegetable food procured. These foodstuffs are provided by siblings and close consanguineal relatives, as well as by more distant and affinal relatives. Again, however, in contrast with the Chamorros, the reciprocity associated with *ika* and *ajudo* is lacking.

Today there is no well-defined shift in residence after the death of a spouse. If a woman dies, her husband and children may remain in the same house or go to live with his parents or sisters. If a man dies, a widow may remain where she is or combine forces with her mother or sisters. It is by custom the duty of the mother's kin to care for orphaned children if they have no older married sisters. In the four cases of orphaned children I recorded, two were cared for by older married sisters and two by the sister of the mother.

## XXVI. Carolinian Land Tenure

The post-war complexities regarding land tenure, described in Chapter XI, apply to the Carolinians as much as to the Chamorros. The destruction of farm land through construction of military bases, of records regarding land titles, and of boundary markers, together with the lack of a clear-cut post-war program of resettlement and clarification of land ownership, has resulted in a highly confused situation for the Carolinians as well as the Chamorros. In this section an attempt will be made to set forth the contemporary principles of Carolinian land tenure, though this is largely based on pre-war events.

Carolinian real property, as in the case of the Chamorros, consists of farm land and town site (*sitio*). It was the consensus of informants' opinion that, by traditional Carolinian custom, farm land, *sitio*, and buildings upon either were "owned" by the women members of a maternal lineage. If a man built a house, it automatically became his wife's. On his death, or in case of divorce, the house was retained by his wife. Further, the land of the lineage was not divided on the death of members of the lineage but was retained for the individual use of lineage members, who might build separate houses upon it and cultivate different parts of it but who did not split ownership of land holdings among themselves. The vehicle for the ownership and control of land was therefore a corporate group, a maternal lineage. Some older women said that clans were the corporate groups, and this may once have been the case, but I could find only one instance, later to be described, to support the assertion.

Unfortunately, contemporary Carolinian land tenure cannot be comprehended on the relatively simple basis of the maternal lineage as a corporate, land-holding group, for contact of the Carolinians with Chamorros and with European and Japanese administrators has acted to produce a complex system in which introduced factors have modified original concepts.

The German administration issued certificates of title to all landholders. The Japanese continued this system and kept careful

records of land titles and transfers. In cases where Carolinian lineages held land, the oldest woman in the lineage was apparently considered for administrative purposes the legal owner of the land. On her death, either the next older sister or the deceased's eldest daughter—the point is not clear—succeeded to the position, and a new name was then entered as that of the legal owner. In some cases, more than one name might be entered, probably because the Carolinians began to rent their land to Japanese, and other lineage members wished to have their names registered as co-owners in order to protect their share of the rents received. Unfortunately, very few certificates of title survived the invasion, so the effect of the introduction of written records is not altogether clear.

The system of using a maternal lineage as a landholding corporation has by no means passed away. A number of cases follow:

At the time of World War II, a piece of farm land consisting of 1.7 hectares was recorded as belonging to Joaquina, the oldest of three sisters. Joaquina had in turn received this land from her mother, Maria, who in turn had received it from Dolores, her mother, who came from Satawal in the nineteenth century. In 1950, all these women were dead. The land was being used by Joaquina's daughter, her son, two daughters' daughters, one daughter of one of Joaquina's sisters, and a daughter and daughter's daughter of Joaquina's other sister. All these women, as well as Joaquina's son, were married. The land had no registered living owner, as the American administration had not recorded land titles. But it was clearly understood by the users that the land was to be kept undivided and that the maternal lineage was the landholding group.

Also at the time of World War II, Katalina was the recorded owner of three hectares of land, used also by her three younger sisters. Her brother, Frederico, did not use this land, but worked the land of his wife instead. Katalina and two of her sisters are now dead, as well as her brother. Katalina had one daughter, Rosa, and three sons. At the present time Rosa and her husband are working part of the land and have built a farmhouse on it. The consensus of Carolinian opinion was that when a new owner is to be recorded, Rosa, and not Katalina's surviving sister, should be the one, though all female members of the lineage and their elementary families of procreation have a right to use the land.

Leonora is the older of two sisters and holds title to two pieces of land totalling about two hectares. Leonora received the title to this land from her mother, who in turn received it from her mother. Leonora was positive that on the death of an oldest sister, title to the land should pass by custom to the daughter of the oldest sister and not to younger sisters first. In the case of Leonora's land, Leonora's assertion has held true. The older sister has only title to the land, however, and the other female members of the lineage have usufruct rights. In fact, the old woman who holds title to the land has a responsibility to provide land plots for younger sisters.

The largest single piece of Carolinian-held land is located at As Maliti, on the northwest fringe of Lake Susupe, and is about ten hectares in size. Just who is the actual title holder is not clear. The Carolinians using the land say that it belongs to the *re-sauwalei* clan and was first settled by a woman of this clan who came from Pulusuk in the nineteenth century. In the Japanese period there were said to be five persons recorded as the legal owners; four of these (three men and one woman) were *re-sauwalei* and the fifth was a man married to a *re-sauwalei* woman. There are, however, other *re-sauwalei* people in the community who do not have any connection with this land, and I suspect the corporate unit in this case has been a maximal lineage rather than a clan. Also, men are named as title holders rather than only women, a feature that may be the result of Japanese influence. At the present time there are six farmhouses built on the land, with six families. In three families, however, the husband's or wife's father belonged to the *re-sauwalei* lineage holding the land. The land itself has never been divided, as far as ownership is concerned.

These three illustrations are given to indicate that the lineage still has strength as a mechanism for holding ownership of land. A question arises as to how sharply the Carolinians differentiate ownership from usufruct rights. I could not find that the distinction is sharply made. Informants will often say that a single man works his sister's land for the benefit of his sister and her family, but that a married man works his wife's land in order to support his own wife and children. This statement is true enough, but one can also find examples of a married man's working a plot of land belonging to his own lineage in order to support his wife and children, not his sister. One can find additional cases of a husband and wife who are working a plot of land they occupy by virtue of a connection, through the father of either one, to the lineage controlling the land, as in the last example cited above. Whether these people are making use of usufruct rights only was certainly not clear to either the Carolinians or the ethnographer. The answer is probably that in the present confused land situation it does not matter to the Carolinians so long as those families who wish to cultivate a plot can do so. It should be added that Carolinians do not rent land from one another.

When the Germans initiated a homestead plan, a number of Carolinians homesteaded land, the title to which was registered in the man's name. Land of this type has been inherited in several ways. There are cases in which the father gave this land to his daughters, who have since kept it intact and undivided as the property of a maternal lineage of which they were the founders. In one other case, the father gave his land to his two children, a son and a daughter, who have kept the land undivided. The daughter has died, though the son is still living. Children of both

work the land, but its eventual disposition is undecided. Finally, there are cases where the father has given his land to a single child, male or female, who considers it his own, to dispose of as he sees fit.

The mechanism by which land is held and passed on from generation to generation varies from a maternal lineage to individual inheritance from parent to child. In none of the cases so far cited, however, has land been divided, when it passes from one generation to the next. Carolinians are emphatic in asserting that by Carolinian custom land should not be divided. Nevertheless, cases to the contrary do exist.

Jesús owned two hectares of land, to which he held sole title. Before World War II, he divided this land equally among his two daughters and one son. Jesús has since died and each child has taken his own share as his or her individual property.

In German times, two sisters received five hectares of land from their father. One sister had three sons; the other sister three sons and one daughter, Maria. When the two sisters died, formal title went to Maria, the land being kept intact. When Maria died, the land was divided among her three brothers and her three male cousins, with one share going to Maria's children, who were all small.

From this discussion, it should be evident that Carolinian land tenure is in a period of flux. Case material indicates that land inheritance exhibits much variation, though the lineage is still important. In cases where land is owned by an individual and inherited from individual to individual, and where it is divided among heirs at each successive generation, Carolinian practice has been assimilated to Chamorro custom.

### The Pwöl

A distinctive feature of Carolinian farming is the women's communal taro plot (*pwöl*). Before the war, there were two of these: one in the swampy area just to the south of Tanapag village, and a second at Puntan Mucho, near Garapan. In 1950, the Tanapag *pwöl* was on a military reservation and not available for the use of the Tanapag women, much to their resentment. However, the Chalan Kanoa Carolinians cultivated two plots, totalling about five acres, located in a swampy area in the low-lying land at the margins of Lake Susupe and east of Chalan Kanoa village. Approximately fifty women work these two plots.

The women do not work these communal plots as a single group. The two cultivated areas are divided into small patches, called *ruo*.

Each of these small patches is cultivated by one woman, or a woman and her daughter. Boundaries between *ruo* are sometimes marked by stakes, but the plots are small and each woman knows by sight the limits of her own plot. The women often help each other in planting and cultivating. The area was originally cleared of its dense cover of swamp grass by the Carolinian men, but the communal plots are maintained by the women.

In old days, the organization of male elders (*repi*) of the community house was paralleled by a similar organization of female *repi*. Among the duties of the latter was the supervision of the *pwöl*. Taro from the *pwöl* was used to feed visitors who came to the community house, and for special feasts held at the *ut*. Features of the older organization tend to survive, in that one old woman is today acknowledged as the *repi*, or leader, of the Chalan Kanoa women who cultivate the present two plots. This old woman was the pre-war *repi* and assumed the position when the post-war plots were started. She arbitrates disputes that may arise over *ruo* boundaries and can expel a woman from the plots in case the woman takes someone else's taro. The use of individual patches is said to pass from a mother to her daughters, or a mother to her sisters.

In pre-war times, attempts were made by both Chamorros and Japanese to encroach on the Carolinian *pwöl*. The two post-war plots are on government land and are held under two revocable permits issued to two well-known, part-Carolinian men, who obtained the permits so that the women might have their communal plots. As revocable permits were issued up to 1950 without the administrator's having an exact knowledge of the boundaries of land covered by such permits, disputes over boundaries have arisen. In one such case a Chamorro and the Carolinian women were disputing over the boundary of one of the taro plots. In characteristic fashion, the Carolinian women rose in a body and went to the administration, pressing their case until the matter was settled. Once aroused, Carolinian women will act in a group toward a common objective, undaunted by official red tape and unabashed in the presence of an administrator. The *pwöl* is of fundamental concern to these women and it is an element of Carolinian culture that retains much vitality.

### Farms and Farming

As mentioned previously, Carolinian men have not made a complete adjustment to farming, nor have the Carolinian women shifted

their interests from gardening to "keeping house." I would estimate that whereas all able-bodied Carolinian men still enjoy and practice reef- and lagoon-fishing, only about half of them do much agricultural work.

In contrast to the Chamorros, Carolinians plant relatively less corn and rely more on taro and sweet potatoes. Taro-raising is primarily women's work, and women likewise spend much time in the sweet potato fields, though the initial clearing may be done by the men. Some half dozen varieties of sweet potatoes are grown. The planting and cultivation of corn, bananas, cassava and the few vegetable crops (onions, beans, etc.) grown, as well as the collection of breadfruit, is primarily man's work, as is the care of livestock.

Old prohibitions on conduct still have some force, particularly in connection with taro. Traditionally, a woman did not plant taro after eating a meal, and she slept apart from her husband the night before. Menstruating women never entered a taro plot, and both men and women did not walk directly through a plot but rather walked around the margin to the point closest to the interior spot they wished to reach. These prohibitions are still strong with respect to taro, but they do not apply to crops adopted from the Chamorros, such as corn, except that menstruating women still do not work in the fields.

The calendar of planting and harvesting is approximately the same as in the case of the Chamorros. Taro is planted in September and December and again in June, depending on the drainage of the plot. Sweet potatoes are planted in June and in late September, corn after the beginning of the wet season and also in December. Carolinians have adopted the tools used by Chamorros.

As in house-building, the Carolinians rely largely on kinfolk to provide co-operative labor in farm work. This co-operative labor is confined primarily to the clearing of fields and to the building of farm houses. The relatives on whom a man can call need not be only those of his own or his wife's lineage, and friendly feeling that may prevail between two relatives is always important. Nor is there the Chamorro custom of measuring amounts of labor given as a claim for labor to be received, in precise fashion.

José wished to clear about three-quarters of an acre in order to plant corn. He asked the following relatives to help him: Manuel, his father's mother's sister's son; Francisco, his father-in-law; Raphael, his mother-in-law's maternal cousin's husband; and Juan, his mother-in-law's brother. The land was José's own, inherited from his father.



Just as production activities may involve a number of kinfolk, a number of relatives may share in the harvest, even though they did not plant the crop. Though a man and his wife will first provide for their own children, the rest of the crop will often be shared with relatives, in this case particularly those of the wife. Even apart from relatives, a Carolinian will not, by and large, refuse a request of another Carolinian for food.

## XXVII. Changing Patterns of Kinship

Apart from whatever usefulness the preceding data on the Carolinians may have in a purely descriptive ethnographic sense, as showing a pattern of Carolinian social organization contrasting with that of the Chamorros, the theoretical significance of the data lies in the field of culture change. In the crops they grow, in the way they live, in their religious beliefs, in crisis rites associated with the church, there is little doubt that in the last half century the Carolinians have gradually become more like the Chamorros. In this process, the most striking feature of change in Carolinian social organization is the gradual diminution in importance of the lineage principle.

Recent ethnographic field research in various parts of the world has greatly increased our knowledge of lineage-structured societies, a matter that has most recently been reviewed, in masterful fashion, by Meyer Fortes (1953). At the same time, case material is accumulating on the changes produced in lineage-structured groups under the force of acculturation. A common feature of the acculturation process in societies where kinship provides a broad base for the organization of social relations is the decline in the social importance of descent groups, such as clans and lineages, a retraction in the range of the kinship system, a breakdown of extended families as residence groups, and a relative strengthening of the elementary or nuclear family. Among the Saipan Carolinians there has indeed been a decline in the social importance of clan and lineage, as expressed in political organization, in land tenure, in the matrilineal extended family, and in marriage and crisis rites. Maternal clan and maternal lineage both appear to be going the way of functionless groups, and lineage as an organizing principle seems to be of less and less significance.

At the same time, kinship is still a major facet of Saipan Carolinian social organization. The kinship system is widely extended, and the bonds of kinship underlie many co-operative activities. Kinship terminology, it should be noted, is of a generation type. This fact leads to the main point of this concluding section. Has

the terminological system always been of a generation type or was it once of Crow type, later changing its form as maternal clan and lineage themselves became of less and less significance?

Enough is known of the group of atolls just to the west of Truk, atolls from which the main body of Carolinians migrated to Saipan, to be able to recognize that clan and lineage were important social units. Unfortunately, there are no detailed studies of the kinship systems of these atolls. To the west, Burrows and Spiro's (1953) data from Ifaluk reveal a variant form of a generation type system, as does Sarfert's material from Sorol (Damm, Hambrüch, and Sarfert, 1938). On Puluwat, a main home atoll for the Saipan Carolinians, however, Murdock and his colleagues found a Crow type system (n.d., Human Relations Area Files). Truk itself has a Crow type system (Murdock and Goodenough, 1947; Goodenough, 1951). Truk exerted a dominating influence on the neighboring atolls, and it is more than likely that a Crow type kinship terminology prevailed not only on Puluwat but also on the other atolls listed on page 326 as being the principal ones from which the Saipan Carolinians came. This can at least be proposed as a hypothesis of a marked degree of probability.

If the hypothesis is true, then the Saipan Carolinian terminological system has changed its form from a lineage to a generation type. Inconsistencies that may have appeared have been ironed out. The present terminology is consistent and shows no glaring contradictions of the system of kinship behavior as a whole.

From this conclusion we may derive a second hypothesis: When Crow type terminology is found in a society that is strongly structured on lineage lines, and lineage as an organizing principle undergoes progressive weakening in that society, the kinship terminology will shift to a generation type.

Finally, such a shift in terminology is expressive of a tendency inherent in changing societies toward patterned forms of social organization. The study of kinship terminology is useful primarily in the insight that results as to the nature of these forms and the manner in which they change. What we know of kinship systems as configurations of behavior leads one to believe that when a kinship type changes, it does so in a definable direction toward another definable type. An important task, as Murdock (1949), Eggan (1951), Schmitt and Schmitt (1952), and others have indicated, is to determine the conditions controlling the direction in which kinship systems can and do change.

## Appendix: Population of Saipan (1950)

As of March 23, 1950, the official administrative records of the Saipan District gave the following population figures for Saipan:

Chamorros:

Males over 15 years of age.....	849	
Females over 15 years of age.....	884	
Children under 15 years of age.....	2,088	
Total.....	3,821	3,821

Carolinians:

Males over 15 years of age.....	309	
Females over 15 years of age.....	281	
Children under 15 years of age.....	514	
Total.....	1,104	1,104

Total Chamorro and Carolinian population.....4,925

The reason for the difference in sex ratio between adult Chamorros and Carolinians is unknown. There is a marked difference between the two groups in the ratio of children to adults. The Chamorros have a higher birth rate and a lower death rate than the Carolinians. Registered births and deaths for the period from June, 1949, to May, 1950, are as follows:

	Births	Deaths
Chamorros.....	181	54
Carolinians.....	55	35
Total.....	236	89

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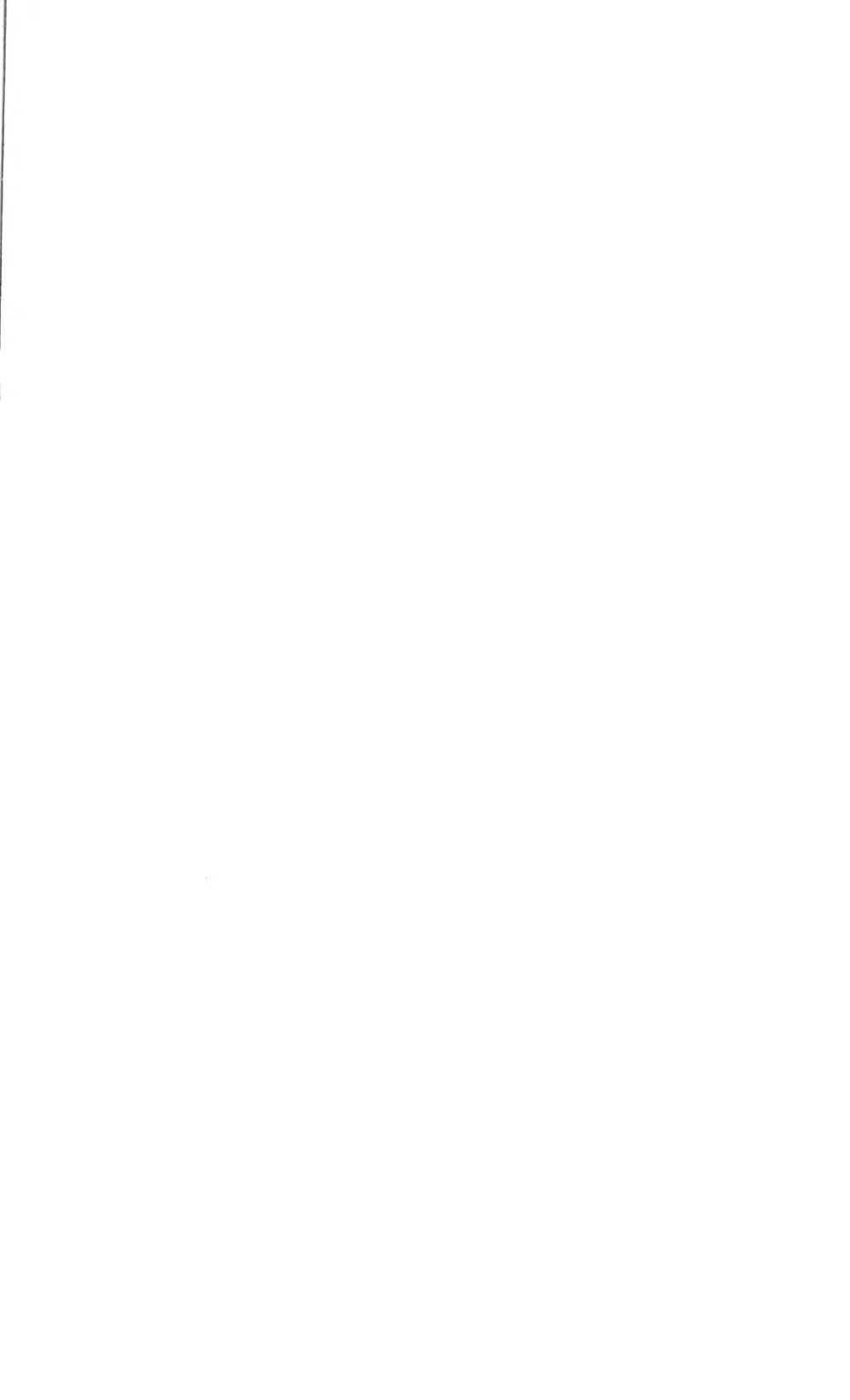


















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