

— *Final* —

A Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project for the  
Asan Beach Unit and Agat Unit Management Plan  
War in the Pacific National Historical Park,  
Territory of Guam  
*Volume I: Narrative*



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War in the Pacific National Historical Park

*INTERNATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY, LLC*

*SEPTEMBER 2021*

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**A RAPID ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT PROJECT FOR THE  
ASAN BEACH UNIT AND AGAT UNIT MANAGEMENT PLAN  
WAR IN THE PACIFIC NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK,  
TERRITORY OF GUAM  
VOLUME I: NARRATIVE**

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## ABSTRACT

At the request of the National Park Service, International Archaeology, LLC, has carried out a Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project (REAP) for the Asan Beach and Agat Units of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park (WAPA). The purpose of the REAP is to provide ethnographic baseline information for a planned Asan and Agat Unit Management Plan (AAUMP)/environmental assessment (EA), which will involve consultations with the Guam State Historic Preservation Officer and other consulting parties. The REAP will also help to assess the effects of the AAUMP for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

Eight residents of Asan and Agat were interviewed for the REAP. They range in age from 61 to 83 (as of 2021), with oldest being born in 1938 and the youngest in 1964. The oldest narrators were young children during and after World War II; combined with the stories told them by their parents, their memories provide a look back to the early part of the mid-20th century. The youngest narrators offer perspectives of the 1960s and 1970s. In total, the narrators relate traditions, practices, and history from at least the 1930s to the present.

Given the age range of the REAP narrators, the study focused on the period from roughly the late 1930s to the 1970s, with consideration of the period up to the present. The research also included review of historical documents (including graphical materials such as maps and photographs) and earlier ethnographic reports to provide a context and inform the synthesis of current interviews.

Volume I presents the narrative of the REAP. Volumes IIa and IIb contain the full transcripts of the oral history interviews.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Project Purpose .....	1
NPS Guidance on Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Projects .....	3
Project Team and Schedule.....	3
A Note on the Spelling of Place Names.....	3
Organization of the Report.....	4
II. STUDY METHODS .....	5
Previous Studies Pertinent to the REAP Research.....	5
Key Ethnographic Topics .....	5
Ethnographic Interviews .....	7
Previous Oral History Interviews .....	7
WAPA REAP Oral History Interviews .....	8
III. BACKGROUND .....	11
The National Historical Park .....	11
Asan Beach Unit Significant Properties .....	12
Agat Unit Significant Properties .....	12
Physical Environment.....	12
Prehistory Context .....	13
Historical Context.....	13
Spanish Period.....	13
First American Period.....	16
During the War.....	17
After the War.....	20
Creation of the National Historical Park .....	21
IV. ASAN BEACH UNIT .....	23
Physical Environment .....	23
Cultural Geography.....	29
Places and Place Names in Asan .....	29
Gapan Islet in the Mythic Landscape .....	32
Asan History .....	34
Pre-Contact Asan.....	34
The Historic Asan Village .....	35
Asan Village After the War.....	36
Asan Point .....	40
Camp Asan .....	45
Chorrito Cliff/Adelup Point.....	51
Trails and Travel.....	52
Traditional and Contemporary Practices.....	55
Village Life.....	55

Fishing Practices.....	60
Freshwater Use .....	63
Cultivation .....	64
Lãnchos .....	68
Resource Gathering .....	68
Sharing Resources .....	69
V. AGAT UNIT .....	71
Physical Environment .....	71
Cultural Geography.....	74
Places and Place Names in Agat .....	74
Oral Traditions and Origin Myths .....	78
Mythic Landscape: the Pelagi Islets .....	80
Agat History.....	80
Pre-Contact Agat .....	80
Old Agat Village.....	80
Agat Village After the War .....	83
Trails and Travel.....	89
Traditional and Contemporary Practices.....	90
Village Life.....	90
Fishing Practices and Marine Resource Collection .....	93
Cultivation .....	94
Lãnchos .....	96
Resource Gathering .....	96
Sharing Resources .....	97
V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....	99
Summary and Conclusions: Altered Landscapes and Continuity .....	99
Ethnographic Resources Not Associated with World War II .....	101
Asan Beach Unit.....	101
Agat Unit .....	102
Other Park Units .....	103
Management Recommendations .....	104
Future Ethnographic Research .....	104
Future Archeological Research with a Landscape Framework .....	104
Future Management and Interpretation .....	105
REFERENCES .....	107
APPENDIX A. SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF WAPA REAP NARRATORS .....	115
Short Biographies: Asan Narrators .....	117
Short Biographies: Agat Narrators.....	119
APPENDIX B. THE ROCK OF FUÑA .....	121
The Rock of Fuña (A Place of Human Origin).....	123

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	War in the Pacific National Historical Park.....	2
Figure 2.	Alternative chronologies of Guam prehistory.....	14
Figure 3.	July 21, 1944, landing beaches at Agat and Asan.....	19
Figure 4.	Asan Beach Unit.....	24
Figure 5.	The municipality of Asan, showing the location of the Asan Beach Unit and the Asan Inland Unit.....	26
Figure 6.	The Piti-Asan and Fonte Watersheds.....	28
Figure 7.	Key places and place names in Asan.....	31
Figure 8.	Map of 1676 attributed to Alonzo López, showing the locations of Asan and Agat.....	33
Figure 9.	Planned layout of the redeveloped Asan Village.....	41
Figure 10.	Portion of a 1913-1914 topographic map of Guam.....	44
Figure 11.	Watercolor by artist Alphonse Pellion of the road cut through Asan Ridge.....	54
Figure 12.	Agat Unit.....	72
Figure 13.	The municipality of Agat, showing the location of the Agat and Mt. Alifan Units.....	73
Figure 14.	The Agat Watershed.....	75
Figure 15.	Key places and place names in Agat.....	76
Figure 16.	Portion of a 1700 map by Le Gobien, showing Fuña Isle off the Agat coast.....	79

## LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Photo 1.	Aerial view of Gapan Islet, which is also commonly called Camel Rock .....	25
Photo 2.	A street scene in Asan.....	35
Photo 3.	Annotated 1945 aerial photograph showing landscape transformation in the area west of Asan River .....	37
Photo 4.	Asan Village after the war.....	38
Photo 5.	Entrance to the Asan Military Cemetery, 1944.....	46
Photo 6.	War Dog Cemetery at Asan .....	47
Photo 7.	Camp Asan in 1967.....	49
Photo 8.	Vietnamese refugees arriving at Camp Asan in 1975 .....	50
Photo 9.	Devastated coconut trees in post-invasion 1944 Adelup .....	52
Photo 10.	Pre-war coast road through Asan, view to east from around Chorrito Cliff toward Adelup Point .....	55
Photo 11.	Rice fields in western Asan, July 21, 1944 .....	66
Photo 12.	Pre-invasion planning aerial photograph of Asan .....	67
Photo 13.	Aerial view of the Agat refugee camp in May 1945 .....	84
Photo 14.	Aerial view of New Agat under development, June 1949. ....	88
Photo 15.	Pre-war scene of canoe and net fishermen.....	93
Photo 16.	Terlaje grandchildren learning to fish.....	100

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Primary Studies Pertinent to the REAP Research.....	6
Table 2.	Summary of Oral History Narrators and Interview Dates.....	8
Table 3.	Key Places and Place Names in Asan.....	29
Table 4.	Key Places and Place Names in Agat .....	77



## I. INTRODUCTION

At the request of the National Park Service (NPS), International Archaeology, LLC (IA), has carried out a Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project (REAP) for the Asan Beach and Agat Units of the War in the Pacific National Historical Park (WAPA). The project was conducted under Task Order No. 140P8519F0004, Contract No. P16PC00627. Authorized in 1978, WAPA encompasses 2,114 acres on the west coast of Guam in seven discrete units (Figure 1). The subjects of the present project are the Asan Beach Unit and the Agat Unit; the other WAPA units are the Asan Inland Unit, Mount Alifan Unit, Fonte Plateau Unit, Piti Guns Unit, and Mount Chachao-Mount Tenjo Unit.

The REAP is presented in two volumes, of which Volume I is the REAP narrative. Volumes IIa and IIb contain the full transcripts of the oral history interviews that were conducted.

### PROJECT PURPOSE

The statement of work (SOW) for the WAPA REAP states that an Asan and Agat Unit Management Plan (AAUMP)/environmental assessment (EA) is being prepared for WAPA, and that it has been determined that a REAP:

... is needed to identify ethnographic resources and historic properties of cultural and religious significance within the AAUMP's area of potential effects (APE). The information in the REAP will provide baseline data for the EA and consultations with the Guam State Historic Preservation Officer and other consulting parties (e.g., Chamorro, Filipino organizations, veterans groups), as well as help assess the effects of the AAUMP for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

It further specifies that the REAP will “document the mythic landscape and traditional practices, as well as identify ethnographic resources, of Chamorro and other traditionally associated people” and will include interviews with eight to ten individuals. The end-product of the project will be a study that incorporates “existing archival and published information relevant to summarizing traditional cultural practices and cultural resources within the APE including detailed maps of access to resources and locations of resources where available from informants.”

In discussion with the project contracting officer's representative (COR) and WAPA staff at a kick-off meeting on September 11, 2019 (September 12 on Guam), the project purpose was further elaborated. As stated in an email from COR Elizabeth Gordon to participants in the kick-off meeting (dated September 17, 2019), the REAP is to discuss and analyze practices that may have changed, been interrupted, or stayed the same from pre-World War II through the war, and into the post-war period, as a result of larger events, environmental changes, and regulations imposed during these time periods. The REAP can also include recommendations for further and more in-depth research and/or interviews with other individuals.

The project area coverage was also clarified during the kick-off meeting. The SOW defines the study area as “WAPA lands and lands adjacent to park boundaries that are within the APE,” with reference to a figure that shows the Agat and Asan park units encircled by large circles. The area of study was clarified to be the land and water within the two park units, and lands immediately adjacent (sufficient to provide a context for the park-specific areas).

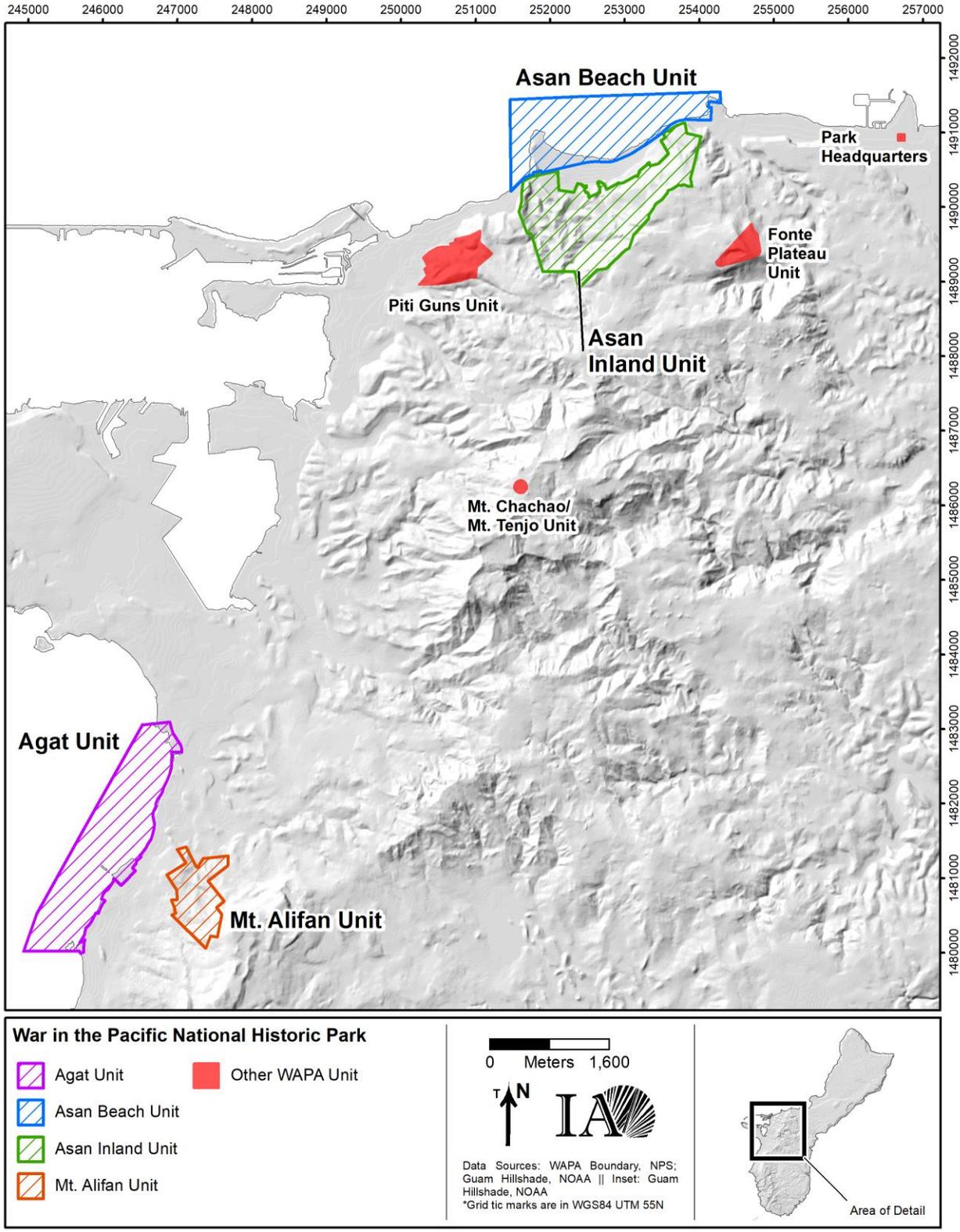


Figure 1. War in the Pacific National Historical Park.

## **NPS GUIDANCE ON RAPID ETHNOGRAPHIC ASSESSMENT PROJECTS**

The National Park Service (NPS) provides guidance for ethnographic research at its park units. Director's Order 28 (DO-28) (NPS 1998:49543, brackets added) defines the Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Project (REAP) as a field study that is "initiated before or as part of the scoping for general management or other park plans, [in order to provide] basic planning and program evaluation information." It further specifies that work for a REAP should be completed in four or fewer months (not necessarily consecutive) and that it "does not substitute for the more detailed ethnographic overview and assessment or traditional use studies and may indicate the need for more prolonged work" (NPS 1998:49643).

Concurrent with the present REAP project, a cultural landscape report<sup>1</sup> for the Asan Beach and Agat Units is being carried out for WAPA, and the results of the REAP will be integrated into the study, particularly information related to pre-WWII roads and vegetation, and subsequent changes to the landscape.

### **PROJECT TEAM AND SCHEDULE**

The IA project team includes J. Stephen Athens, Ph.D., as project manager/principal investigator, and Myra Jean Tuggle, M.A., and Lisa Humphrey, Ph.D., as co-project directors. Oral history interviews were carried out by consultant Rlene S. Steffy of Rlene "Live" Productions of Hagatña. Transcripts of oral history interviews were prepared by Kaumakamanōkalanipō Anae, Lisa Humphrey, Vanessa Bautista, and Tanya Sortor; all transcriptions were reviewed by Rlene Steffy for accuracy and consistency.

The project was initiated in September 2019. Interviews with eight individuals were carried out between October 2019 and May 2020. Due to complications caused by the COVID-19 coronavirus, transcriptions of the interview audiotapes (which amount to over 880 pages; see Volumes IIa and IIb) were not completed until late 2020, requiring the project timeline to be extended into 2021.

### **A NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF PLACE NAMES**

The spelling of place names on Guam has changed over time, and continues to be modified. Volume I of the REAP study uses Anglicized spelling conventions; Volumes IIa and IIb, which contain transcriptions of oral history interviews, follow the spellings established by the I Kumision i Fino' CHamoru/the Commission on CHamoru Language (n.d.), as well as more recent conventions. Tables of place names in Chapters IV (Asan Beach Unit) and V (Agat Unit) of Volume I provide CHamoru spellings. In the cases of historic descriptions, quotes, and citations, the spellings used in those instances are retained.

It should be noted that the Kumision i Fino' CHamoru is presently developing a revised place name inventory, as recognized in one of its goals of its "Four Year Strategic Plan" (Kumision i Fino' CHamoru: 2020a): to "develop, implement, and advise interested parties on a coherent, culturally sound and historically accurate set of criteria for selecting place names." General plans for place name research and preparation are also noted in Cristobal (2021) and Kumision i Fino' CHamoru (2020b).

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<sup>1</sup> A cultural landscape inventory (CLI) for WAPA was prepared in 2013 (NPS 2013).

Translations of CHamoru words spoken in the REAP interviews are taken from footnotes and annotations by Rlene Steffy in the interview transcriptions, or from the on-line Chamorro Dictionary (<http://chamoru.info/dictionary/>, accessed February 2021).

## **ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT**

This report is organized in two volumes. Volume I includes the following chapters. Chapter I sets the background for the project, including the scope-of-work and overall purpose and structure. Chapter II describes the methods used to carry out the ethnographic research for the REAP. Chapter III presents general environmental and historical background on the study areas (i.e., the Asan Beach and Agat Units of WAPA). Chapters IV and V discuss the historical and cultural resources of Asan and Agat, respectively, based on the archival and oral historical research. Chapter VI presents a summary of the research and management recommendations for future WAPA planning and programming.

Appendices to the present volume include short biographies of the REAP narrators (Appendix A), and an extract from Tuggle et al. (in prep.) discussing the origin tradition of the Rock of Fuña in Agat (Appendix B).

Transcripts of interviews are presented in Volumes IIa and IIb. The interviews were conducted by Rlene Santos Steffy, who also coordinated transcriptions, and edited, annotated, and finalized the transcripts.

## II. STUDY METHODS

This chapter describes previous studies that inform the REAP, and discusses the methods used in carrying out the ethnographic research.

### PREVIOUS STUDIES PERTINENT TO THE REAP RESEARCH

Table 1 lists primary studies and reports that inform the REAP for the Asan Beach and Agat Units. These include studies related to land and marine resource use of the Asan and Agat areas (Jennison-Nolan 1979a, 1979b; Jennison-Nolan et al. 1979; Stephenson 1979; Tupper and Donaldson 2005). Detailed summaries of the WAPA period of significance (i.e., the World War II battles) and historical background on WAPA are summarized in Apple (1980), Thompson (1985), and NPS (2013). The 2004 Administrative History provides a detailed accounting of the establishment and development of WAPA, including fiscal and staffing challenges that were faced in the early years of the park (EH and Associates 2004). Prepared for Naval Facilities Engineering Command, Pacific, Tuggle et al. (in prep.) is a synthesis of Guam history utilizing primary resources; this document was used extensively for the historical background.

### KEY ETHNOGRAPHIC TOPICS

At the beginning of the project, interchange with NPS identified key topics for consideration in the REAP research. Given time and effort limitations of the REAP, as well as the inherent fluidity of oral history interviewing, it was not anticipated that all possible topics could be addressed. However, the list of topics was envisioned as a guide to the priority concerns and interests of WAPA in developing baseline information and recommendations in support of future unit management plans. The topics included the following (which were not intended to be inclusive):

**Traditional place names.** What are past and present named places within the study area? What are the locations and general geographic coverage for place names? Have place names changed over time, and if so, why? Do older names and newer names coexist? Are any place names associated with specific groups or subgroups of people? Are any names to be used only by certain people or groups?

**Traditional sayings, songs, chants, and dances.** Are there any traditional sayings, songs, chants, dances, or other forms of linguistic or artistic expression associated with or especially descriptive of places, people, or events within the Asan and Agat areas? Are any of these intangible cultural resources associated with certain people or groups?

**Spiritual or religious sites, landmarks, and spaces.** Are there religious or spiritual sites, landmarks, or spaces, past and present, within the project area? What spiritual or other cultural practices, past and present, are associated with these places? Are there any spiritual places or areas that people traditionally visit and/or avoid, past and present?

**Mythic landscapes and seascapes.** What are the traditional legends and stories associated with the land and sea areas covered by the park?

Table 1. Primary Studies Pertinent to the REAP Research.

Author	Date of Publication	Description	Prepared for*
Tuggle et al.	in prep.	Synthesis of Guam history and archeology	NAVFAC Pacific
Jennison-Nolan	1979a	Changing patterns of coastal/marine exploitation	Sea Grant through Marine Laboratory, UOG
Jennison-Nolan	1979b	Land and lagoon use in Piti, Asan, and Agat	NPS
Jennison-Nolan et al.	1979	Cultural resources in proposed Guam National Seashore Park and WAPA	NPS
Stephenson	1979	Customs related to use of freshwater resources	Water Resources Research Center, UOG
Apple	1980	World War II historical summary of WAPA	NPS
NPS	1983	WAPA General Management Plan	NPS
Thompson	1985	WAPA historic resources study	NPS
NPS	2003	Cultural landscape inventory of Agat and Asan	NPS
EH and Associates	2004	Administrative history of WAPA	NPS
Tupper and Donaldson	2005	WAPA fishing impact study	NPS
Hunter-Anderson and Moore	2006	Study of post-WWII resettlement villages (including Agat)	Department of Parks and Recreation, GovGuam
NPS	2013	WAPA cultural landscape inventory	NPS
Ong	2019	Master's thesis on Apolinario Mabini on Guam	UCLA

\* NAVFAC Pacific=Naval Facilities Engineering Command Pacific; UOG=University of Guam; UCLA=University of California, Los Angeles.

**Traditional healing places.** Are there places that are associated with traditional healing techniques? Are there any places or areas that people traditionally avoid, whether all the time or during specific seasons, times, or activities?

**Traditional/Historic Places, Sites, and Structures.** Are there structures, or sites of former structures, that have traditional or historical significance to people in the area? If so, are these places visited or commemorated in any way, and if so, by whom? Are there natural features, objects, or flora that have traditional associations beyond legends and myths?

**Ceremonial markers and memorials.** Are there traditional ceremonial markers or memorials within the project area? If so, what do they commemorate, and for whom are they important?

**History in the landscape/seascape.** Are there any areas or places within the project area that are associated with important events, people, or periods of history, that are not covered under the other topic headings?

**CHamoru communities, settlements, and villages.** What CHamoru settlements and communities existed, and continue to exist, that are traditionally associated with the park areas and their resources? Are there historical and contemporary locations within Asan and Agat that are important in regard to community identity or use; for example, areas or places that are associated with traditional social gatherings, such as fiestas.

**Marine Resource Uses:** What are past and present traditional fishing locales, practices, and beliefs associated with park waters? Are there specific spots that were or are known for certain marine and freshwater resources? What are beliefs, customs, legends, histories, and stories associated with fishing in the park areas? Are any of these locales, practices, or beliefs associated with particular villages, families, communities?

**Land Resource Uses:** Are there areas that have been or are traditionally used for gathering plant materials, such as roots, flowers, breadfruit, and wild yams? Are there areas or sites where medicinal plants were or are gathered? If so, how were/are they gathered and how were/are they used? Are there any areas that are traditionally associated with the planting of coconuts, bananas, rice, and sweet potato?

**Hunting and Subsistence.** Are there any areas where sea turtles, birds, fruit bats, and feral game, were/are hunted? What techniques were/are used? Are there any stories, beliefs, or legends associated with such areas or their resources?

**Effects on traditional resources and practices resulting from historical events and transformations of the landscape.** What changes have there been in cultural practices, such as discussed above (e.g., fishing, hunting, bathing, swimming, other community activities) due to events of the 20th century, such as the Japanese occupation, U.S. invasion, post-war development, and the development of the park? What effect has historical transformations of the landscape had on traditional cultural resources, practices, and mythic landscapes/seascapes in these areas?

**Management of traditional cultural resources.** How might traditional cultural resources within the Asan and Agat areas be managed, protected, and curated by WAPA, as well as the people or communities for whom these resources are important?

## **ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS**

A major component of the REAP is the set of interviews that were undertaken in 2019 and 2020. Information from previous oral history research also provided background to the present study (see Table 1 for list of pertinent studies to the REAP).

### **PREVIOUS ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS**

Jennison-Nolan's report (1979b), which documents land and lagoon use in pre-war Agat and Asan based on archival and oral historical sources, includes interview material from five individuals (Jose Lizama Charfauros, Gloria Matanane, Domingo Materne, Jose Quintanilla, and Ignacio Santos) who provided memories of Guam before the war.

In 1993, oral histories were collected as part of the 50th anniversary of the Pacific War (beginning in 1991 and culminating with commemorative celebrations in July 1994). Among those interviewed were Beatrice Emsley, Pedro Cruz, Hiram Elliot, Carmen Artero Kasperbauer, Ralph Reyes, Juan Perez, Pete Perez, Francisco Cruz, and war veterans Jack Eddy, Pete Siquenza, and Ben Blaz. In July 1994, two teams of NPS and Air Force historians interviewed more than 50 U.S. veterans returning for the anniversary celebrations, as well as Chamorro survivors of World War II (EH and Associates 2004:181; “Inventory List of Oral History Tapes, Incident Command System Oral History Team Golden Salute ... July 18, 1994 to July 23, 1994” and “War in the Pacific National Historical Park: Timeline of Park Development,” c. 1998; both in WAPA Archives).

In 1997, WAPA organized a volunteer team called the “Marianas Oral History Team,” which hosted a photographic exhibit on Saipan and Guam (EH and Associates 2004:181-182).

Oral histories have also been incorporated into archeological project reports, either explicitly as transcripts or summaries (e.g., Hunter-Anderson 2002:Appendix G; Moore et al. 2018:19-21) or by reference (e.g., Wells et al. [1995:i] acknowledge Juan Mafnas as sharing information on the Hagatña portion of their project area, and then summarize it in one sentence in the text). A review of archeological reports in the vicinity of the WAPA units was beyond the scope of the present project but would be valuable in a more comprehensive study.

### WAPA REAP ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

Oral history interviews for the REAP were carried out by Rlene S. Steffy. Eight individuals were interviewed, six from Asan and two from Agat (Table 2). Appendix A in this volume presents short biographies of the REAP narrators. Volumes IIa and IIb contain the full transcripts, which also incorporate introductions and annotations by Rlene Steffy.

Table 2. Summary of Oral History Narrators and Interview Dates.

<b>Narrator</b>	<b>Village</b>	<b>Interview Date</b>	<b>Interviewer</b>	<b>Transcriber</b>
Babauta, Antonio Babauta	Agat	02-20-2020	Rlene Steffy	Vanessa Bautista
Cabral, Luis Francis Mendiola, II	Asan	10-29-2019 11-07-2019	Rlene Steffy	Vanessa Bautista
Cabral, Luis Francisco	Asan	01-08-2020	Rlene Steffy	Vanessa Bautista
Cabral, Nicolasa Mendiola	Asan	01-08-2020 05-09-2020	Rlene Steffy	Vanessa Bautista
Cruz, Jlawrence Materne	Agat	03-14-2020	Rlene Steffy	Kaumaka Anae
Garrido, Jose “Joe” Ulloa	Asan	12-21-2019	Rlene Steffy	Kaumaka Anae
Santos, Joaquin “Danny” Siquenza, Jr.	Asan	11-13-2019	Rlene Steffy	Lisa Humphrey Vanessa Bautista
Terlaje, James David Tenorio	Asan	12-09-2019	Rlene Steffy	Tanya Sortor Vanessa Bautista

The initial plan for identifying potential narrators was to approach the mayors of Asan and Agat and ask for names of the oldest residents, fishermen, traditional and cultural practitioners, and especially World War II survivors and veterans of wars. Of particular interest were families that have lived in the two villages for multiple generations. In addition, WAPA/NPS colleagues identified individuals with knowledge of the Asan and Agat areas as potential interviewees. Contacts through word-of-mouth were also made.

Interviews were conducted between October 2019 and May 2020. All interviews were open-ended but structured conversations, in which the interviewer asked initial questions and then allowed the conversation to flow. Interviews were recorded, and full transcripts are presented in Volumes IIa and IIb. The type of transcription can be described as an “intelligent verbatim” transcription, with the objective of improving reading ease. The transcripts do not summarize or leave anything substantive out, but they have been edited to remove grammatical and vocabulary ticks, as well as false starts and repetitions, unnecessary noises in human utterances, and environmental sounds.

The transcripts were edited and annotated by Rlene Steffy, who also contacted the narrators and other knowledgeable individuals after draft transcripts were completed to clarify statements made.

A particular challenge for the present project is the aging population of narrators, which is also a challenge noted by Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006) in their study of the post-war resettlement villages that included Agat. The oldest narrators for the present study were young children during and after World War II, so their direct memories are of a time frame that starts with and post-dates the war up to the 1960s and 1970s, and thus do not represent what might be considered “traditional” except as knowledge passed down from their parents or grandparents.

One of the narrators for the present project, Luis Cabral, who was born in 1960, expresses the source of his knowledge of the history of Asan through his parents and their siblings:

A lot of it was, if not through my mother [Nicolasa Santos Mendiola Cabral, who was also interviewed for the REAP], learned a lot of it through my uncle Joe Mendiola, and then a little bit from my other aunts, all my aunts and uncles. And then, as my brothers and I started to know the other guys—boys in the village and the other classmates at the time—we started talking to other people. You know, they started telling us you don’t go here because, or this area belongs to this family, and these things, and we were taught basically to respect it. I mean, I don’t ever think we were—you know, if I think about it, if you lived in this village you didn’t vandalize. I mean, you went and moved stuff around, but you did not vandalize anything. We had to learn the family, who the family was, most of it, some of it I have forgotten over the years. As far as the history is concerned, it mostly came from my mother’s side of the family as to who was where, what families, which uncle gambled what parts of the properties away, what part of the village and which families did what. Then how everyone kind of came to be in that area and how they are connected. Because at one time before GHURA came through, everybody in this village, one way or another, even though you had different last names, they were one way or another connected. You know, ... you’re related to them somehow in one aspect or another.



### III. BACKGROUND

This chapter presents background information as a context for the REAP ethnographic interviews. It begins with a description of WAPA, and summarizes the physical and historical environments of the park and the island as a whole. Chapters IV and V focus on Asan and Agat, respectively.

#### THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

War in the Pacific National Historical Park was authorized on August 7, 1978, with the purpose to (NPS 1983:4):

... commemorate the bravery and sacrifice of those participating in the Pacific Theater of World War II and to conserve and interpret outstanding natural, scenic, and historic values and objects on the island of Guam for the benefit and enjoyment of present and future generations.

WAPA encompasses 2,114 acres, of which 1,073 acres are owned in fee by NPS (NPS 2013:6). It consists of seven physically separate units on the central west side of Guam, between the city of Hagatña in the north and the village of Agat in the south. The Asan Beach and Inland Areas are at the north end of the park; the Agat Unit is at the south end of the park. In between are the Piti Guns Unit, the Mt. Chachoa and Mt. Tenjo Unit, and the Mt. Alifan Unit. The Fonte Plateau Unit is east of the Asan Inland Unit (see Figure 1).

WAPA tells the story of Guam during World War II, and relates the American re-capture of the island from Japanese control in July and August 1944 through interactive exhibits and films, and walking and driving tours of World War II sites, including historic structures, military equipment, and defensive earthworks.

The entire War in the Pacific NHP is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) as a historic district, with a period of significance from 1941 to 1945 (i.e., the war years) (NPS 1983:46). As described in the WAPA cultural landscape inventory (NPS 2013:2):

War in the Pacific National Historical Park is listed on the National Register under Criterion A for its national significance during America's involvement in World War II. The park was further determined eligible for listing on the National Register under Criteria D as a battlefield site that is likely to yield important archeological information related to the war activities on the island. The period of significance for War in the Pacific National Park is 1941 to 1945, marking the beginning and ending of World War II in the Pacific. The period begins when Japan first attacked Guam on December 8, 1941, and ends with the armistice on August 15, 1945. Japanese forces seized the island, yet after thirty two months their defenses on Guam were overrun in July 1944. The United States immediately began to fortify and build up the logistical capabilities of the strategic island. By the time of the armistice in August 1945, the United States had built a vast supply station on the island and had begun the process of rebuilding villages and industries in Guam.

In addition to the War in the Pacific historic district, seven other properties were individually listed on the NRHP in the 1970s as associated with the 1944 battle of Guam (NPS 2013:10): the Matgue (Nidual) River Valley Battle Area, Asan Invasion Beach, Memorial Beach Park, the Asan Ridge Battle Area, Agat Invasion Beach, Mount Tenjo Fortifications, and the Piti Coastal Defense Guns. In 2003, the Asan and Agat Invasion Beaches were evaluated as a cultural landscape and determined eligible for the National Register under Criteria A and D. The cultural landscape of WAPA was determined eligible for listing on the NRHP with the concurrence of the Guam SHPO on October 4, 2013.

### **ASAN BEACH UNIT SIGNIFICANT PROPERTIES**

The Asan Unit includes four of the seven historic properties that have been evaluated for listing on the NRHP (NPS 2013:10): the Asan Invasion Beach, Asan Ridge Battle Park, Matgue River Valley Battlefield, and Memorial Beach Park. It also includes the Asan Invasion Beach cultural landscape, and is part of the War in the Pacific NHP historic district and cultural landscape.

World War II remains are located mainly on the Piti side of Asan Point and around Adelup Point (NPS 1983:31). These are primarily Japanese defensive features such as gun emplacements, caves, a few foxholes, at least ten pillboxes, and miscellaneous foundations. Remains of some pieces of American military equipment lie in the offshore area. The coastal land area of the unit was a major part of the invasion beach but there are no surface remains from World War II; construction of a naval hospital facility in the 1950s resulted in deposition of about 2 feet of coral limestone fill across the beach and hardened the shoreline.

The seaward portion of the Asan Inland Unit falls within the study area. A major battlefield in the American re-capture of the island (NPS 1983:33), most physical remains (caves, pillboxes, foxholes, scattered foundations, and 75mm mountain gun) are concentrated just inland of Asan Point and Chorrito Cliff.

### **AGAT UNIT SIGNIFICANT PROPERTIES**

The Agat Unit includes one of the seven historic properties that are individually listed on the NRHP, the Agat Invasion Beach (NPS 2013:10). The park unit is also part of the overall War in the Pacific NRHP historic district and the National Historic Park cultural landscape. The Agat Unit also includes the Agat Invasion Beach cultural landscape.

World War II remains in the narrow coastal strip and at Ga'an Point include caves, bunkers, latrine foundations, and more than ten pillboxes. There are also remains on Alutom and Bangi Islands. U.S. amphibious equipment are near the edge of the reef. Although Hill 40, which is located just inland of Bangi Point outside of WAPA, was one of the mostly desperately contested battle sites in 1944, there is no known remaining physical evidence of the battle, and the area is greatly altered.

### **PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT**

WAPA is located on the central west coast of the island of Guam. The Asan Beach and Agat Units are largely water-based in shallow lagoons, with only small areas of land on the seaward side of Marine Corps Drive (in Asan) and Route 2 (in Agat), the main coastal roads.

WAPA falls within the southern half of the island of Guam, which consists of two distinct physiographic provinces separated by a prominent geologic fault called the Pago-Adelup Fault at the central "waist" of the island. Southern Guam consists of dissected volcanic and andesitic uplands. Limestone outliers occur along the east coast, around the inland Talofof/Fena Watershed, along the Alifan Ridge near the western coast, on Orote Peninsula and Cabras Island surrounding Apra Harbor, and on Nimitz Hill overlooking Asan Bay. The southern region is well-watered, with numerous streams and springs. In contrast, Northern Guam is a vast, slightly sloping, raised limestone (or karst) plateau, formed primarily on Mariana Limestone overlying volcanic rock. There is no exposed surface water in the north.

Alifan Ridge marks the divide between the east and west sides of southern Guam, with stream valleys draining from this divide onto the coastal plains. The drainages are short and steep on the west side of the ridge. East of the ridge, headwaters of the drainages flow in a dendritic system through the upper reaches of four long and gradually sloping rivers to the east coast, the largest being the Talafofo drainage (also called Fena in the upper reaches of the watershed)

## PREHISTORY CONTEXT

The prehistory of Guam encompasses about 3,500 years, beginning with the earliest dated archeological sites on the island to the arrival of Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan in AD 1521. This long period is conventionally divided into two sub-periods, the Pre-Latte and the Latte, with varying proposed ranges and phases (Figure 2).

Pre-Latte Period cultural deposits along the coasts are generally a little further inland than the Latte Period cultural deposits, because over time, the combination of geological uplift and lowering sea levels have caused the seaward progradation of beach deposits. Therefore, earlier coastal occupations now occur inland of later ones.

Pre-Latte Period remains are identified primarily by thin-walled pottery sherds distinguished by red-slipped exterior surfaces, some of which are decorated with lime-filled designs, vessel forms with flat, or nearly flat bottoms and vertical side walls, stone and shell tools, and beads and bracelets made from cone shells. Latte Period sites, which begin to occur by at least AD 1000 and probably earlier, are characterized by megalithic stone features called *latte*, which consist of two parallel rows of upright stone shafts topped by semi-hemispherical capstones. Latte Period artifacts include undecorated pottery, stone mortars, stone and shell tools, and *Spondylus* shell beads.

Little is known archeologically about the prehistory of Asan and Agat specifically, although it can be postulated that, as the centers of their respective watersheds and with rich, off-shore coral reefs, that occupation in these areas was thriving.

## HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The historical period of Guam's history began in AD 1521 with the arrival of Spanish explorer Ferdinand Magellan. It is generally divided into temporal periods based on the occupying foreign power: the Spanish era to 1898, the first American period to 1941, the Japanese World War II period to late 1944, the late war and post-war American period to 1950, and the modern era from 1950 to the present.

### SPANISH PERIOD

Initially sporadic, Spanish interaction with Guam CHamoru became increasingly intense and controlling. In 1565, Miquel López de Legazpi claimed the Mariana Islands for Spain, and Guam became a regular stop-over for Western trading ships. However, more than 100 years passed before Spain established a permanent religious and military colony in the islands in 1668. By this time, the lucrative Manila galleon trade between Acapulco and Manila was fully established, stopping at Guam for provisions on the westward crossing of the annual voyage. The period from 1671 to 1698 saw often violent conflict between the Spanish and CHamoru. During this time, Hagatña, just to the east of Asan, was evolving into the primary Spanish-based town.

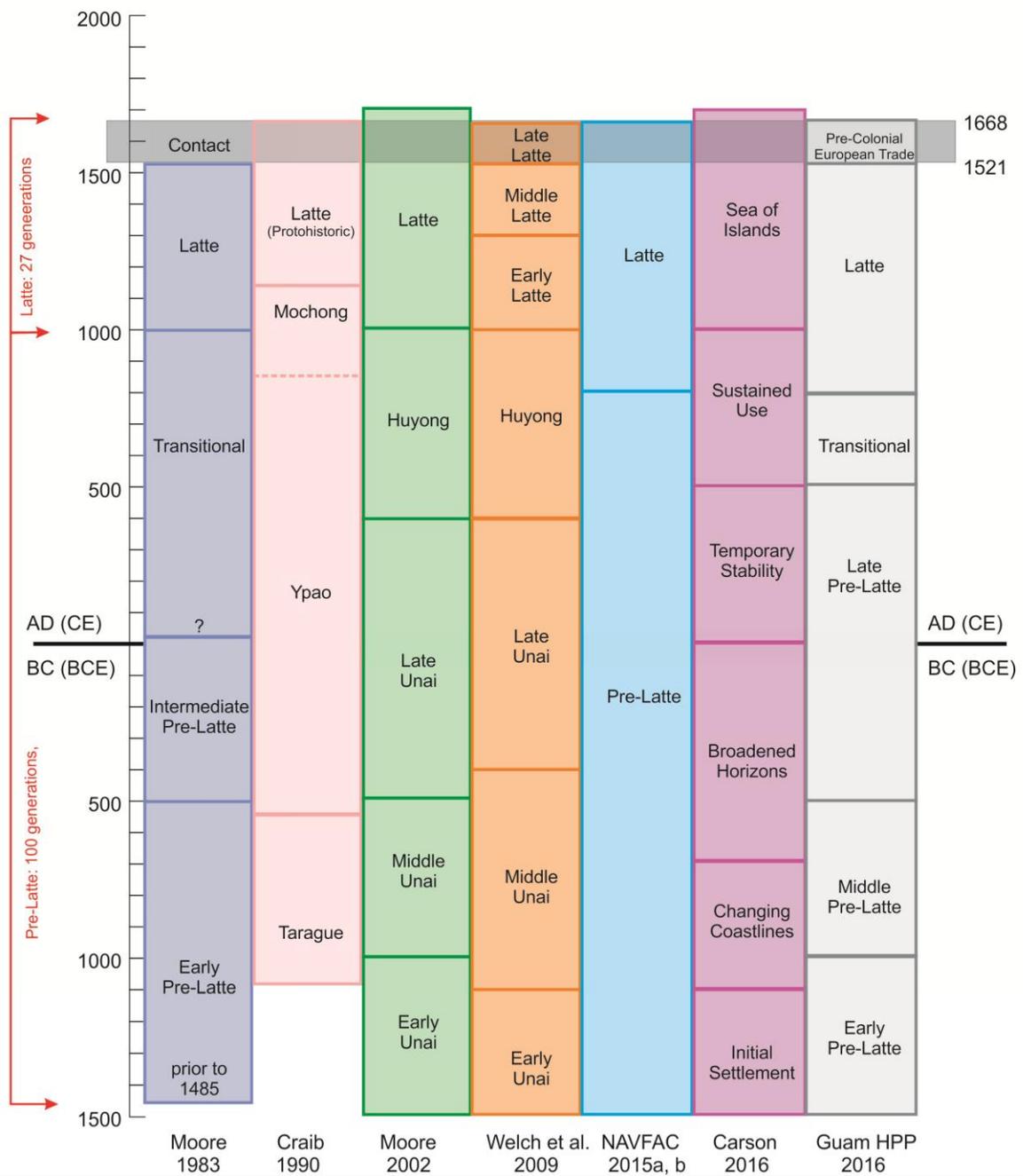


Figure 2. Alternative chronologies of Guam prehistory (taken from Tomonari-Tuggle et al. 2018:12).

Around 1680, the Spanish began *La Reducción*, forcing people to abandon traditional villages and hamlets and move into Hagatña or one of five parishes, of which Agat was one (see Tuggle et al. in prep.:Figure 23). Hezel (2015, based on García 1683 and mission reports) estimates that each town had a population of around 1,000 people (quoted in Tuggle et al. in prep.:76), and that “In all the new towns, at the direction of the Spanish, those people recently resettled from the outlying hamlets were building their new homes in orderly rows. Each of the towns had a church and rectory for the resident pastor.” In a reconstruction of parish boundaries, Tuggle et al. (in prep.:Figure 18) shows that the Asan Unit likely fell within the parish of San Ignacio de Hagatña, or may have extended slightly into the parish of Santa Rosa de Tepungan, and the Agat Unit was in the parish of San Josep de Oroiti.

The Spanish authorities established a road and trail network to connect its various communities. As noted by Tuggle et al. (in prep.:147, brackets added), “there are numerous references in the Spanish accounts concerning the effort and cost of maintenance. The main roads were reasonably well developed by the early 1800s, since they are described by French explorer Louis de Freycinet (2003) and Spanish Governor Francisco Ramon de Villalobos (1832), and probably had been so since the mid-1700s. The most well-constructed road was the 16-mile section from Hagatña to Umatac on the southwest coast, which passed through both Asan and Agat.<sup>2</sup> The road, or rather a cart path, was constructed with *cascajo* (coral gravel), with bridges and causeways built across many of the west coast streams and wetlands. In the late 1800s, Spanish Governor Francisco Olive y García (1887:69-71, brackets added; translation from Tuggle et al. in prep.:169) described the road from Hagatña to Piti, which included a section through Asan (note the last sentence that mentions Chorruto Cliff):

Since all pueblos are located on the coast, they are connected by a road leading from the City [Hagatña] that runs along the shore to Apra Harbor, as far as the Punta Piti landing place ... This road, actually a highway, varies in width from four to six meters, except for the last kilometer, which is under repair and construction. The seven kilometers that have been completed have a very good bed of the cascajo [coral gravel] ... At the present time, without obstruction or inconvenience, the eight kilometers can be traveled by *calesa* [carriage], drawn by either a horse or a good young native bull... Along this road, there are ten solid wooden bridges mounted on supports of mampostería. Eight are three or four meters long, two measure nine meters. A short section of this highway is called the Chorruto, where the cliff is battered by waves.

In the 18th century, Guam continued to function as a stop-over for the annual Manila galleon, with the economy transitioning from a subsistence base to one focused on support of international trade (Welch et al. 2009:58-59). CHamoru raised crops and animals to provision outside ships, while the ships brought in goods such as clothing and household items, as well as new food items such as corn (which soon became a staple food crop), and large animals like cattle, carabao, pigs, goats, and deer.

The galleon trade ended in the early 19th century, and Spanish control of the island receded. For a brief period at mid-century, Guam was active in the provisioning trade with British whalers, but this also waned. After this, Guam was a backwater of little importance at a global level. What is significant is that by 1870, Hagatña was clearly established as the population center of the island; Thompson (1947:41, quoted in Stephenson 1979:100; brackets added) writes: “In 1710 only about twenty percent of the population lived in and around the city [Hagatña], whereas, by 1870, 84 percent had concentrated there.”

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<sup>2</sup> As noted by Tuggle et al. (in prep.:147, footnote 199), the road is called El Camino Real (i.e., the royal road, or the king’s road) by Vernon (2011), but it is uncertain if it was “ever commonly or formally called [by that name]. The only known contemporary use of this phrase is in Pineda ([1792] 1990:37), and he may be referring only to the well-constructed section from the Atantano cause way to Agaña.”

## FIRST AMERICAN PERIOD

Guam was absorbed into the American sphere of influence as a result of the Spanish-American War. Spain relinquished the Philippines and Guam to the U.S., and the remainder of the Mariana Islands and other islands in Micronesia to Germany. By U.S. Presidential executive order dated December 23, 1898, the entire island of Guam was placed under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Navy, and in 1899, the island was designated a naval station (Apple 1980:3; Rogers 1995:224-225). Over the next four decades, naval officers served dual roles as naval station commandants and island governors. Their authority controlled all aspects of island life. As residents of a naval station, Guam Chamoru had no effective rights except those provided by local naval law, which was in essence a form of martial law (Apple 1980:4-5).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Hagatña was the home to most of the island population which was estimated to be about 10,000 (Cox 1904:390). Smaller towns in order of size and importance were Sumay, Agat, Merizo, Inarajan, Umatac, Piti, and Sinajaña, whose populations ranged from 650 to 150. The main route along the west coast roughly followed the path of the El Camino Real, as noted by Cook (1917:61), who said “the old Spanish road had fallen into bad repair and for most of the distance was scarcely passable, ... much of the old roadbed was used” in rebuilding the road in 1908, at which time it was extended south to Agat.

In the 1920s, eight municipalities, including Asan and Agat, had been established by the naval government. In the 1930s the west coast of the island, anchored by Hagatña, was the most developed (NPS 2013:25):

Agat was a village of about 800 in 1940, with people living outside the village along the slope of Mount Alifan (Snell, 1984:84). Asan village was still a one street village in 1940 with about 600 people who subsisted upon fishing and agriculture grown on the flat coastal plains south of the beach road and the edges of the scattered forest of the lower slopes. Adelup Point was park-like with coconut and breadfruit trees adorning the grounds of the four houses of the Atkins Kroll and Company along the curved roadway (Snell, 1984:44). Piti had a population of about 1,200 in 1940 and was still the port of entry for much of the cargo coming to the island (Snell, 1984:81).

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:5) notes that the economy of this period was largely wage-based, derived from the Navy administration, but with many families continuing the pattern of regular retreats to *lanchos* to work farms or tend livestock. Referencing a 1941 Census Bureau report, she notes that “nearly 52 percent of the male ‘gainful workers’ in 1940 reported farm-connected occupations: farm owners and tenants (35.4 percent) or farm laborers (16.1 percent)” (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:6).

A major commercial endeavor of the time was copra production, with other major crops being rice and corn<sup>3</sup>. Otten and Bitanga 1947:8:9) describe the “coconut economy:”<sup>4</sup>

In 1941 the price of copra was \$1.00 per hundred pounds. Workers received 50 cents per day in addition to one or more meals furnished by the employer. When rented, the land owner received one-third of the harvest. Coconut trees bloom from three to four times a year and produced from ten to sixteen clusters of nuts. Poor trees on poor land produce as low as one or two nuts to the cluster, while good trees produce up to twelve nuts per cluster. A good average yield for good trees

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<sup>3</sup> Corn is a Spanish introduction, but its actual use is based on Mexican practice (the Spanish came to Marianas through Mexico). Dishes such as *titiyas* and *tamáles gisu*, have their origins in Mexican tortillas and tamales, respectively. Before World War II, CHamoru ate more *titiyas* than rice. Asan was noted as a prime rice-growing area by Freycinet (1829).

<sup>4</sup> During World War I, Guam’s copra production reached 1 million pounds per year (Rogers 1995:137, referenced in NPS 2013:23).

on good land is 100 nuts. Copra during the 30's sold for as much as \$2.65 per hundred pounds. ... Copra was sold to the soap manufacturers in Agana, Ada or Johnson, and the pressed cake by-product was used by farmers for pig and chicken feed. Another product of coconut trees was tuba<sup>5</sup> ... Tuba has many domestic uses in Guamanian homes where it is a staple food used as a drink, unfermented, and in the cooking of many foods.

In 1941, government strategy toward Japanese expansion in the Pacific shifted, and the U.S. Congress authorized \$4.7 million for defense projects on Guam (NPS 2013:16). These projects included dredging in Apra Harbor and building new water systems. Navy engineers quarried limestone from the outer edge of Asan Point for some of these construction projects.

The First American Period ended on December 8, 1941, with the invasion of Guam by Japanese forces at the beginning of World War II.

## DURING THE WAR

On December 8 (December 7 east of the International Dateline), just hours after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawai'i, Japanese forces began air attacks on Guam. Two days later, on December 10, ground troops made amphibious assaults at several widely scattered locations around the island, including on the Agat beaches, and at Hagatña Bay. Less than six hours later, the American governor surrendered the island to the Japanese naval commander, beginning a two-and-a-half-year occupation that ended with the re-capture of the island by U.S. forces in July 1944.

### Japanese Invasion and Occupation

A force of nearly 6,000 Japanese troops initially occupied the island, but departed in early January 1942, leaving a military occupation force of only around 400 (Apple 1980:31). Civilian affairs were managed by the Minseibu, a branch of the navy garrison. As noted by Apple (1980:31): "With a thousand-year occupation in mind, Japan changed Guam's name to Omiya Jima. Agana became Akashi; Agat was Showa Mura and Asan was Asama Mura. ... Omiya Jima was to be Japanized." In this environment, CHamoru generally retreated to their *lanchos* to avoid interaction with the occupiers, surviving by subsistence farming and fishing.

As U.S. forces advanced across the Pacific, pressure mounted on CHamoru to support the Japanese occupiers, particularly as food supplies were reduced. The Japanese imposed food quotas, and demanded beef from ranchers and fruits and vegetables from farmers (Rogers 1995:170). Along the coastal flats of Asan and Agat, CHamoru forced labor created new rice paddies in order to feed Japanese troops, which in March 1944 was increased with the arrival of new Army forces of more than 10,000 soldiers (Rogers 1995:173); Navy troops numbered 7,000 (Apple 1980:38). CHamoru were conscripted to build facilities and fortifications on the island, including an airstrip on Orote Peninsula. Bangi, Apaca, and Ga'an Points in the Agat area were built up to provide the Japanese with crossfire capability in the event of a beach invasion.

From February 1944, able-bodied CHamoru males, from 12 to 60 years of age, were forced to work on farms, loading and unloading ships, mining manganese, and defense projects (Apple 1980:37; NPS 2013:16, referencing Evans-Hatch and Associates 2004:35). Able-bodied women and girls over 12 years

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<sup>5</sup> Tuba is the bud of the coconut tree, as well as the juice that is tapped from the bud (Chamorro Online Dictionary; accessed at [chamoru.info/dictionary](http://chamoru.info/dictionary), July 2021). The juice ferments very quickly

old were also forced to work in food production, including the expansion of rice fields in Piti, Asan, Agat, Inarajan, and Merizo, and new plantings of sweet potato, corn, taro, tapioca, and other foods (Apple 1980:39).

In April 1944, the U.S. military began aerial reconnaissance sorties over Guam, Saipan, and Tinian, as well as regular B-24 bombing runs over the islands (NPS 2013:12). In June, U.S. Marines landed on Saipan, and Navy aircraft and ships made massive air and naval attacks on Guam over a period of 13 days. The villages of Agat, Asan, and Piti were completely destroyed in the increasing pre-invasion bombardment.

Two days after the bombardment began, CHamoru (except for those on the forced labor crews) were forced from their villages, including Asan and Agat, and marched to camps on the east side of the island. The largest camps were located at Talofofu and Manenggon; there were an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 CHamoru at Manenggon (Tuggle et al. in prep.:237).

### **Asan and Agat Beaches: the U.S. Landings**

On July 21, Operation Stevedore commenced with simultaneous, early morning landings at Asan and Agat beaches by the U.S. 3rd Marine Division and 1st Provisional Marine Brigade (NPS 1983:11) (Figure 3).<sup>6</sup> Just over a week later, the landing beaches, Orote Peninsula, and Apra Harbor were secured as safe zones for subsequent island-wide battles; this covered the area from Adelup Point in the north to the Fonte Plateau and along the southern ridgeline from Mount Alutom to Mount Alifan in the south (NPS 1983:17).

From this point, the effort to recapture the entire island began, called Operation Forager. Construction battalions (Seabees) worked around the clock to construct needed infrastructure. Their command headquarters was built on a wide, open area near Asan Beach, which came to be known as Camp Asan (NPS 2013:37). Forager was completed on August 10 when major organized resistance by Japanese troops ended.<sup>7</sup>

During this same time, American units liberated large groups of CHamoru that had been held by the Japanese in internment camps set up just prior to the invasion. Although almost completely destroyed by pre-invasion and battle actions, Asan and Agat became refugee centers (NPS 1983:17). Over 700 refugees were housed in the camps during the first night they were open, and the numbers swelled to a high of 18,000 Chamorro at their peak. By August 3 (even before the official end of the battle on August 10), Chamorro began moving out of the refugee centers back to their homes and *lanchos*.

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<sup>6</sup> The history of the American re-capture of the island in 1944, as well as cultural resources associated with the 1944 battles, has been extensively covered by other reports prepared for WAPA (e.g., Apple 1980; Thompson 1985) and are not repeated in the REAP except in summary form.

<sup>7</sup> NPS (2013:17) notes that the last organized group of 46 Japanese troops surrendered on September 11. Another 114 Japanese stragglers would surrender over the next three decades.

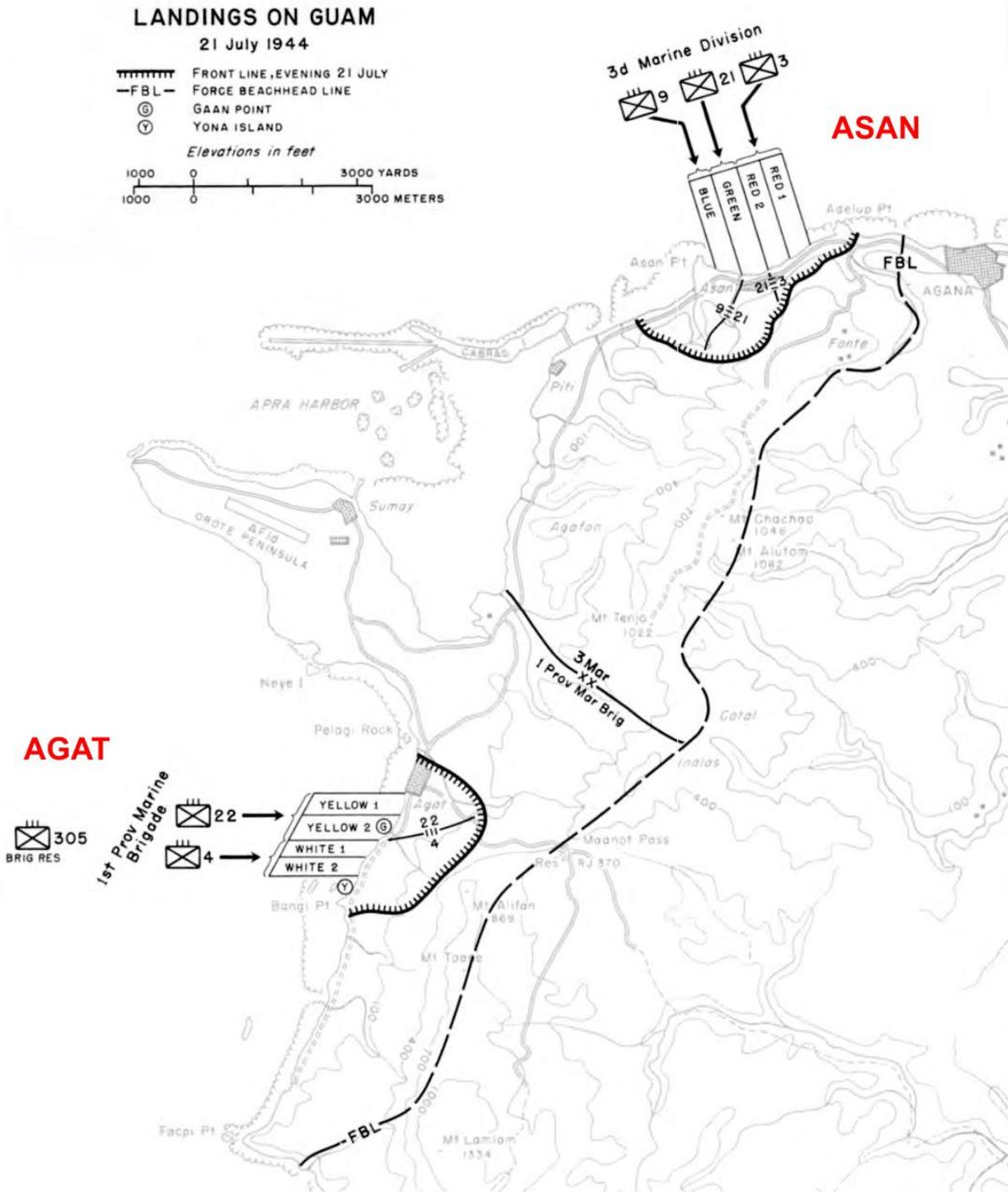


Figure 3. July 21, 1944, landing beaches at Agat and Asan (taken from Crowl 1993:Map 18).

## After the Re-Capture

Following the re-capture of the island, U.S. forces transformed the island landscape into a major supply and refueling point in the Pacific Theater. Guam and the rest of the Mariana Islands were strategically important because they allowed the United States to position airpower closer to Japan (NPS 2013:11). Air raids on the Japan home islands and ultimately the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were launched from the Marianas. On Guam, major U.S. facilities included the naval base at Apra Harbor, air fields in northern portion of the island, and munitions storage in the upper Talafofo drainage. In 1944, Seabees blazed a highway on the west coast, constructed to standard U.S. specifications: “main arteries were to be four 11-foot lanes, curves were restricted to 6 degrees and grades could not exceed 6 percent. Rugged rock outcrops required extensive cuts” (NPS 2013:46). A 12-mile, four-lane highway with nine bridges between Sumay and Hagatña was completed in 60 days.<sup>8</sup>

## AFTER THE WAR

As in the First American Period, initial government efforts in the immediate post-war period focused on infrastructure improvement (roads, water, telephone, and utilities), particularly to service the extensive U.S. military installations (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:18). Military development generated a building boom that required a labor force that could not be locally filled, and thousands of contract laborers were brought in from the Philippines and the U.S. mainland (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:26). Following an agreement between the Philippine Islands and the U.S. for Filipino laborers to come to Guam, a large camp for 7,000 laborers (called Camp Roxas) was established in Agat inland of Apaca Point (NPS 2013:18, referencing Campbell 2013; Rogers 1995:219); Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:32, referencing Sanchez 1988:277; Babauta, pers. comm. 2005) write that the camp was built on land formerly owned by the Bordallo family.

In 1946, the wartime military government reverted to the pre-war naval government, which was not much changed: “An admiral became Governor/Commandant. Guam’s government departments were headed by Navy officials” (Apple 1980:63). In 1949, however, Presidential Executive Order 10077 transferred the civilian government from the Navy to the Department of the Interior, and in July 1950, the Organic Act of Guam was signed into law, creating the Territory of Guam and allowing Chamoru the rights of U.S. citizens with an elected delegate to Congress (although without the right to vote). The Navy retained its control over the island, however, by instituting a security program that required civilians to have clearance to enter the island; security clearance applications could be denied, or existing clearances could be revoked. The program was ended in 1962 by another executive order (Presidential Executive Order 11045).

After a 1960 court ruling, Filipinos who had come to Guam on labor contracts in the 1940s and 1950s could choose to become permanent U.S. residents (or could attain permanent residency through marriage to American citizens) (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:26). Once becoming citizens, they could sponsor immediate family members to join them on Guam. Two major areas at Dededo and Agat were settled by immigrant Filipinos; they built up a sizeable resident community in Old Agat. Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:32-33, brackets added) write:

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<sup>8</sup> In spite of compliance with U.S. standards, the road in the 1950s is remembered as a “two-lane asphalted road, but always had puddles; and coral drive, dusty” (Joe Garrido, December 21, 2019, interview).

The camp [Camp Roxas] was abandoned in the 1950s, but many of the Filipinos who had lived at Camp Roxas became American citizens and eventually built homes in the old Agat area, where their families live today.

During the Vietnam War, Guam played a front-line role in support of the Southeast Asia military action. In Asan, the Navy renovated the former Civil Service Camp and named this facility the Advanced Base Naval Hospital (a.k.a. Asan Annex), which opened in 1968 with the capacity to accommodate 1,200 patients. However, the hospital was abandoned in January 1971 as the Vietnam War wound down.

In April 1975, the abandoned Camp Asan was resurrected as one of 12 facilities on Guam for Operation New Life, a program to process thousands of Vietnamese refugees who had been evacuated from South Vietnam in the closing days of the Vietnam War (Lipman 2012; NPS 2013:52). They were awaiting processing before moving to the mainland United States. A total of 111,919 refugees were held in Guam through the relatively brief period of detention (April to August 1975) (Lipman 2012).

A significant consequence of the detention, however, was the repatriate effort by almost 2,000 Vietnamese who sought to return to their home country rather than continue on to the United States (Lipman 2012:4). The reasons for repatriation were varied, including political inclinations, a desire to rejoin family members that had not been able to leave Vietnam, and a realization of the permanence of the move; some repatriates, many of whom were lower level military personnel, indicated that they had never intended to leave Vietnam but had been coerced by military superiors, or were lured by “misfortune, misinformation, and even kidnapping” (Lipman 2012:10).

Requests for repatriation escalated into protests. In July, the U.S. consolidated all of the repatriates on Guam into Camp Asan “where they could be collectively monitored and policed on military property” (Lipman 2012:18). In the last week of August, the varying levels of protests climaxed in violence with rock throwing, pipe wielding, and Molotov cocktails; two of the barracks were burned down and other military property was destroyed. By the end of September, the U.S. conceded to providing the repatriates with a ship for return to Vietnam, and in October, the ship sailed with 1,546 men, women, and children.

### **CREATION OF THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK**

The origin of WAPA can be traced back to as early as 1952, when the Office of Territories made a request to the National Park Service to conduct studies of the island’s historical significance and recreational potential (EH and Associates 2004:50). NPS (2013:51) notes that the request was “to visit Guam to determine any historically significant properties that should be set aside as park lands.”

The request was repeated in the 1960s. In 1964, at the request of Governor Manuel M.L. Guerrero, an NPS team carried out an on-island study of two possible parks, a National Seashore Park and a historical park commemorating and interpreting World War II in the Pacific (EH and Associates 2004:50). Subsequently, a proposal to create War in the Pacific National Historical Park was made to Congress. In 1967, a Master Plan for the proposed park was prepared, in which the Asan Unit and the Agat Unit were identified as the two major units of the park. The plan was updated in 1977 to address new economic, demographic, and political factors.

After several attempts at enabling legislation (and 13 years after the first official proposal), War in the Pacific National Historical Park was created on August 18, 1978, by the U.S. Congress, under Public Law 95-348 (92 Stat. 487, later codified at 16 USC 460dd) (EH and Associates 2004:70). The first superintendent, T. Stell Newman, came on board in 1979.

Initial efforts at park development focused on clearing and removing accumulated debris, actions that were undertaken primarily by volunteers in the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) under the direction of Superintendent Newman (EH and Associates 2004:116). In 1980, former Navy buildings, including a two-story hospital, barracks, and a military club, were demolished and hauled away, much of the work was carried out by volunteers from the Army Reserve Combat Engineers. Following the general clean-up, park managers looked to developing features to commemorate and memorialize the battle of Guam; an example is landscaping at Ga'an Point that included planting approximately 1,000 coconut palms in an effort to recreate the historic setting at the beach prior to the United States invasion (NPS 2013:55-56):

In 1982, Ga'an Point was planted with coconut palms as a living memorial; people around the world would donate \$100 toward a tree planting with proceeds donated to the American Cancer Society (Pacific Daily News, May 26, 1982; 18). In 1983, after the untimely passing of Stell Newman, another grove of dozens of palm trees were planted at Ga'an to memorialize Superintendent Newman.

In 1980, Ga'an Point and Apaca Point in the Agat Unit were the first areas opened to the public. The Asan Beach Unit was officially opened in 1981. The visitor information center was opened in 1982 in a leased building at the Asan Beach Unit; it was named the T. Stell Newman Visitor Center in 1985, honoring the first superintendent of WAPA. In 1994, the park was the focus of the 50th anniversary of the 1944 landing by American forces to retake the island (EH and Associates 2004).

## IV. ASAN BEACH UNIT

The Asan Beach Unit encompasses 579 acres, of which 473 acres are in off-shore waters (NPS 2013:6) (Figure 4). Just inland of the Asan Beach Unit is the community of Asan Village on the coastal plain, and the Asan Inland Unit on the surrounding hills. The Inland Unit is the largest of the WAPA units, containing 589 acres of mostly rugged terrain that rises to about 500 feet in elevation (NPS 2013:62). The near-coastal area of the Inland Unit falls within the REAP study area.

Located on the ocean side of Marine Corps Drive, the Asan Beach Unit stretches from the tip of Adelup Point in the east to Asan Point on the west. Between Adelup Point and the mouth of Asan River, the Beach Unit is a narrow strip of coastal land; west of the Asan River mouth, the Beach Unit widens to encompass the coastal plain seaward of Marine Corps Drive. The offshore area includes extensive reef formations, up to 1,000 feet wide, that parallel the shore; water inside the reef is from one to four feet deep and during low tide, many areas of the reef are exposed. Asan Cut (also called Sâgua<sup>9</sup> Assan) is a break in the coral reef that extends from near the mouth of Asan River to the open ocean. A small, raised pinnacled limestone islet lies off of Asan Point at the west end of the park unit; its CHamoru name is Gâpang Islet, but is also commonly referred to as Gapan Islet or Camel Rock (Photo 1).

The Asan Beach Unit falls within the municipality of Asan (Figure 5). The village of Asan is the main community within the municipality and lies primarily on the inland side of Marine Corps Drive. Hagatña, the capitol of Guam, is located three miles east of Asan Village. The communities of Adelup and Tépungan are to the east and west of the Asan coastal plain, respectively.

Interviews for the REAP study were carried out with six individuals, ranging in age from 61 to 83 (as of 2021). Danny Siguenza Santos, Jr., and Luis Francisco (Frank) Cabral were born in the late 1930s, Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral and Joe Ulloa Garrido were born during World War II, and James Tenorio Terlaje and Luis Mendiola Cabral were born in the early 1960s. The narrators offer a range of perspectives on the history and culture of the Asan community. Short biographies of the narrators are presented in Appendix A of Volume I. Interview transcripts are provided in Volumes IIa and IIb of the REAP.

### PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Asan Beach Unit lies at the coastal edge of a shallow alluvial coastal plain that curves around Asan Bay. The bay is bounded on the east and west by steep cliffs that jut out to the ocean: at Asan Point on the west, and Adelup Point on the east. Chorruto Cliff drops to the ocean in the eastern third of the bay, marking a divide between the Asan and Adelup coastal plains. Inland of the Beach Unit, the Fonte Plateau (also called Nimitz Hill) marks the highest landform above Asan, rising to above 600 feet asl. The hilly area behind the coastal plain is called Opop.

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<sup>9</sup> Sâgua is the CHamoru word for a channel or narrow passage of water breaking the reef barrier (R. Steffy, pers. comm).

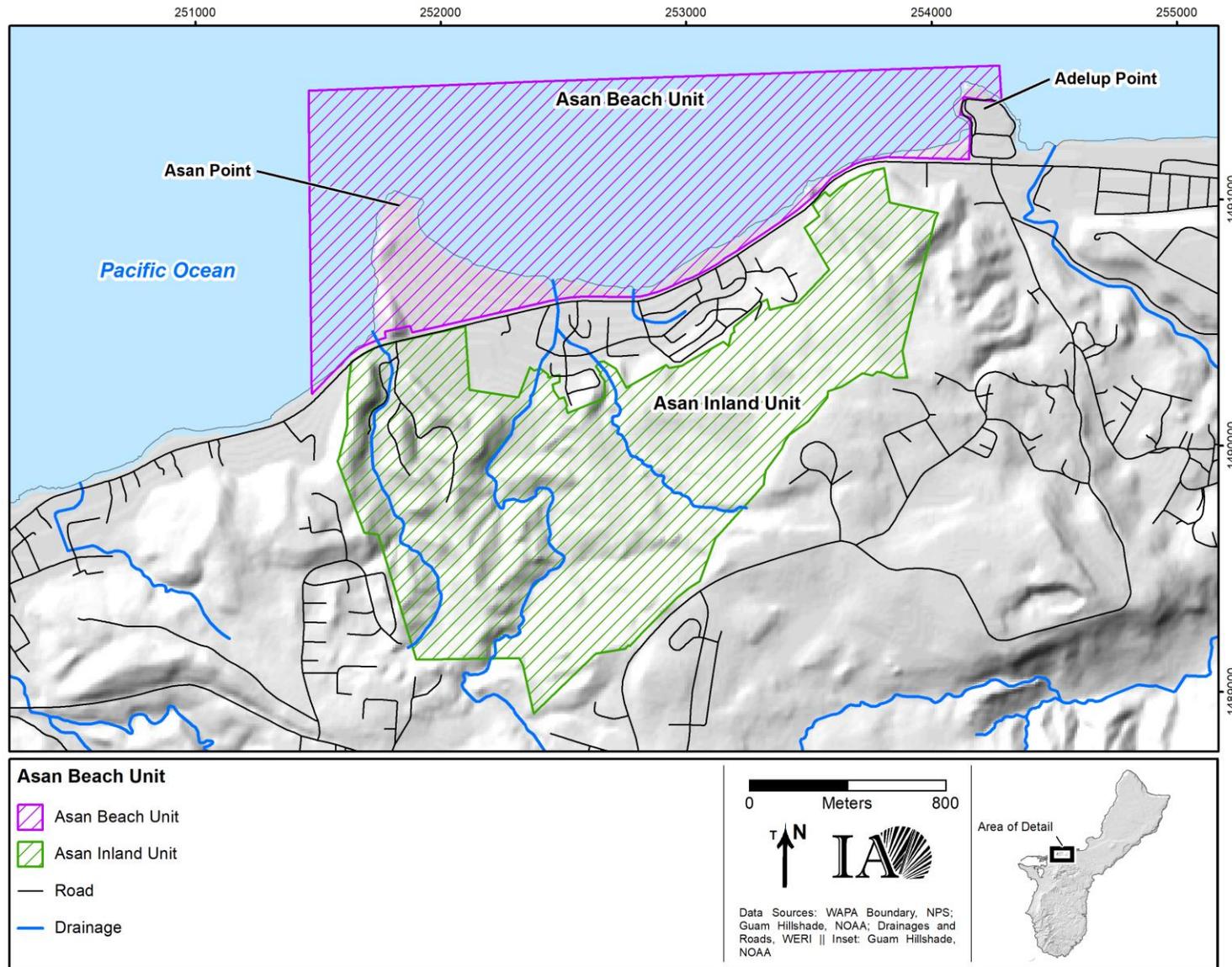


Figure 4. Asan Beach Unit.



Photo 1. Aerial view of Gapan Islet, which is also commonly called Camel Rock (photo by Jonah Micah Santos). Asan Point is at the center-right of the photograph; Asan Village is at the center background.

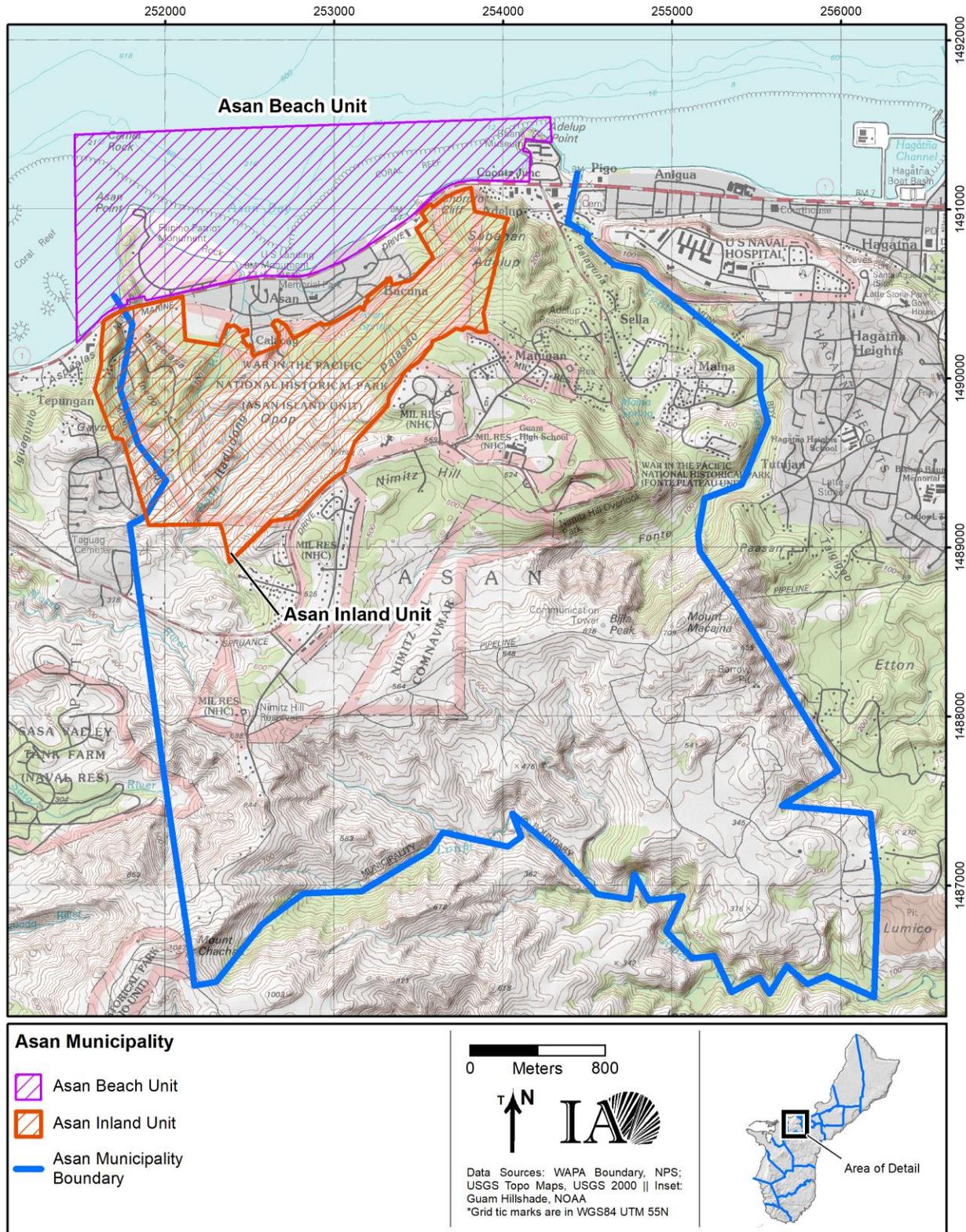


Figure 5. The municipality of Asan, showing the location of the Asan Beach Unit and the Asan Inland Unit.

The Asan Beach Unit falls in the center of the Piti-Asan Watershed with the small portion of the unit east of Chorrito Cliff within the Fonte Watershed (Figure 6). The primary drainage is the Asan River, which cuts through the center of the coastal plain and exits into the ocean through the Asan Cut.<sup>10</sup> The western tributary of the Asan River is Kalakak River. The Matgue River drains a small gulch at the west end of the coastal plain and empties into the ocean on the west side of Asan Point. Small drainages cut through coastal plain in the Chorrito Cliff area.

Asan Spring is a natural water source above the present Asan Village at about 119 feet above sea level. A reservoir and pump house were constructed in 1916 by the U.S. Navy to provide a stable, high quality water supply to Asan Village, the Marine Barracks at the Asan Presidio, about 2/3 of the population of Hagatña, Piti, and rural residents along the various pipeline routes; a pipeline to Cabras Island was later installed (Ruzicka 2016:6-7).<sup>11</sup> Another spring in the area called Opop feeds the stream through the Kalakak area at the western end of Asan Village (Danny Santos, November 13, 2019, interview).

Over 80 percent of the Asan Beach Unit falls in the off-shore waters of Asan. NPS (1983:42) describes this marine environment:

The reef flat varies in width from 91 meters (at the Asan Bay channel) to 978 meters (west of Asan Point) but most of the reef-flat platforms are slightly more than 300 meters in width. The complex consists of an intricate combination of intertidal reef and low-tide moats and much of the outer reef is exposed at low tide.

The coral community dominates the Asan Unit waters. Seagrass (*Enhalus acoroides*) is found in widely scattered patches east of Adelup Point. Corals are widely scattered to abundant in the low-tide moat along the inner reef flat. The densest corals are found immediately west of Adelup Point and seaward of the raised coral headland. Abundant areas of soft corals are found west of Asan Point.

Although no systematic collecting has been carried out along the Asan Unit, a wide variety of invertebrates has been observed, especially sea cucumbers, sea urchins, and sea stars. Fiddler crabs (*Uca*) have been collected along the sandy beach at the Asan River mouth.

The land portion of the park unit is a largely manicured landscape at the west end of the Asan coastal plain; the landscape was initially created by the 1944 invasion landing beach and subsequent military clean-up, post-war military development, and ultimately the creation of the national historical park. The shoreline of the WAPA unit was modified after the war, and the shore from the area of “Asan River to Asan Point is mainly a man-altered, artificial coastline” (NPS 1983:42).

In the 1960s and early 1970s, much of coastal Asan remained in a jungle of *tangantangan* (*Leucaena leucocephala*) and mangrove (various species) that grew in the near-shore area (Luis Cabral, October 29 and November 7, 2019, interviews, brackets added):

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<sup>10</sup> The Asan Cut is a popular contemporary fishing and diving area (<https://www.mdaguam.com/asan-cut/>, accessed February 2021). The cut, which is “W”-shaped in cross-section, contains several small caverns or caves, and on the east side “you’ll hit an Amtrak from World War II” (Luis Cabral, October 29, 2019, interview). Marine life observed on dives includes white tip sharks, Napoleon wrasse, sting rays, marble rays, octopus, lionfish, flounder, snake eels, and sea cucumbers.

<sup>11</sup> The Asan Spring Reservoir was closed in 2003 because of coliform bacteria in the water; there was not adequate chlorination system to treat the problem (Ruzicka 2016:10).

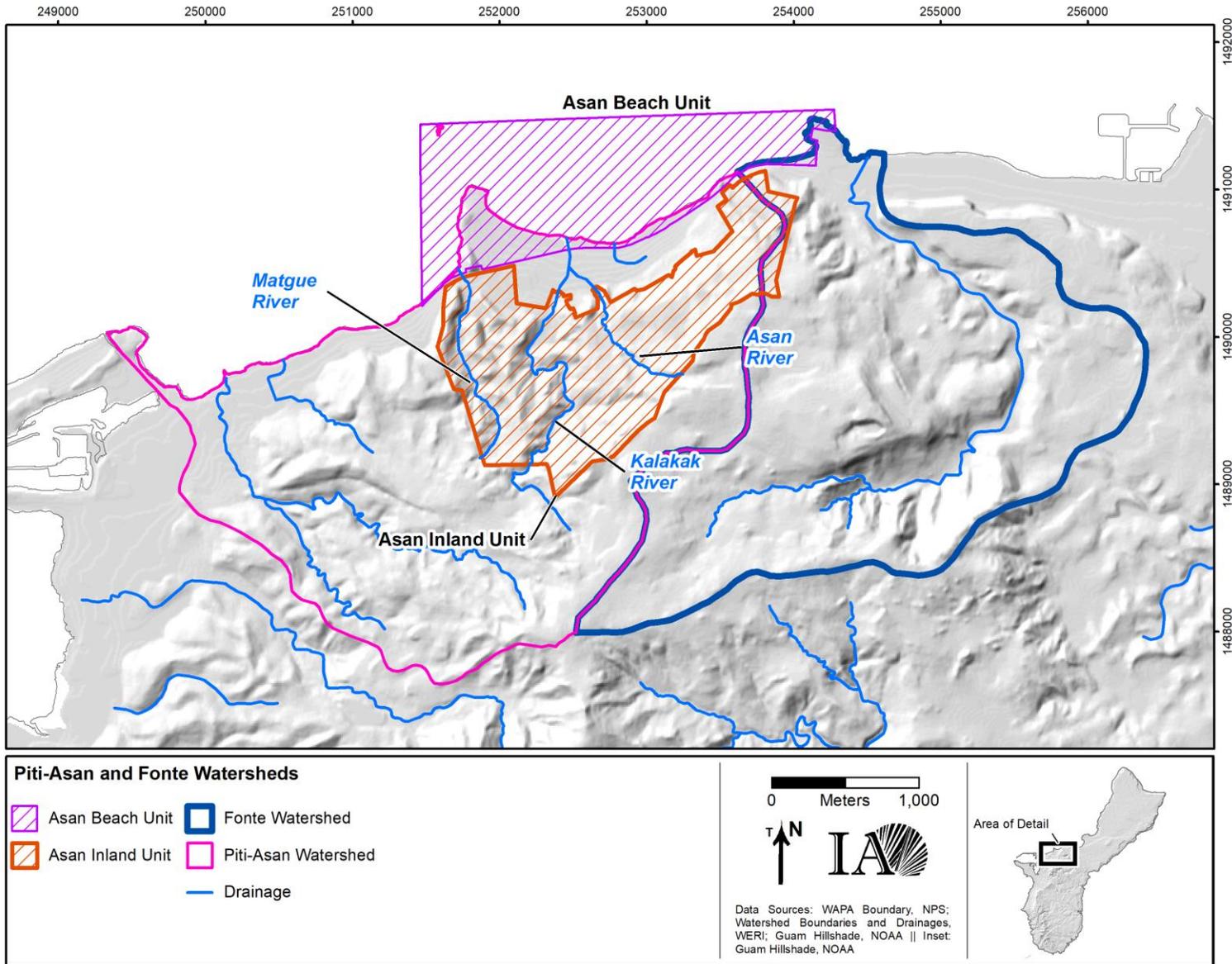


Figure 6. The Piti-Asan and Fonte Watersheds.

You could still see the ocean from the upper half of the village, and as you got further down, ... you still had jungle everywhere, places that you still had to traverse through. ... We used to be able to go all the way through, you had to go a roundabout way on tiny trails to get from what we called Assan village, to Kalákak, which is still part of Assan. ... most of the river was covered by a canopy [of] bamboo and *tangantangan* or whatever trees. So, the river now as we see it is wide open. Back then, you had shade all the way up and down the river, almost. [The metal bridge was]<sup>12</sup> Basically, all it was, it looked like just one giant piece of metal that was laid across, was some metal, some trussing underneath just to give it support. ... No railings. ... It probably was something left from the war that they just needed for jeeps and trucks to get across. ... It was big enough to fit a car.

## CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

Understanding the cultural context of the Asan Beach Unit requires being familiar with the geography and history of the larger coastal Asan region.

### PLACES AND PLACE NAMES IN ASAN

Table 3 lists place names in the Asan Beach Unit and the general Asan Village region. Figure 7 shows locations of places discussed by the WAPA narrators.

Table 3. Key Places and Place Names in Asan.

Place	CHamoru*	Relation to WAPA Unit	Comment
Acalaye Fanihi	Acalaye Fanihi	peak on Asan Ridge just north of Marine Corps Drive (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:48)	spelled “Pte. Acahi-Fanihi” on 1819 Freycinet (1826) map; Jennison-Nolan’s source for the spelling “Acalaye” is Espinosa (1945); the CHamoru word <i>á’kalaye</i> ’ means “hang, suspend” (Topping et al. 1975)
Adelup	Adilok	promontory at east end of Asan Unit; pre-WWII district of Asan (Wells et al. 1995:12) east of Chorrito Cliff	spelled Ardulug on López 1676 map; alternative spellings include Aduluk, Adulug, Adilog, and Adilug (paleric.blogspot.com); also called Devils Point, Missionary Point, and Punta del Diablo (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:36)
Anigua	Aniguak	village east of Adelup Point; barrio of Hagatña	
Asan	Assan	part of the Asan Beach and Inland Units	spelled Assan on 1819 Freycinet (1826) map; also possibly Hassan (see text)
Asan Cut	Sâgua Assan	break in the Asan reef near the mouth of Asan River	

<sup>12</sup> The metal bridge is indicated as point 9 on Figure 7; it crosses Kalakak River.

Place	CHamoru*	Relation to WAPA Unit	Comment
Asan Point	Assan	promontory at west end of Asan Unit	also called Presidio Point, Punta Asan, and Point Acahi-Fanahi (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:41); labeled “Pte. Acahi-Fanihi” on 1819 Freycinet (1826) map
Asan River	Assan	river through central part of Asan coastal plain; with two tributaries	west tributary is Kalakak River
Asan Village	Assan	modern village is primarily inland of Marine Corps Drive	re-located village built after WWII
Chorrito	Chorrito	point and ridge on east side of Asan Village	also called Cape Horn (Cook 1916); alternate spelling is “Chorito” (Ong 2019:40)
Gapan Islet (Camel Rock)	Gâpang	small, raised limestone islet off of Asan Point	also called Camel Rock; Ong (2019) spells it “gâpang” (not capitalized)
Kalakak	Kalâkak Kalâkkak	west end of Asan Village; D. Santos (11-13-20 interview) says it is the inland area, i.e., not the area along Marine Corps Drive	alternate spelling is Kalakkak (Ong 2019:40); also the name of the west tributary to Asan River
Matgue	Saddok Matgue	river and ridge at west end of Asan Bay; pre-WWII district of Asan (Wells et al. 1995:12)	river is also called Nidual (see AMS 1944)
Nagas	Nâgas Nâ’gas	pre-WWII district of Asan (Wells et al. 1995:12)	1913-1914 Corps of Engineers map shows “Nagas” as the first stream west of Chorrito Cliff
Nedo’ Taya	Nedo’ Taya	hills between Piti and Asan (Ong 2019:4)	Ong (2019:4) does not specifically locate the hills (i.e., whether seaward or inland of Marine Corps Drive)
Opop	Oppop	hill area between coastal Asan and Nimitz Hill; a spring in Opop feeds a drainage through the Kalakak area	alternate spelling is “Opu” (Ong 2019:40)
Presidio	--	pre-WWII district of Asan (Wells et al. 1995:12); site of internment camp for Philippine insurrectionists in 1901-1902	
Tepungan	Tépungan Tipungan	village west of Asan Ridge	spelled Tupungan on López 1676 and Le Gobien 1700 maps, Tépungan on 1819 Freycinet (1826) map

\* CHamoru spelling is primarily from R. Steffy interviews (see Volumes IIa and IIb) and Kumision I Fino’ Chamorro (n.d.); spelling of stream names comes from *Digital Atlas of Southern Guam* (<http://south.hydroguam.net/drainage-usnames.php>, accessed February 2021).

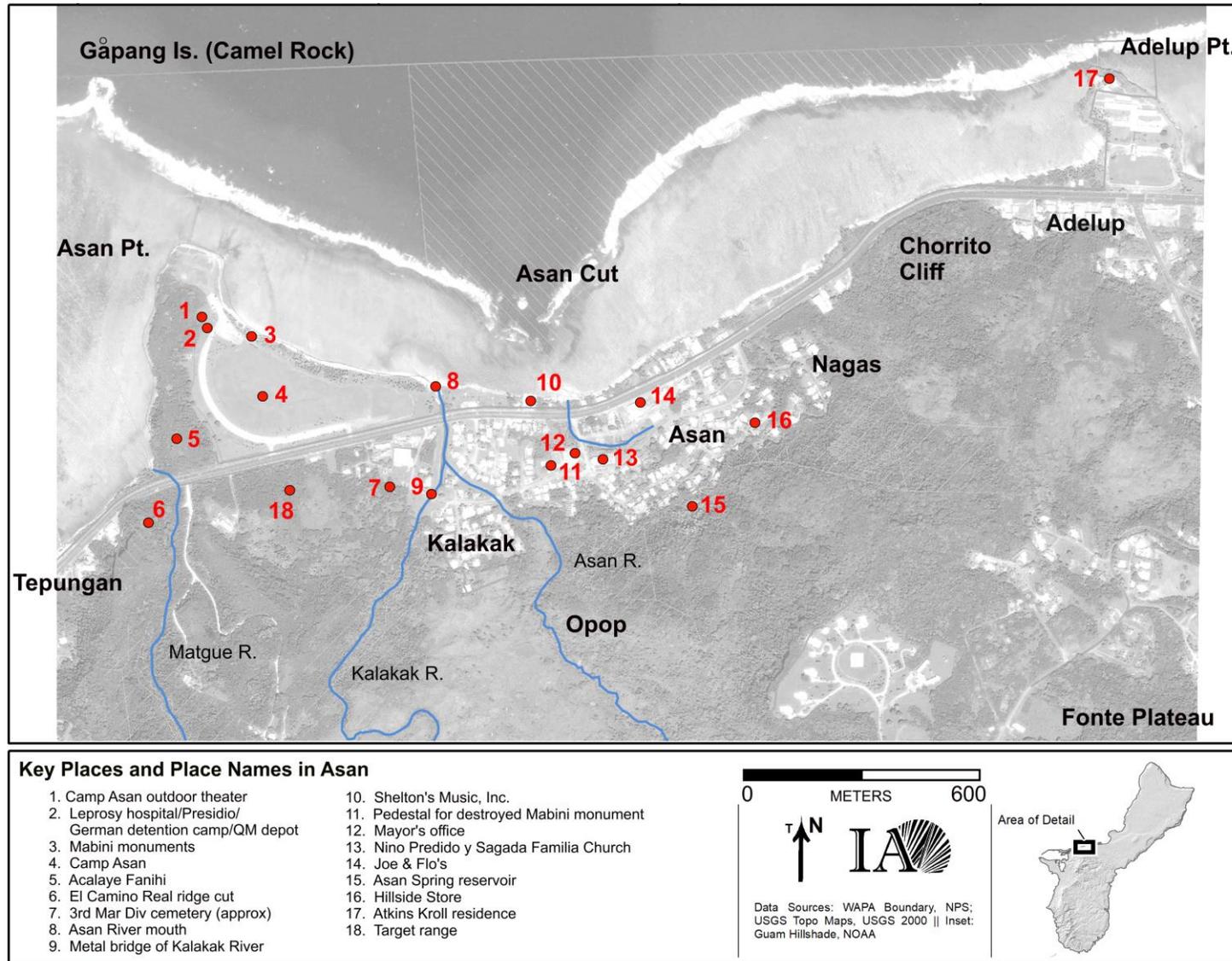


Figure 7. Key places and place names in Asan.

Asan has existed as a geographically identified place since at least 1676 when it is shown on a map attributed to Alonzo López (1676). The 1676 map shows “P. [Pueblo] de Asan,” as well as nearby locations, “P. de” Anigua, Adiluc [Adelup], and Tepungan, and also Gapan Islet (Figure 8). In regard to the name of the village and the municipality, Joe Garrido (December 21, 2019, interview) says:

Asan, as I remember it, meant ‘seldom’ or ‘Hassan’. I don’t know whether that’s the original spelling of the village of Asan. ... as in other place names in Guam, it relates to what the other people were doing; what they weren’t doing; when they were doing it.

... and so it could actually mean A-san. ..if we were asking the local tradition in determining, finding out, or creating information with regards to that particular place is to ... come up with a name because somebody was staying there. And so, it’s possible that the name “Asan” began to be called that because San was staying there. And so, ... we say, “Asan”; it just evolved to just being one word, instead of being two.

... There are many examples of the prefix, “As” [pronounced “ass”]. And so in this, in Asan, that may be the original name ... in this place, there is a person known by everybody in that area as “San,” S-A-N. So, he is there, so “Asan.”

But “Hassan” came into the picture, and so, of course, we still speak the word Hassan in our conversational CHamoru; and Hassan of course means “rare” or “seldom.” Um, seldom what? Well, we need to find that out. Back in history, it could relate to being rare ... rarely do we have this kind of fish, or we rarely find this in that particular area. So maybe that’s why it’s called Hassan.

### GAPAN ISLET IN THE MYTHIC LANDSCAPE

Gapan Islet (also called Gápang Islet or Camel Rock) lies offshore of Asan Point (see Photo 1), and is important in CHamoru legend.<sup>13</sup> Jennison-Nolan et al. (1979:77, referencing J. Beaty 1967, *Discovering Guam*) write about the islet:

In the days of the ancient Chamorros, a reef channel into the open sea was an important feature of every village. Many stories are told of invasions by rival districts or attempts to block up the channels. The legend of Gapan concerns such an attempt. Two young boys of the Aguada clan were sent out at night to carry a large rock from Orote Peninsula to block the reef entrances at Agana, so that enemies could not attack. They had to complete the job before dawn or they might be discovered and killed by enemies along the way. They carried their heavy load along the reef all the way to Asan before they were startled to see the Morning Star rising in the sky. Thinking dawn was approaching, they dropped the rock and ran for home.

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<sup>13</sup> There are numerous versions of this legend (see collection in Micronesia Area Research Collection, University of Guam), but they are consistent in the initiating threat of outsiders attacking Guam, two young boys sent to get a rock from Orote to block the entrance to Hagatña Bay, and a celestial figure that caused them to drop the rock at its location off the coast of Asan.

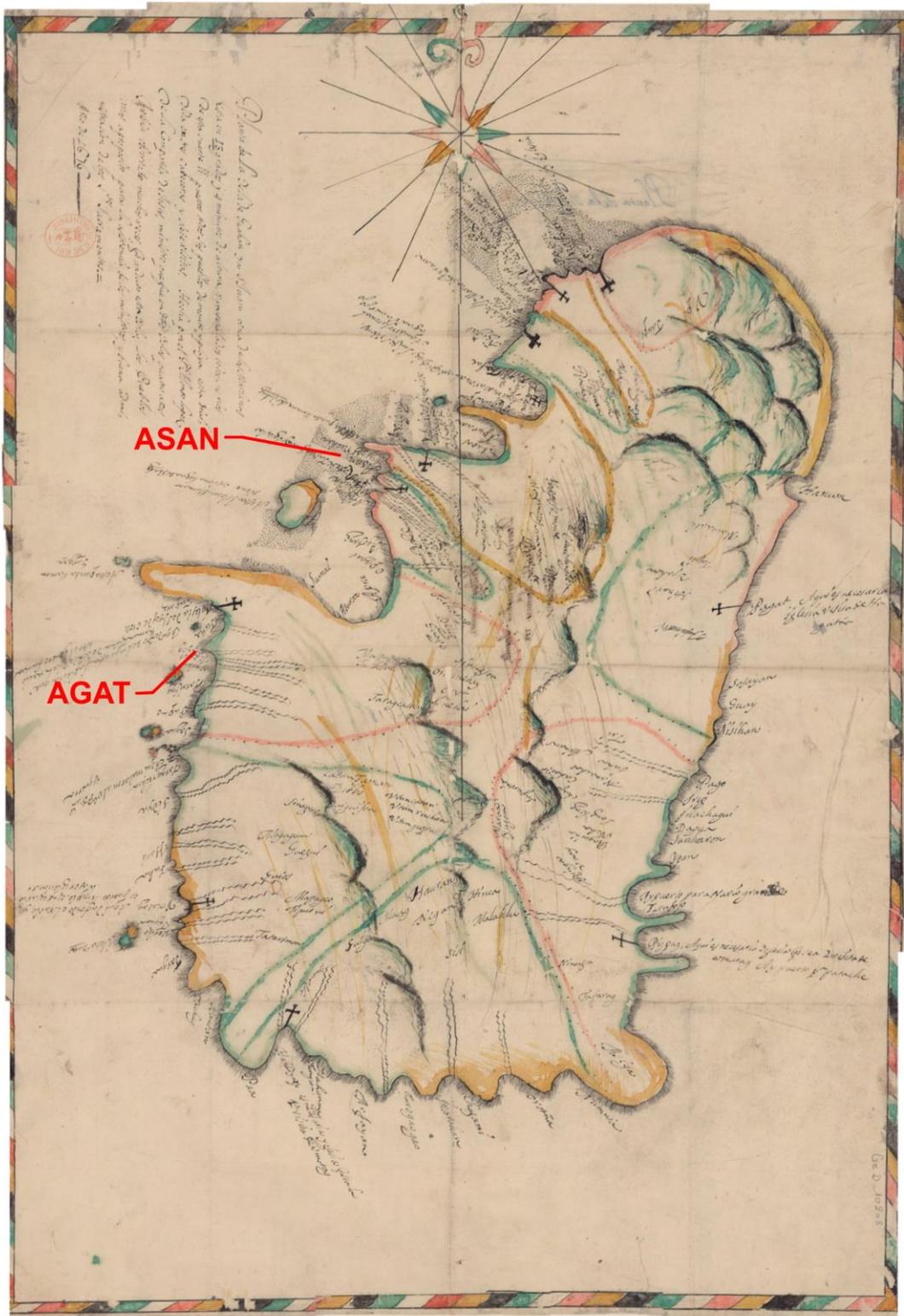


Figure 8. Map of 1676 attributed to Alonzo López, showing the locations of Asan and Agat.

Ong (2019:13) offers a variation on the story and the spelling of the name:

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

Joe Garrido (December 21, 2019, interview) remembers that when he was young, the islet was never called Camel Rock, but rather, was known as Gapan (or Gâpang), based on the legend. His telling of the legend has CHamoru carrying the rock to block the reef at Asan, to prevent outsiders from landing their canoes and attacking the clan in Asan. The name Gapan refers to the leader of the warriors of Asan Village. The name Camel Rock "came into the picture when the military began to stay there in Camp Asan."

## ASAN HISTORY

This section summarizes the prehistory and history of Asan.

### PRE-CONTACT ASAN

Between 1979 and 1986, several archeological projects were undertaken in Asan Village, as part of the Asan Community Redevelopment Project (Reinman and Taylor 1981; Hunter-Anderson 1983; Graves and Moore 1986). These projects and others that followed in the 1990s and 2000s (e.g., Wells et al. 1995) indicate that human occupation of the coastal plain began in the Pre-Latte Period, possibly as early as 500 BC but certainly by AD 1100 (Graves and Moore 1986:179). Wells et al. (1995:28) summarize:

Hunter-Anderson (1983:30) found that the area near Nino Perdido Church was used during Pre-Latte and Latte Phases. She suggested that a natural estuary formed by deposits from the Asan River had been a former agricultural site. In the northwestern portion (closest to Marine Drive) of her study area, Hunter-Anderson found a Latte Phase residential area. As a result of their review of earlier work and on the basis of their own research, Graves and Moore (1986:13) confirmed that intact prehistoric deposits from both the PreLatte and the Latte Phases existed beneath the modern village of Asan.

Most of the radiocarbon dates from Asan range between A.D. 1100 and A.D. 1540 (Reinman and Taylor 1981:16). The earliest prehistoric human occupation at Asan dates between 500 and 1000 B.C. (Graves and Moore 1986:179). Excavations along the banks of the Asan River did not expose archaeological materials in a primary depositional context, and it was suggested that the River marked the western boundary of the prehistoric and historic village of Asan (Graves and Moore 1986:16).

Archeological work since 1979 has also uncovered pre-contact human remains, including a burial in the Marine Corps Drive easement just southwest of the former WAPA visitor center in Asan (Wells et al. 1995). Wells et al. (1995:29, referencing *Guam Newsletter* 1918 X[4]:10) note that, in 1918, a number of human skeletal remains was unearthed during U.S. Naval construction at Asan Point. The remains were nearly a meter below the surface of the sandy beach.

## THE HISTORIC ASAN VILLAGE

Records from the Spanish period testify to the long existence of Asan Village. It appears as a location on the 1676 map of Guam by Alonzo López (see Figure 8). It was included in a 1758 census as one of 12 villages on Guam, with 44 men and 42 women out of a total island population of 2,467; although considered a *barrio* of the parish of Hagatña, Asan was still counted separately in the census<sup>14</sup> (Tuggle et al. in prep.:Table 5). In 1916, Asan Village was described in a Navy report on the island of Guam (Cook 1917:60, brackets added):

The town of Asan stretches along the road for over one-half mile and is constantly being extended in both directions. The Agana-Piti road is its only street. The town boasts of a church, schoolhouse, and a number of houses of mamposteria.

In 1940, the village population numbered 596 (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:34, referencing a 1941 Census Bureau report). Most residents lived on the inland side of the coast road, although some had homes (some with thatched roofs) along the shore (Jennison-Nolan 1979:34). Pre-war descriptions invariably point out the coconut-shaded street through the village (Photo 2).



Photo 2. A street scene in Asan; the view is likely toward the west since most of the village houses were on the inland side of the road. (source: Pale' Scott collection, Rlene S. Steffy)

During the Japanese occupation, the rice fields in Asan were taken over by authorities. The head of the Minseibu, the Japanese civilian administration, established his residence in a house on Adelup Point (NPS 2013:29, referencing Rogers 1995:172). Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) recalls that

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<sup>14</sup> It is likely that Chorrito Cliff served as a physical barrier that preserved the distinct community identity.

a Japanese officer, his wife, and son took over his family's home in Asan, and his parents moved into the basement of the house; the officer's son was about the same age as Danny.

The village was destroyed in July 1944 when American forces carried out a multi-day bombardment that began on July 8, preceding the island re-capture that began with beach landings at Asan and Agat on July 21 (NPS 2013:16). The beachheads were secured by July 29 and the island was declared under American control on August 10.

During and in the months following the American landing, the Asan coastal plain was transformed. The coconut-shaded village along the coast was refocused in the eastern portion of the plain, east of Asan River. The area west of the river was turned into a major military staging area (Photo 3). A camp for CHamoru that had been displaced by the island battle was briefly set up, but this was soon shifted to a permanent facility in Anigua to the east of Adelup Point. An aviation gasoline storage facility was then built in this area (see section on Camp Asan, below). Construction battalions bulldozed a new highway, soon to be named Marine Drive (the present Marine Corps Drive), blasting a path from the seaward edge of Chorrillo Cliff, across the plain, and past the ridge marking the west boundary of Asan. Inland of this new road, the Marines set up a temporary cemetery for the American war dead, with smaller cemeteries for war dogs and Japanese casualties (Land & Claims Commission 1947; Apple 1980:83).

### ASAN VILLAGE AFTER THE WAR

After the war, Asan Village was rebuilt in the eastern portion of the Asan coastal plain (NPS 1983:31). The battle for Guam devastated the island landscape, and many CHamoru families were homeless. The U.S. military undertook a massive program to provide housing for displaced CHamoru.

#### A Rebuilt Asan

The rebuilt Asan covered more of the eastern plain than before the war, pushing homes onto where pre-war rice fields had hugged the base of the slope. Photo 4 is a June 1949 aerial photograph showing the rebuilt village on the left and the smaller area of Kalakak on the right.

Joe Garrido (December 21, 2019, interview) recalls that his family, which had taken refuge in Talofofu, heard that the military was going to build wooden houses for those who had lost their homes in the war. Garrido's "father and grandfather were able to buy a whole house for 50 dollars." This was sometime before the end of 1949. The wooden house was originally two or three bedrooms, a living room, and a kitchen; there was no inside toilet. The family added an outside kitchen after they moved in, and subsequently built on three more bedrooms. His grandfather maintained a small ranch around the house "with bananas and everything."

Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) remembers the house in which his family lived after the war:

... most of the houses were built independently by people. The original roof was the thatched roof, and then they started changing that out to the tin roof. That I remember also, because ... the thatched roof was very cool. ... sometimes it leaks, but you know, if you have a heavy rain. But, it was, to me it was just perfect. ... The sides were ... either plywood or bamboo. I think it's a combination. [Inside, it was] just one open room. Because everything was being made in haste. Remember that we didn't have the materials, you know, until later on when things kind of stabilized.

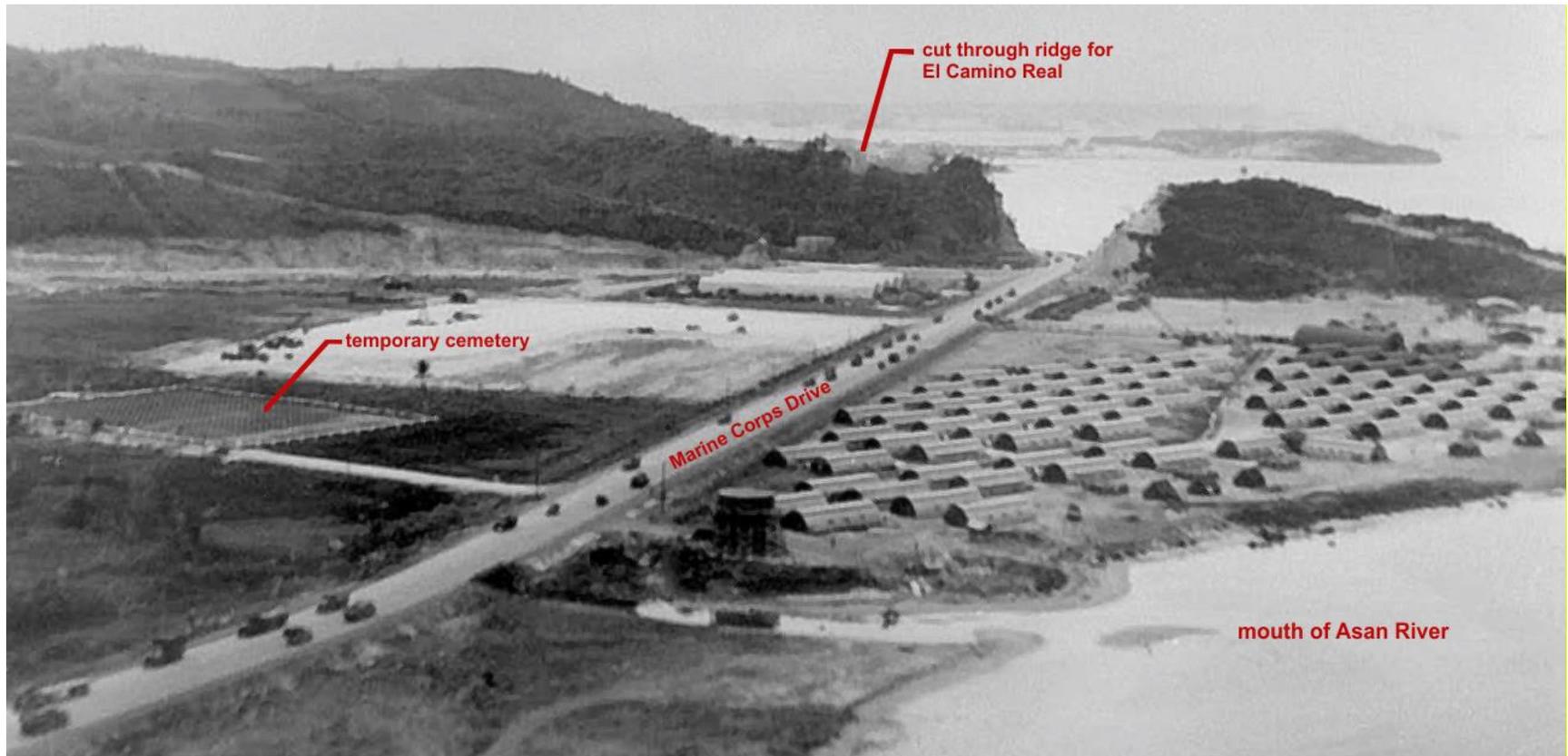


Photo 3. Annotated 1945 aerial photograph showing landscape transformation in the area west of Asan River, view to west. The 5th Brigade Motor Pool Camp is to the right of Marine Corps Drive; the three long buildings on the inland side of the highway remained until the 1970s. (source: WAPA photo collection Box 11.37)

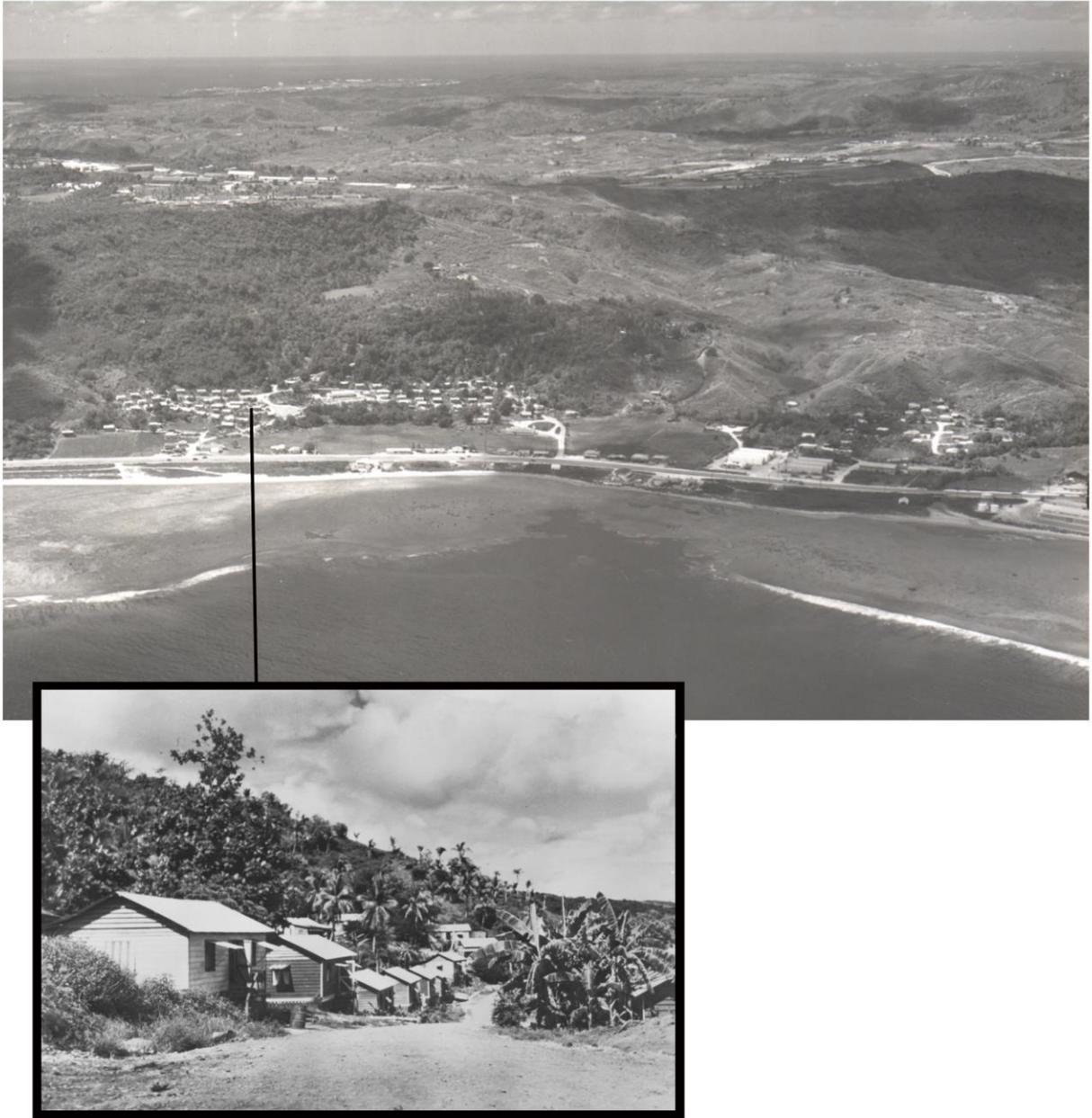


Photo 4. Asan Village after the war. The upper photo shows the rebuilt landscape in June 1949, view to south; Asan Village is in the left of the photograph and Kalakak is at the right; the Niño Perdido y Sagâda Familia Catholic Church is at the center of the photograph. The inset photograph shows some of the houses in the rebuilt village, probably in the uppermost road of the new village. (source: upper photo, IA photo collection; inset photo, WAPA photo collection Box 9.65)

He further remembers that beds were made with discarded military life vests that had piled up in Asan, and “we will take that and cut it out with the blade and use the matting” for a bed. Life vests were lined up and tied together and laid on the floor. Kitchens and bathrooms were outdoors.

The debris of warfare was everywhere in the Asan battle area, and a salvage market developed. A company called “Massey” collected metals (“anything that’s made of brass”) and munitions from the invasion (Danny Santos, November 13, 2019, interview). The company would buy material from people, including children who would gather up spent and unspent ammunition; Santos remembers being “able to make a lot of money retrieving those things.” However, this also left intense memories of the privation of the time.

## Village Redevelopment

In 1977, the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA)<sup>15</sup> received a \$6.2 million grant from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to redevelop Asan Village (Ong 2019:48). The Asan Community Redevelopment Project encompassed about 115 acres of homes and farmland to create a new village layout; 100 acres were south of Marine Drive and 15 acres were on the seaward side of the highway. However, as one narrator (Luis Cabral, November 11, 2019, interview) remembers:

I spoke with a friend of mine who was a contractor on the project, and he said, “yeah, when we read the plans, the plan was to widen roads especially up on the hill and do all of this and stuff, but when they finally started the project they couldn’t do it.” ... They said the land would not, the typography and everything would not allow for it. A matter of fact, a lot of the properties in this village, like my property, is substandard. We’re not even hundred-by-hundred.<sup>16</sup> None of our lots, except for a hand full of original families that still have theirs, they feel the lots in this village are hundred-by-hundred.

... he told me what they were dealing with is when they came in, they laid the asphalt and dredged and moved earth in some places, it was either too steep or too muddy. Part of it is our soil in this village is not all rock. This, Asan is not a whole lot of limestone to work to, you have to get to it. So you had a lot of percolating soil because of all those rivers that would come through. I got stories from the guys from Black Construction. They would send one tractor down to clear an area and they need two or three tractors to pull it out. And they said it got that bad, and then the companies, some of the contractors that we’re dealing with the village, had a hard time.

Cabral adds that “The only place that GHURA changed was the bottom half of the village, where they added a few entrances. There are still a lot of parts in this village that have not, as far as the design, are still the same.”

Echoing Cabral’s recollection about runoff problems, Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) also notes that the runoff in the village “is like a river.” He attributes it to the government closing the Asan Spring Reservoir, with no contingency plan for the runoff (the reservoir was closed in 2003). Narrator Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) says that the coastal area in the middle of Asan is a

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<sup>15</sup> The Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA) was established by Public Law 6-135 on December 18, 1962, following the destruction wreaked by Typhoon Karen in the previous month when an estimated 90% of the island’s buildings were destroyed or severely damaged (<https://www.ghura.org/about-ghura/general-information/history>, accessed January 2021).

<sup>16</sup> The unit of measure was not given by the narrator, but it is assumed to be in feet (i.e., “hundred-by-hundred feet”).

swamp fed by overflow from the reservoir. This area had also been rice fields before the war, suggesting that surface water was readily available.

The redevelopment involved considerable alteration to the landscape. One narrator (Luis Cabral, October 29, 2019, interview) remembers that the coastal area of Asan Village along Marine Corps Drive was lower than at present, and that redevelopment involved fill, up to three or four feet, to prevent flooding. WAPA superintendents in 1981 and 1983 raised concerns about GHURA proposals to significantly alter the natural drainage system (EH and Associates 2004:138). Figure 9 shows the planned road layout for the redevelopment project (taken from Reinman and Taylor 1981:Map 1).

## ASAN POINT

Asan Point is the promontory at the west end of the Asan coastal plain. It has seen a variety of uses throughout the history of the area, culminating in the creation of the national historic park in 1978.

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:41) provides alternative names for the point:

Presidio Point was the name used for the area by the new American administration at the turn of this century after the island was ceded by Spain to the United States under terms of the Treaty of Paris following the Spanish-American War (Beers 1944). Punta Asan stems from the period of Spanish administration, and the oldest designation is “Point Acahi-Fanahi,” wherein Fanahi should be spelled Fanihi (meaning “fruit bat” in Chamorro; it is probable that Acahi is a corrupted form of Acalaye). Asan Point is the pre-World War II term used to refer to the area.

The reference to the “oldest designation” in the quote is the 1819 map by Freycinet (1825) which labels the point as “Pte. Acahi-Fanihi.” “Pte.” is the abbreviation of the French “Pointe” and “Fanihi” is the CHamoru word for the Mariana fruit bat (*Pteropus mariannus*), which was a culinary delicacy. The basis for the name “Acahi” is less certain. Its base may be the Spanish *acá* (here, as in “in this place”), or the Catalán *aca hi* (as in “here is”); if either is correct, the place name would in effect be “here there are fanihi.” On the other hand, if Freycinet’s spelling of Acahi is a “corrupted form of Acalaye” as suggested by Jennison-Nolan in the above quote, then the original CHamoru could be *á'kalaye*, which is defined in Topping et al. (1995) as “hang, suspend,” and thus could refer to the way bats hang when resting.<sup>17</sup>

The “pre-World War II” name of Asan Point is recorded on the 1913-1914 topographic map of Guam (Corps of Engineers 1913-1914).

## Hansen’s Disease Hospital

A hospital for patients with Hansen’s disease (then called leprosy) was established in the last decade of the 19th century in what is now the Asan Beach Unit. Set up by the Spanish authorities in 1892, the hospital and grounds covered 3-1/4 acres (Ong 2019:21, referencing Seaton Schroeder, naval governor of Guam). Apple (1980:75) writes that, when the Americans took control of the island in 1898, there was a lapse in authority during the transition and “most of the ambulatory patients ambled home to leave only a few bedridden and dying ones.” The hospital was destroyed in the 1900 typhoon.

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<sup>17</sup> Another location by this name is in Umatac. In a study of the community of Umatac, Teresa del Valle (1978:98) describes a place called Acalaye-Fanihi: “People [of Umatac] recall nostalgically that *fanihi* abounded in Umatac, especially in the area known by the old people as Acalaye-Fanihi.”

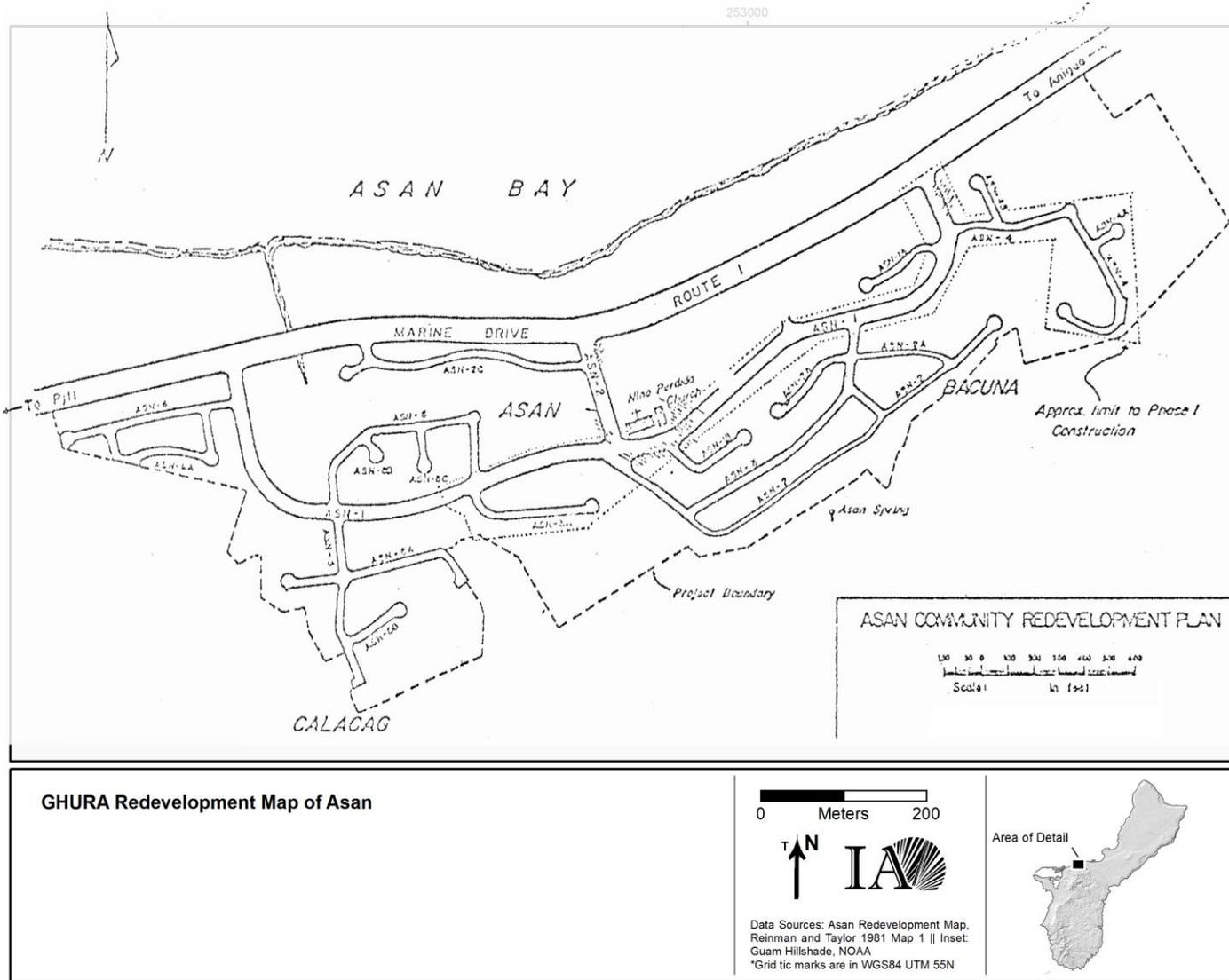


Figure 9. Planned layout of the redeveloped Asan Village (taken from Reinman and Taylor 1981:Map 1).

## Presidio of Asan

The Presidio of Asan operated from 1901 to 1903 as a prison camp for exiled Filipino insurrectionists following the Spanish-American War (Apple 1980:75). It was located on the site of the Spanish Hansen's disease hospital, which had been destroyed by a typhoon in 1900. Ong (2019:21) writes that it was chosen as the prison camp because of its central location and its status as one of the few publicly owned locations on the island.

There were "nearly sixty Filipino generals, politicians, and others that had been deported from the Philippines for their refusal to swear allegiance to the United States" following the Spanish-American War (NPS 2013:24). The prisoners were initially housed in tents at Asan, but in March, they were transferred to a barracks (Ong 2019:22, quoting a diary entry by Apolinario Mabini):

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

By May 1902, a complex of buildings had been erected. The barracks, a commissary, sterilizing shed, and hospital were used by the prisoners. Officers' quarters and kitchen, a Marine barrack, guard house and washroom, stable barn, wagon house, bath house, dispensary, and police sergeant's storeroom served for the administration and guards (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:43, referencing Beers 1944:40).

The most well-known of the Filipino prisoners is Apolinario Mabini, who was the Prime Minister of the insurgent First Philippine Republic, a chief advisor to President Emilio Aguinaldo, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:42). In 1902, the insurrection in the Philippines had been suppressed, and the political prisoners were allowed to return to their home country, with the caveat that they swear an oath of allegiance to the United States (Ong 2019). Mabini (along with several other prisoners) refused to do so, and was held for a year longer until he finally agreed. His health had deteriorated during his captivity, and he died a few months after returning to the Philippines, reportedly of cholera (Rogers 1995:124).

The insurrectionists' presence at the Presidio is remembered in a 1916 Navy report on the island of Guam (Cook 1917:60):

A short distance to the westward of the town of Asan the Presidio of Asan is located.... When, in 1900, the United States decided to send political and military prisoners from the Philippines to Guam, barracks, quarters, kitchens, etc., were built for their accommodation and a guard of marines placed in charge. When the Philippine insurrection was finally put down and a general amnesty proclaimed, the prisoners were allowed their freedom. A few of them settled in Guam and have become prosperous and influential citizens.

Mabini's presence in the Presidio is memorialized by two monuments at Asan Beach within WAPA. The monument on the west was erected by the Philippine-American Council of Guam in 1961 and the one on the east was raised by the Philippines Historical Committee in 1964 (Thompson 1985:26). The west monument honors Mabini as "the Sublime Paralytic, the Brain of the Philippine Revolution, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the First Philippine Republic under General Emilio Aguinaldo." The 10-foot tall marker was unveiled in a ceremony in which the principal speakers were Territorial Governor Bill Daniel and Rear Admiral W.F.A. Wendt, commanding officer of the Navy in the Marianas; one of the noted

guests was Maximo Lorenzo Tolentino, who was the last surviving prisoner of the three who chose to remain on Guam<sup>18</sup> (Guam Daily News 1961).

### **World War I German Detention Camp**

The site of a detention camp for World War I German internees is located on the east side of Asan Point, near the present-day Mabini Monument (NPS 1983:31). In 1914, the camp that had been used to house Filipino insurgents was used for German prisoners of war during World War I (NPS 2013:24). Prior to U.S. involvement in World War I, the German ship *Cormoran* took refuge in the neutral port of Apra from a Japanese enemy ship. As noted by Apple (1980:7): “The Germans became semi-permanent interned ‘guests’ as they lived aboard the *Cormoran* anchored in Apra harbor”; they had privileges, including shore leave, comparable to those afforded U.S. navy officers and men. In April 1917, however, the U.S. declared war on Germany and the naval governor demanded surrender; the Germans responded by scuttling the ship. The officers were imprisoned at a camp near the summit of Mount Tenjo; the enlisted men were housed in a stockade at Asan Point. Figure 10 is a section of a topographic map of Guam, showing the western portion of Asan; what appear to be two large enclosures at Asan Point may be the enlisted men’s detention camp.

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:44, referencing Carano and Sanchez 1964) notes that “the anticipation of strain on island food supplies led to the transfer of all prisoners three weeks later to prison camps in the United States.”

### **Quartermaster Depot and Target Range**

For a brief period in the 1910s and possibly into the 1920s, the former detention camps at Asan Beach was turned into a central quartermaster depot and rifle range (Apple 1980:76; NPS 2013:24). The 1913-1914 topographic map (Corps of Engineers 1913-1914) shows the “Target Range” in the inland portion of western Asan (see Figure 10).

The 1916 Navy report on Guam describes the depot (Cook 1917:60):

At the present time the Presidio of Asan is maintained as a depot for the marine command, and a detail from the various companies is constantly stationed here. In addition a target range has been laid out to the southward of the road, and a large number of men are generally camped at Asan undergoing instruction on the target range.

### **Asan Point Quarry**

A reef limestone quarry was located at the seaward end of Asan Point (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:38). Apple (1980:77) writes that a ledge of good quality limestone, from 6 to 10 feet in thickness, was quarried in the seaward face of the Asan Point ridge. Early in 1941, limestone was quarried for Navy defense construction projects (NPS 2013:16). In 1944, Army Engineers set up a quarry and rock-crushing equipment, and “tore down most of the ridge leading from the point for road construction material” (Apple 1980:77).

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<sup>18</sup> The other two prisoners were Leon Flores and Pancracio Palting (Palomo 1961).

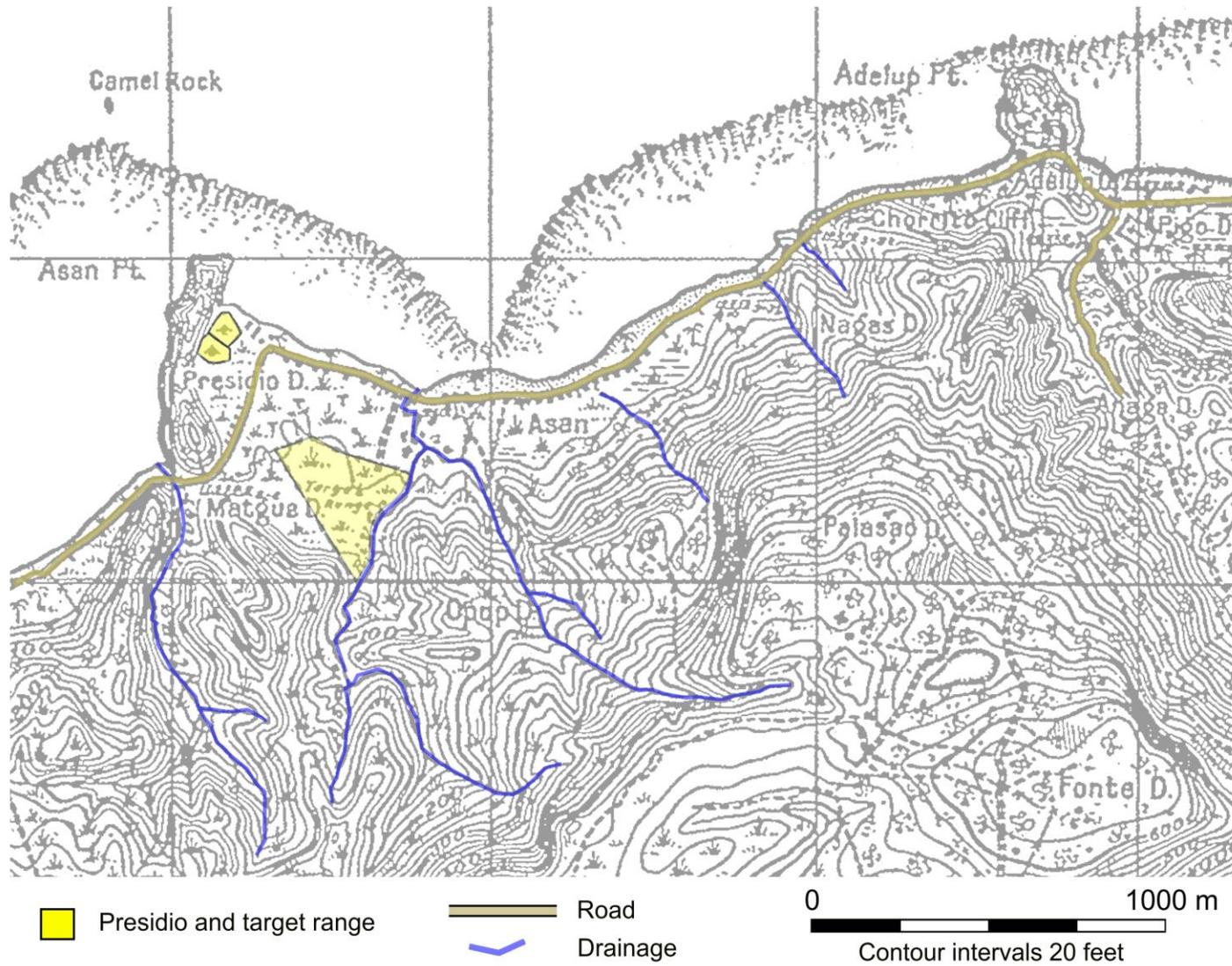


Figure 10. Portion of a 1913-1914 topographic map of Guam (Corps of Engineers 1913-1914), pointing out the locations of the possible German detention camp and the later U.S. target range.

## CAMP ASAN

After the American bombardment and landing in July 1944, the U.S. military took over the western Asan coastal plain. One of the initial uses of the area between the Matgue and Asan Rivers was a camp for CHamoru that had been displaced by the island battle, although they were soon moved to a permanent facility in Anigua to the east. Construction battalions bulldozed the alignment of a new highway, Marine Drive, blasting a path through and past the ridge marking the west boundary of Asan (see Photo 3).

### Military Use

The military cleared the area on the seaward side of Marine Drive, which became in succession, a motor pool, barracks, a Navy hospital, and eventually Camp Asan operated by the Seabees. In the immediate post-war period, the area was also used as a camp for Filipino laborers who had been imported to help rebuild (and build new) U.S. military bases on the island (Ong 2019:63). NPS (2013:47) describes military development at Asan Point in 1944 and 1945:

In October 1944, the 25th Naval Construction Battalion surveyed Asan Point for the advance base construction depot (ABCD) P-11 Component and auto camp. That same month, the 53rd Naval Construction Battalion was ordered to drain the ABCD P-11 Component area near Asan Point; which was to supply eighty construction battalions. The 94th Naval Construction Battalion ordered to construct Asan Point Motor Pool; later known as the 5th Brigade Motor Pool Camp (Fifth Naval Construction Brigade Report; Island Command War Diary; December 1944). By February 1945, there were eleven officers and 783 enlisted men at Asan Point in the motor pool, who were tasked with cargo handling (United States Navy War Diaries, February, 1945). The motor pool personnel were transferred into the 134th Naval Construction Battalion (Seabee) Trucking Battalion which utilized Asan Point as a gas station, repair yard, and battalion barracks. The battalion grew to forty-nine officers and 2,593 enlisted men by October 1, 1945 and was deactivated on April 30, 1946. The camp, often called “Camp Asan” or “Asan Point Camp” consisted of approximately forty Quonset huts and outbuildings located between Asan Point and Asan River. As fighting troops and construction battalions rotated home after the war, it served as the headquarters for the Civil Service after 1946. The Quonset huts soon gave way in 1948 to new two-story Butler buildings.

Construction required considerable fill, much of which came “from the southern side of Asan Ridge and northern side of Chorito Cliff as the new road [now Marine Corps Drive] was created” (NPS 2013:17, referencing United States Navy War Diaries, April, 1945:206).

Apple (1980:82) writes that “three long, giant, quonset huts, and one short, all interconnected, used for bowling and other indoor recreation, stood just inland of Marine Drive and opposite to the flat area on the Agana side of Asan Point ridge” (see Photo 3). They were used into the early 1970s.

A temporary military cemetery was created after the re-capture to bury the casualties from the landing mission at Asan (Photo 5). The cemetery for the 3rd Marine Division war dead was established in the area of inland rice paddies near the Asan River, and existed from 1945 through 1947 (Apple 1980:83). The remains were repatriated in 1948 (NPS 2013:46; Apple 1980:83 gives the date of 1947). A total of 632 remains were interred at Asan (Steere and Boardman 1957:420). A cemetery for American war dogs was at the southeast corner of the American cemetery<sup>19</sup> (Photo 6) (Land & Claims Commission 1947).

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<sup>19</sup> The war dog burials were relocated to the National War Dog Cemetery at Naval Base Guam at Orote Point on July 20, 1994, the 50th anniversary of the American landing on Guam (Dickon 2011:166-165).



Photo 5. Entrance to the Asan Military Cemetery, 1944. (source: U.S. Signal Corps, DAVA Still Picture Repository, Pentagon; SC 310109, Book 1; copy in the WAPA photo collection Box 8.41)



Photo 6. War Dog Cemetery at Asan. (source: WAPA photo collection)

The Land & Claims Commission plan map (1947) also shows a small area marked “Japanese cemetery” just south of the main cemetery in a bend in the Asan River. This is presumably an internment area for Japanese casualties. Military historian D. Colt Denfeld (in Hunter-Anderson and Moore 1999:15-19) describes the war-time treatment of Japanese dead as primarily a field sanitation issue (given the large numbers of enemy dead in the context of the massive Japanese counter-attacks to U.S. beach landings and subsequent advances, complicated by tropical conditions). Over-extended U.S. graves registration units or more commonly, field commanders, were forced to quickly bury enemy dead in common graves such as shell holes, foxholes, or trenches. Denfeld (in Hunter-Anderson and Moore 1999:17) writes that “In Asan Village a long anti-tank ditch was used as a grave;” it is unknown if this ditch is the cemetery marked on the 1947 map. The ultimate disposition of the remains after the war is unknown.

Between 1948 and 1967, a second iteration of Camp Asan existed (Apple 1980:79):

This was the “Civil Service Camp” – housing for civilian employees, including school teachers, of the Naval government. At its height, the camp consisted of 16 two-story barracks (Butler-style steel construction), an outdoor theater, chapel, a club, softball field, tennis courts, basketball court, administration building, a massive mess hall, fire station, underground water and sewer lines, including fire mains, power and telephone poles, fire station, etc., plus many small buildings, concrete sidewalks and paved parking areas and roads. Some of the barracks buildings were built on a curve which bowed toward Asan Point ridge; others paralleled Marine Drive; barracks were orderly, in a row. (Bowling alley quonsets were across Marine Drive in the Asan Inland Park Unit.)

An area of the near-shore reef was dredged to create a swimming area (NPS (2013:51). An outdoor movie theater was set up in the area of the old Presidio. Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview, brackets added) remembers that “me and the boys ... the first time we ever watched movies we sneaked into there ... we sneak underneath the fence. Nobody chase [us out]. You couldn’t see [the movie from the road].” Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) also remembers the theater as a venue where local children performed for the camp residents: “we used to go down there to the outdoor movie. And then having to perform for Christmas on the stage. I mean, we would be dressed up like a reindeer, and all my friends would be reindeer, and we will sing Christmas songs. ... And then the others, they were singers. They were ... dressed like queens and all the cute girls ... they would be out there singing. Oh boy, though, they get more claps from the sailors than us.” Photo 7 shows the Civil Service Camp in 1967.

From 1968 to 1972, the Civil Service Camp was converted into a 400-bed annex to the Navy Regional Medical Center, Guam (also called the Asan Annex of the Advanced Base Naval Hospital; see NPS 2013:18), for use during the Vietnam War (Apple 1980:79). The new annex, which was staffed with almost 40 doctors, 80 nurses and nearly 500 other personnel, treated over 17,000 patients in its first two years of operation (NPS 2013:52). It was closed in 1973 as Vietnam War casualties decreased and those coming through Guam could be treated at the main hospital.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, Luis Cabral (October 29, and November 7, 2019, interviews) remembers the camp primarily because two Seabee residents were scoutmasters for the village, so the Boy Scout troop members had relatively easy access to the camp, which was called “Seabees base” by Asan residents. After 1972, the area was used for the annual Niño Perdido Fiesta, and later as a Vietnam-era refugee camp.



Photo 7. Camp Asan in 1967, view to southeast; the Kalakak part of Asan Village is at the left side of the photograph. (source: EH and Associates 2004:Figure 5-3)

## Asan Refugee Camp

In April 1975, Camp Asan was resurrected as one of 12 facilities on Guam for Operation New Life, the program to process Vietnamese refugees who had been evacuated from South Vietnam in the closing days of the Vietnam War (NPS 2013:52). The camp housed 10,000 refugees in the brief April—August period of Operation New Life (NPS 2013:18). Photo 8 shows busloads of refugees disembarking in the refurbished camp.



Photo 8. Vietnamese refugees arriving at Camp Asan in 1975, view to west with Acahi Fanihi peak in the background. (source: NPS 2013:Figure 29)

Notoreity came in July of 1975 when Camp Asan became the holding center for over 1,500 repatriates (Vietnamese who wished to return to Vietnam). Requests for repatriation had begun as early as May, and non-responses to those requests drove protests in June and July. As a result, the U.S. authorities consolidated all of the repatriates on Guam into Camp Asan “where they could be collectively monitored and policed on military property” (Lipman 2012:18). In the last week of August, protests climaxed in violence with rock throwing, pipe wielding, and Molotov cocktails. Two of the Camp Asan barracks were burned down and other military property was destroyed.

By the end of September, the U.S. agreed to give the repatriates a ship with which to return to Vietnam, and in October, the ship sailed with 1,546 men, women, and children. The Asan refugee camp closed on November 1, 1975, the last of the Operation New Life camps on Guam. The remaining buildings were destroyed by Typhoon Pamela in 1976.

Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview, brackets added) remembers the refugee camp, which was encircled by a fence, but to Cabral, who was a teenager at the time, “To me, the fence was a joke because it only went down to just before the shoreline, so they [Vietnamese children] would walk along the beach

and come to us as kids trying to trade their money, which was worthless, for our money. ... We just ... we traded food or candy, or whatever we had at the time, for other things.”

James Tenorio Terlaje (December 9, 2019, interview) describes the repatriate period of the camp (he was around 11 years old at the time):

they had a curfew for the people of our village because they don't want us to be outside. Eventually, the refugees got tired of being treated or staying in that place. They couldn't go out. They couldn't go fish. They couldn't go eat. They couldn't have a life. They didn't have a life. And so, they eventually had an uprising, and they burned the Quonset huts down. And I remember, the Guam police coming over to our village and everyone in the village, they put out handguns and were ready to protect the families in case of any of the refugees coming over, because we were having that war with Vietnam and nobody knew exactly if these people are going to be friendly or foe.

... I remember during the time when they started burning, it was just fire. Fire in the sky. Smoke in the air. Guns going off and all that. I guess they're [military police] trying to keep them at bay. So, they're shooting friendly fire. ... This was happening late at night. This is when it started to occur. When they started burning, that's when we saw the fire.

### **CHORRITO CLIFF/ADELUP POINT**

The eastern end of the Asan Beach Unit extends from Chorrito Cliff to the west edge of Adelup Point. Chorrito Cliff is the prominent seaward edge of the ridge that bounds the east side of the Asan coastal plain, and it is likely the physiographic boundary that separated the historic community of Asan from the larger Hagatña area. The Spanish era road connecting Hagatña with the port of Piti ran along the base of the cliff. The coast between Adelup Point and Chorrito Cliff was dense with coconut trees, as evidenced by the extensive remains of coconut trees after the 1944 pre-invasion bombardment (Photo 9).

Adelup Point was the location of several historical activities in the late 1800s and early 1900s (<https://paleric.blogspot.com/2011/04/adelup-adilok-addy-loop.html>, accessed February 2021). A Hansen's Disease colony was set up by the Spanish in the late 1600s, and lasted until around 1871. This may be the source of Spanish name for the peninsula, "Punta del Diablo" ("Devil's Point"). In 1901, a Protestant mission school was established on the point by the Congregationalist missionary Francis M. Price, who purchased 12 acres for the school and housing for the missionaries and some pupils. In describing the route of the Hagatña-Piti road through this area, Cook (1917:59) refers to the point as "Missionary Point."

Adelup Point was also the site of four houses belonging to the Atkins, Kroll and Company of San Francisco, which had opened a branch office on Guam in 1913 at the invitation of the Naval government. It carried out a variety of businesses, including importing and exporting, cattle ranching, and copra production (Rogers 1995:133; NPS 2013:25). The Adelup grounds were park-like with extensive coconut trees and breadfruit. Jennison-Nolan (1979b:38) notes that "the typhoon of November 1940 fairly well denuded Adelup Point of all its greenery."



Photo 9. Devastated coconut trees in post-invasion 1944 Adelup, view from Chorrito Cliff to Adelup Point. (source: WAPA photo collection, Box 5.79)

### TRAILS AND TRAVEL

The historic and modern coast road through Asan roughly follows a segment of the 16-mile path of the Spanish-era El Camino Real (i.e., the royal road), which connected Hagatña to the southern community at Umatac. A possible remnant of the road, most of which has been destroyed by modern road building, is a cut through the western ridgeline inland of Marine Corps Drive (in the lower portion of the Asan Inland Unit) (Tuggle et al. in prep.). In a report on a tour of the island, Spanish Governor Villalobos (1833, quoted in Tuggle et al. in prep.:145, brackets added) described the cut: “[At the ] gully formed by the Margui river [is a] pass which was cut in rock on the opposite ridge on the Eastern side of the river” (the Margui river is now called Matgue). Figure 11 shows the ridge cut as drawn by Alphonse Pellion, artist with the 1819 Freycinet expedition, alongside a Google Street-View image from roughly the same perspective (i.e., facing east; WAPA is on the far side of the ridge).

A 1916 Navy report<sup>20</sup> describes the road: “an excellent, winding, *cascajo* [gravel] road, kept in good condition by the Federal Government. It runs close to the beach through coconut groves, past the neatly kept villages of Tenpungan, Asan, and Anigua” (Cook 1917:57). The report further notes that a 1905 typhoon destroyed the section at Chorrillo Point and that it was rebuilt: “[it] now sweeps around the base of the cliff, a magnificent bit of road with a retaining wall to seaward, affording the best view of the beautiful sunsets for which Guam is noted” (Cook 1917:59). Apple (1980:77) describes the seawall along this road section as being 480 yards long.

Wells et al. (1995, referencing Ibanez et al. 1976:76) notes that the 1891 road between Apra Harbor and Hagatña was known as Chorillo road (probably a misspelling of “Chorrillo”) and was the island’s main roadway. The Villalobos map of 1832 shows the road cutting through the ridge at Asan Point. The 1913-1914 Corps of Engineers topographic map shows the road in Asan Village hugging the coastline from Adelup Point to the Presidio at Asan Point, and then curving inland to cross the Asan Point ridge at a low point to connect to Tepungan. Photo 10 shows the road around Chorrillo Cliff.

In the aftermath of the 1944 American re-capture of the island, the road of Spanish origin was rebuilt in the American highway model. In the Asan area, Chorrillo Cliff was cut back, replacing the narrow pre-war road that followed the coast; Apple (1980:78) quotes a Marine officer who saw the roadwork several weeks after the invasion landing as saying “the area was not recognizable.” A major cut in the western ridge of Asan was blasted and bulldozed, and the pre-war road that hugged the coast and the east side of Asan Ridge was abandoned.

Although the historic road around Chorrillo Cliff is no longer functional (having been rebuilt as the modern Marine Corps Drive), its seaward retaining wall remains a visible landmark. Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview) recalls climbing the ridge at Chorrillo Cliff:

We used to hang out at the top, or we would gather, or the families would gather. Because, actually, on one side of it there was a wall structure that we – I’ve never gone back to look at it because there’s been a homeless guy that’s been living back there. But there was, whenever we go as a family to have a barbeque or something, there was this wall, retaining wall, that was on the right side of that, the east side of it.

He later added (November 7, 2019, interview) that the wall seemed to be a walkway all the way around the cliff:

... that little pathway was there. ... the jungle’s kind of overgrown on it ... In low tide, you can actually go on the east side of it, walk around and then you should be able to see the wall on that west side of it. ... we used to go down there all the time and barbeque. That was where everybody set up, you know, barbeque and everything else, and right down on the beach which was interesting because that side when we were growing up, that side had a lot more rocks in the water. And then once you got closer to Adelup, was less and when you headed further west ... from there, it actually got also same thing, less rocks. There’s a lot of rocks. Maybe from just the fact that that walkway was deteriorating, a lot of it started to flow outward.

... at the time, to me, that was pretty well constructed. You know, it was still high enough, it was—I mean, I don’t remember it being completed all the way around, but I do remember that wall, you know. And if that is the pathway, parts of it are still there.

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<sup>20</sup> The 1916 report (Cook 1917) is a revision of an original report prepared by Navy Civil Engineer L.M. Cox (1904) that was subsequently revised in 1910 (Dorn 1910), 1911 (McIntosh 1911), 1916 (Cook 1917), and 1925 (White 1926). The 1916 version is used in the present report.

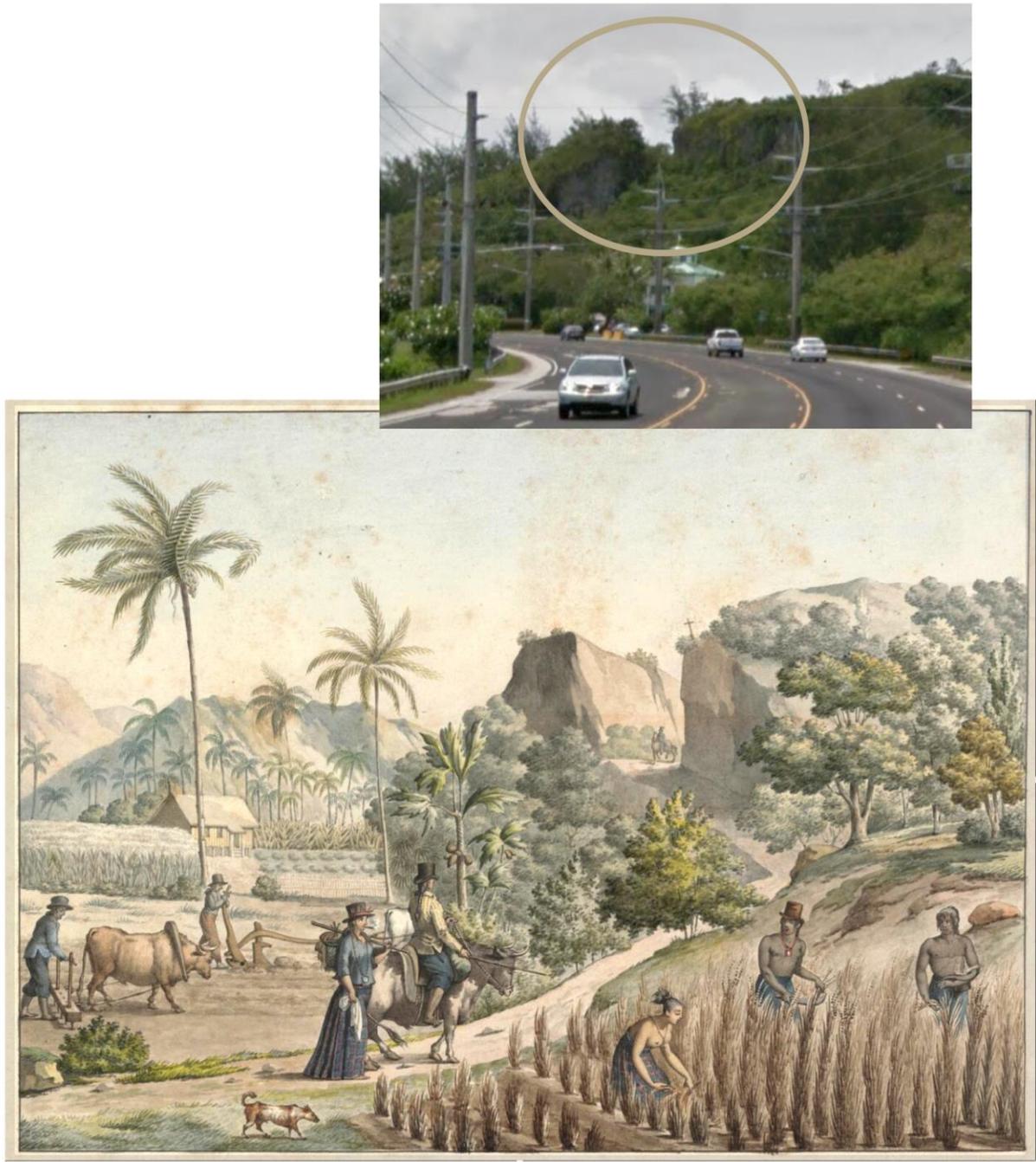


Figure 11. Watercolor by artist Alphonse Pellion of the road cut through Asan Ridge, drawn in 1819; inset is the same view by Google Street-View (from Tepungan) dated February 2021. Note the activity shown in the lower left quadrant of the Pellion painting: farming in what would have been the western portion of the Asan coastal plain, including corn, rice, and tobacco.



Photo 10. Pre-war coast road through Asan, view to east from around Chorricto Cliff toward Adelup Point (in the background). (source: Rlene S. Steffy)

## TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES

This section describes traditional and contemporary practices in the Asan area, focusing on village life and subsistence activities. The emphasis is on activities of the period from the immediate pre-war period to the 1980s.

### VILLAGE LIFE

Defined by the coastal plain bounded by Chorricto Cliff on the east and Asan Ridge on the west, the community in the mid-20th century consisted of homes and businesses along the coast road, and rice fields and farms in the western area of the plain.<sup>21</sup> Within Asan Village were the main village and the area called Kalakak; Kalakak centered on the tributaries to Asan River. Until the GHURA redevelopment in the 1970s and 1980s, the two parts of the village were connected only along the coast road, except for trails in the more inland area (Luis Cabral, October 29, 2019, interview); Photo 4 (above) is a 1949 aerial view of Asan that shows the separation of the main village from Kalakak.

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<sup>21</sup> Asan Village was redeveloped in the 1980s by GHURA and descriptions of the village and village life by REAP narrators generally refer to the period from the 1940s to the time before the redevelopment.

## The Church

The Niño Perdido y Sagáda Familia Catholic Church is a central activity center for the community. Attending mass and rosary was a regular practice on a daily basis. During her youth in the 1950s, Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 27, 2020, interview) says that young adults used the daily rituals of mass and rosary as a means for couples to meet in a socially acceptable manner:

We are expected to attend the rosary and mass every day at the church. So, that's how we get to see our boyfriends. But when we get home, we walk up first and then they come around. But they have to make sure that they are seen. Our parents got to be there. We got to be very open. So, I think that's the main meeting place is at the church.

The Fiesta of Niño Perdido, the patron saint, was a major, multi-day community event held every December. A procession took place on Saturday, and mass was on Sunday. Following mass, the village residents would open up their homes to share food with anyone who came by. Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) describes the Saturday procession in the “old days, before GHURA, the procession would go from the church all the way to the village, up the hill, around the hill, all the way down and then to Kalakak via the road out there into the village of Kalakak and then out back to the church.”

As for the Sunday event, Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview) remembers the days “when you could start at one end of the village and hit every house, and basically party from point A to point B. You know, you're literally starting at one end and you eat till you get to the middle, take a break, continue to the other end, turn around and come right back up.”<sup>22</sup> The food for the fiesta came from village residents who fished and hunted, and distributed the catch among the village: “during the fiesta season, it provided each of the households with enough food to feed the village.” Cabral adds further description of the village fiesta celebration (November 7, 2019, interview):

... there was the small fiesta gathering for the church. And then after that, the next day, was for all the houses to open up. The whole village literally was opened up to friends, family, what have you... .

Some houses, we would go and either we would go fishing to bring the stuff in, or the younger boys would go and collect firewood. ... we'd go in the jungle and cut down *tangantangan*, prep all of that, bring everything to the house. And then, depending, we might help prep the chicken, the marinade, and get the fires going. Then depending on what house you started from, or your family, you might start there, but then you wind up helping down the way.

Then when it came the day of the fiesta, you started at one end of the village and walked your way down to the other, took a break under a tree, passed out for a little bit, finished off, and then made your way back home somehow. ... this would start from early morning, you're still preparing, but you're helping even as you're walking down. And then when, towards the afternoon, ... early afternoon, that's when the food starts coming out. And this would go on all the way through the night, and some houses would have a band. If they had a live band, then everyone would convene there to go dance and do whatever. If there were two bands in the village, you just decided which one you went to, got tired there, go to the next one, and basically partied all day. ... and if you

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<sup>22</sup> In describing the fiesta and the way that every home was open (“you're invited to eat as much as you want in anybody's house... the hospitality on the island back then was second to none”), James Terlaje (December 9, 2019, interview) states that it is different now, and “it's harder to feed families.” Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 27, 2020, interview) says that now “very few homes are having anything going on. They have what they call *na'taotao tumâno*,” which is a meal that is prepared to show appreciation and hospitality for participating (R. Steffy, pers. comm.).

wanted to—somewhere in between, you ran to the beach to cool off, went home, showered, change, and went back out again.

Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 8, 2020, interview) remembers the fiesta as a fun time “because the church, everybody, every home has something going on for everybody that comes around, family, relatives, friends that come around to celebrate with each individual homes.”<sup>23</sup>

## Families

The village was very family-oriented. In the REAP interviews, areas of the village were identified by family names since an extended family would live close together (Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral, August 8, 2020, interview):

Like on my mother’s side, she has two sisters, she has a brother, and they’re all around each other. Close by each other. Then you have my other aunt that lives Kalākak, which is the mayor’s mom. Then we have a relative that lives right next door. Then we have my brother-in-law’s parents and her sister right across the street. So, it’s very family oriented. So, every area, you have just families. ... So, it’s all family. Each section, you know that these are all one family in every spot in the area. ... I guess, they want to live close to each other.

In the same vein, Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview) describes Kalakak by reference to various families:

And so, it [Kalākak] came up behind — it was fairly close to, I forget which Mendiola family; and then next to it was the Salas family who is, like Pete Salas, the mayor right now, his house was around that area. ... We used to go to their house because Pete was a drummer and we used to go there and watch him practice. And then when we were playing baseball, we used to go to the Rojas family. It was Peter and June, because they were all baseball players, all little league players at the time. And the only way to get across was go out the street and then come back up. And then when you’re coming back up, at the time, you had to go past the Blas family. They had a Blas store. I forget the name of the father; but there was Tony Låling (one of the sisters became mayor). Benny was my age category. That’s where we learned about martial arts because the father brought in Shiroma sensei for karate. ... brought him from Okinawa, and he taught karate upstairs at their place. He brought him in, I guess, as a construction worker, then he also did that. And the Blas, the father was a fisherman, so we used to be awed by him, especially when he comes in with a barracuda bigger than him. He was like barely, a little over five feet, but the barracuda was bigger. But you go up and the Terlaje family would be in that area, and then you’d go up the street and that’s when you found everybody else.

## Family Stores and Businesses

Many families incorporated small businesses into their homes. The Cabral’s had Hillside Store in the upper east side of the village, the Blas family had a store in Kalakak, the Tenorio’s ran the Two Leaf Store. Most sold canned goods, drinks, and homemade items like bread and *potu* (rice cake). Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview) describes his grandparents’ store in Asan in the 1960s and 1970s:

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<sup>23</sup> Nicolasa’s husband, Frank, remembers a Ferris wheel at the first fiesta that he attended (around 1957), while serving with the U.S. Air Force on Guam (Frank Cabral, January 8, 2020, interview). It was on this occasion that he met his future wife.

Hillside Store was the name of the store.<sup>24</sup> We used to help my grandmother with the Coke machine. They still had a jukebox where ... they tried to teach us boys how to dance, which was some tiny success. My grandmother kept it minimal, really minimal for up in this area. There were bigger stores at the bottom [of Asan Village]. But she would still send us down to that store to get her Micky Twist [a brand of chewing tobacco that could also be smoked] so we can make her cigars. My grandmother loves stogies. And we used to watch her make it, and put under her cash register to compact everything, but we would still come up to the house, up to the store, and get stuff from our grandmother there. That's where everybody kind of convened, a lot of times, and it was so simple. Grandma could keep the store open as late as she wanted to, close it as early as she wanted because all she had to do was go to the door to the house and close it. Close the store.

... There were some hours [of operation], but sometimes we'd be opened till, I mean the sun would go down, there was one street lamp in front of the store, and all the boys that are, you know, the families would hang out and the store would still be opened. ... we'd have the family and all those, especially all the immediate family, would hang out; or as we grew up, all the younger kids would come up and hang out by the store, too.

... [The area was] about twenty by twenty, pretty much, that was it. ... Sometimes there was benches, you know, most of the time the guys, we just sat on benches, there was really no tables. ... [The benches were] Just wood, homemade. ... just like, flat, plain old benches. ... fiesta type seats, and that was it, and everyone would hang out.

You'd have the front, the little steps going into the store. On one side my grandmother had a small garden growing like taro or yams, or even the *dâgu* [yam] would be growing in there, and then that was pretty much it. But, you know, the road in front of the store was a gravel road in front of the house and you still have other families across or up or down from each other. And, pretty much that's where you came.

Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) recalls his father's general store in the middle of Asan Village. It operated on a credit system in which purchases were listed in a journal: "you just write down the name of the person and what they picked up, and then they initialed it. And then at the end of the month they're supposed to make payment."

Two commercial businesses along the coast road were mentioned numerous times in REAP interviews as community landmarks, in the sense that both were centers of community activity, and both are geographical reference points for the village even though neither is still open.

Shelton's Music Store was located on the ocean side of Marine Corps Drive near the center of Asan Bay.<sup>25</sup> It was an amusement business and the "go-to" music store for the community (Luis Cabral (November 7, 2019, interview): "He had ... instruments, he had parts for most of those instruments. ... I always went in [there] for strings and guitar picks. ... I know he had like flutophones, he had other, not just strings but also like brass instruments." The store also sold pinball and arcade machines, pool tables, jukeboxes, gaming, and vending machines (A. Shelton, pers. comm. to R. Steffy, September 1, 2020). James Terlaje (December 9, 2019, interview) remembers he and his friends listening to owner Austin James

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<sup>24</sup> Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (January 8, 2020, interview) remembers her mother's store: "At that time, the store is not – you don't walk in. It used to be a garage and my mother turned it into a store. ... it's not a walk-in kind of store at that time. It was a counter where you walk up to it and just chairs in the front and you just sit and you talk to the counter, the open window .. You know, how you use a stick to push the window out? That's our regular window."

<sup>25</sup> Shelton family information and photographs are shared in the James Terlaje interview transcript in Volume IIb.

Shelton playing a banjo; all of the instruments were in glass display cases so they couldn't be handled, but Shelton "would show us, and he would play something for us."

Joe & Flo's on the inland side of Marine Corps Drive was another village landmark. It was a much-frequented bar and restaurant, as described by Luis Cabral (November 7, 2019, interview):

Their bar/restaurant was like a gathering point for us. I mean, whether you were a kid or an adult, you were there to have their chili con carne, you know, the rice with the keleguen, whatever, you had—you came into the restaurant to eat. And then my dad played a few gigs [music] in there. And then at night, live music, you know, people would come there to dance. So that place was always active from the moment it opened to the moment it closed, it was never really a slow day. And of course, you know, now that it's closed, there were the occasional close the doors, out come the tables, occasional gambling event and life, but that was, you know, nobody—there was no harm done. You know, but it was a gathering place. Everyone came there, they would have their, if you could you have a party there, your fiesta, birthday. I felt it was basically for Asan, it was a central point for that kind of gathering, every day, any day. There was a few other clubs here in the village, but nothing like that.

### Children's View of Asan Village

Children provide a different perspective on life in Asan Village. Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 28, 2020, interview) describes her childhood:

We were allowed to play. We walked around with machete, with a knife, and we go up to the jungle [be]cause we use it to cut coconuts. We climb the coconut tree. We even play games as to who's the fastest to climb the coconut tree, all the way up to the top and actually sit at the top. [We used] Just our feet [barefoot to climb]. ... We cut notches into the tree. But before that, we used to just climb it without the notches. And then, when we got smart, we started putting notches.

... We swim right there close to the shore. ... When it's low tide, we will go all the way out to the edge of the reef and walk. And then we can walk from down in Chorrito area all the way down to the Camel Rock during low tide. ... Once that water start to come in, we know that the water is coming in, so we start heading back.

Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview) provides a child's view of the old metal bridge across the west tributary of Asan River (Kalakak River):

... you had to go through this little bridge, metal bridge, that went right over the river; and it was always covered so we always used to be scared because it was always dark. We used to tease each other, oh boogiemán, *taotaomona* or whatever is going to get you. [It was covered] by bamboo and *tangantangan*, it literally was just like a canopy, a huge canopy over all of this. Most of the river was covered by a canopy, bamboo and *tangantangan* or whatever trees. The river now as we see it is wide open. Back then [in the 1960s and 1970s], you had shade all the way up and down the river, almost. Basically, all it [the bridge] was, it looked like just one giant piece of metal that was laid across, was some metal, some trussing underneath just to give it support. ... No railings. So, it was just like, you went across it. It probably was something left from the war that they just needed for jeeps and trucks to get across. ... It was big enough to fit a car.

Joe Garrido (December 21, 2019, interview, brackets added) describes Asan School in the 1950s, which for a time was located in a Quonset hut next to the village plaza. During recess, children played in the plaza. He adds that:

... during lunchtime, if we have time, there was a river, ... in that Kalakak River is the Spanish dam, and we call it Resa. ... I later found out that is a Spanish word meaning “dam.” Resa is made of *mamposteria* concrete [a local stone and mortar construction adapted from Spanish building methods] ... in the back is like a swimming pool, that’s where we swim. ... [the water in the pool] It’s cold, it’s cold. ... There wasn’t a waterfall. It was just a stream ... that’s coming down from the mountain. But they created a dam. Somebody built a dam. I don’t know what it’s for. Later on. I kind of figured out that the dam is to conserve the water [for] the rice paddies.

Luis Cabral (October 29, and November 7, 2019, interviews) describes village life in Asan from a child’s perspective:

It was nice, you know, ... we drank from the river, we drank from the faucet, we made our own fires out of *tangantangan*, we cut our own wood, we made our fires, we went fishing, caught our own fish and cooked it right there. We went into the hills and collected the mango, the pineapple. Now with the pigs, I don’t know if we can find pineapple. We went pick *lumot* [*Lumot katdeniyu*; a type of algae used to decorate religious shrines and manger scene during Christmas] aimed at the fiestas, the *nobena* [novena, devotion].

... A lot of us had our own mini farm. We had the pig pens. We learned the difference between a domestic pig and a wild boar. And, of course, I raised chickens, dogs – I mean, basically like living on a farm. With that, growing up like that, the village stayed fairly the same.

## FISHING PRACTICES

Asan is known as a fishing village, and some families, like the Terlaje, Crisostomo, and Limtiaco families, are admired as respected and skilled fishermen (see e.g., Joe Garrido interview). In pre-war Asan, the focus was on use of the reef for food gathering, but fishing presently is a combination of subsistence and recreational functions. A variety of methods were and continue to be used, including hook and line, spear fishing, net fishing, and diving (snorkeling and SCUBA, especially in Sâgua Assan). Jennison-Nolan et al. (1979:28) describe a traditional practice related to fishing:

A conservative fishing practice, stemming from the distant past, is understood in terms of residence and place fished. In times past, one had to fish (and hunt and collect plant foods) in one’s own district: today we see a survival of that behavior in the practice of fishing most often in one’s own village or within five miles of home (Jennison-Nolan, In press). Some areas are recognized as better fishing areas than others, but the impact on these better locations is not uniformly greater.

In a 2005 survey of recreational and subsistence fishing practices in Asan Bay, Tupper and Donaldson (2005:1) queried 97 fishers, of which 63 responded. Most of them fished in the section of beach from Sâgua Assan to Asan Point, as well as from the old pipeline at the tip of Asan Point leading out to Gapan Islet<sup>26</sup> (Tupper and Donaldson 2005:1). Sâgua Assan served many families who fished and dove in the bay; referring to the cut, Jennison-Nolan (1979b:32) writes that the “Asan River flowed through a deep, crooked channel to the reef edge and was navigable for small boats. The channel was a favorite fishing place for the Asan village residents.”

Fishermen also frequented the coastline east of Asan River, sometimes using a small shack next to the former Shelton’s Music Store as a base. Luis Cabral (November 7, 2019, interview) says that “they would gather everyone somewhere close by and then take their floats and nets out, you know, the big inner

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<sup>26</sup> This pipeline is the boundary between the Piti Bomb Holes Marine Preserve and WAPA. Fishermen are “‘fishing the line’ hoping to take advantage of the spillover from the higher biomass within the preserve” (Tupper and Donaldson 2005:2).

tubes and they would actually start fishing from that point, or they would go further down and make their way all the way to Adelup.” James Terlaje (December, 9, 2019, interview) describes the fish caught in the area from the music store east to Chorrito Cliff and beyond to Adelup:

We caught a lot of *sesyon*, *tátaga*’, *gádao*, and whatever was inside the net. The reef fish. ... [The *gádao* were] probably like a good foot, maybe even bigger. And then we would get some skipjacks, some *tarakitu* or *mamulan*. The *mamulan* is the bigger skipjack. And so, when those come in, everybody is excited, when you see the big fish, especially when you’re underwater, and you’re about to shoot the *sesyon*, and then this big fish passes by, it freaks you out, right. So, everybody is shouting out, “*Mamulan, mamulan.*” So, everybody is just out there and just looking for it because you could see the silver skin just going around the net and like, “Oh, Lord, let me be the one to catch it. Let me be the one to catch it.” And then, here comes one of the kids that my mom and dad taught, his name is Gary Cruz, he’s also known as ‘The Vacuum’ because he can’t miss. He always catches it, yeah.

The most common fishing method mentioned in the 2005 fishing survey is hook and line, with gill nets (*tekken*), cast net (*talaya*), Hawaiian sling, and gleaning for octopus with small straight spears as other methods of roughly equal frequency of use (Tupper and Donaldson 2005:4). Some fishers went spearfishing from the shore (day) or SCUBA spearfishing from boats (night). The most commonly caught fish are scribbled rabbitfish (*Siganus spinus*), octopus (*Octopus cyanea*), velvet surgeonfish (*Acanthurus nigricans*), bluefin trevally (*Caranx melampygus*), and assorted juvenile parrotfishes of the genus *Scarus* (Tupper and Donaldson 2005:3). Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) says his brother would fish at Gapan Islet and catch *tátaga*’ (*Naso unicornus*) and *hugupao* (surgeon fish, Family Acanthuridae). As noted above, net fishing also brought in *sesyon* (*Siganus spinus*), *gádao* (Family Serranidae), and skipjacks like *tarakitu* and *mamulan* (Family Carangidae).

Narrators who were in their childhood in the 1940s and 1950s recall net fishing as a community activity. Net fishing<sup>27</sup> is described by Danny Santos, who was around seven or eight years old at the close of the war (November 13, 2019, interview):

I remember growing up si Nan Medo’, Limtiaco [Remedios Taitano Limtiaco], she was an expert. I mean, I will tell you honestly that back in those days, it’s all net. We didn’t have the — now you have the so-called inner tube, no? Back in those days we didn’t have inner tube. What we had was just a net and when it’s time to go and do some serious fishing, she will gather everybody, and we have to hold it from Assan all the way to the water’s edge. And then she’ll tell us exactly what to do and they’ll be — let me see if I can describe this. The net will be — let’s say that this is the ocean, and the net will go something like this [Danny draws a fishing net laid out in the shape of a semicircle with the two ends spread apart not completing the circle, leaving an opening]. And there’ll be someone posted here, someone posted here [at the two ends of the net] and then there’ll be an individual, the so-called runner that way, and runner that way. And then as we [the runners] get close to it, then we start pounding this — we have a long bamboo pole — you just — you shave it and so it’s light. And I remember, because I consider myself pretty fast back when I was young, I would be the point man. The other person that I remember being the point man — and always with me was Danny Tydingco.

... And what happens is there’ll be maybe about 10, 15 people and we will take the net out there and as we get to a certain point, Tan Medo’ will tell us, okay, this is the center point, and then the net will be spread this way, okay. And then there’ll be two people here [gestures] as the net is spread

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<sup>27</sup> The type of net described by Santos appears to be the “*chinchulo*, a very long net requiring the cooperation of several people to use, ... employed mainly for mackerel and other schooling fish” (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:15). This is also spelled *chenchulu* (see <http://www.chamoru.info/>, accessed February 2021).

this way. And their purpose is to bring it in at a certain time as we, as the runners on each end get to the end and then start pounding so that the fish goes in towards the net ...

... when she gives the magic word, our role — Danny and I, our role is to run as fast as we can. Left, right, left, right ... with the intent that the fish will go migrate to the net. And then at a certain time, you face in and then run and, you know, swat the stick on both sides [of our bodies to make a lot of noise and commotion] so that the fish will go into the net.

Once the fish were caught in the net, people would go in with spears, and then the fish was gathered up onshore. The coordinator would sort the fish, and divide it among those who helped. Danny remembers that puffer fish were set aside and discarded because they are poisonous (although Danny didn't know at the time that was the reason). He also remembers that Nan Medo' would partition the fish equitably, and that it was "something that you can take home and, you know, know that your family is going to be fed." After the *pátte* (dividing up of the catch), everyone would help gather up the net and take it back to Nan Medo's house.

James Terlaje (December, 9, 2019, interview) has a similar description of *chenchulu* fishing:

We would do net fishing, and I prefer that type of fishing over any other because we became the predator. The net that we used did not capture any fish that were considered inedible. And so, when we go *chenchulu*, you go out, you open the net into a semi-circle, and you have like six or seven guys on each side. My mom and dad would pull in the inner tube to close the net. So, after they open up the semi-circle, seven of us will go on this side, and seven of will go on the right side. And then, we would take some *balâte'* and throw it out towards the reef line. And at the same time, we throw it out, we're running out there with our spears, and we're splashing the water, running like this. And so, while they're running out there, my mom and dad are moving the net out and we start coming in, just splashing, everybody's getting together. We're all splashing. And, as we get closer to my mom and dad, we could see the shadows of the fish in the water just go into the net. And then, my mom and dad would close the net, tie it up, and then everybody would put on their goggles and their snorkel, dive in, and look for the fish that we want to catch. And so, we're very picky on what we wanted.

Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 8, 2020, interview) describes net fishing for *mañahak* (immature rabbitfish) at the Sâgua Assan in the 1950s:

We used to go, especially the *mañahak* [immature rabbitfish], when they come in, the whole village, we go down. All of us, kids would be there to help out when the men bring in their nets right there in the shore. We help collect the *mañahak*. And then, each of us would get a can full of *mañahak* to take with us. It was a nice kind of gathering. *Mañahak* used to come in Assan. ... we will all go down and all the kids are down there, all the women are down there, the men are down there with their nets, and their catch. And the kids help collect. And then we get a reward, a can full of *mañahak*. That's our reward. So, that was a very fun thing for us.

Octopus is also a catch at Asan. Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) remembers Ramon Quitugua as the master at catching octopus, in the same way that Nan Medo' was a master of net fishing. He sometimes would walk out to Gapan Islet during low tide, and bring back octopus and crab. The crab came from the deep water side of the islet.

Children played a role in fishing as well. As a child in the 1950s, Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) recalls spear fishing with homemade spears: "We just make a stick, put the hole there, or just get

the spear and tie [the spear to the stick].” They used the spear only, without a “gun” mechanism. Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 27, 2020, interview) also describes the children’s method of fishing by hand:<sup>28</sup>

We don’t use anything. Just our hands. We collect, I guess you call it, sea snails. We collect that and eat it. What we call *do’gas* [*Strombus luhuanus*]. And then we would get somebody’s T-shirt and we will put underneath in the water and pick up coral. There’s a lot of little fish swimming around on the coral. And as we pick up the coral right out of the water, all the fish drop down into the T-shirt. And we put the coral right back down into the water again.

[The fish are] little baby fish. When we take them home, my mother will smash it and then put lemon and chili pepper and salt, and we eat [prepared like *kelaguen*]. [The fish are] all different [colors]. They’re black and white, we call butterfly fish. All the little fish that comes around on the coral.

We would carry rice and we wash the rice and take it along with us. We put it in a coffee can and then we bring water with us. And then we just cook the rice in the ocean. We go down by the beach and then we catch crabs and then we barbecue with. Just us kids [we were seven or eight years old].

We learned how to catch all the crabs down in the water. I guess they call them rock crabs because they’re the hard kind. We will catch that and we will barbecue it.

Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview), who was a child of the subsequent generation of Joe Garrido and Nicolasa Cabral, remembers collecting land crabs in the mangroves at the mouth of Asan River: “as kids, actually for everybody, they used to go there to get the land crabs.<sup>29</sup> And that’s where they used to take the biskuchu can<sup>30</sup> and bury it and wait and then come back and collect it.” He recalls that it was easier to catch crabs when he was young: “... back then I don’t think we ever really had to take a flashlight and go by the side of the road like they do now. We basically just waited on the water by the beachside and there they came, and you just picked them up and picked your choice, oh female, throw it back. Grab the males, throw it in the buckets and go home.”

## FRESHWATER USE

Asan River, with two tributaries, is the primary drainage that flows across the coastal plain and exits onto the reef just west of Sâgua Assan; smaller streams flow across the eastern part of the plain. Before the war, the river was used by the community for a variety of purposes: it was the preferred source for house cleaning and laundry, swimming, and fishing; and was second only to rainwater for cooking, watering livestock, and bathing (Stephenson 1979:73-78). Stephenson (1979:76, referencing Thompson 1947) notes that “only high status people were allowed to fish in the lagoon; low status people were restricted to fishing in the rivers.”

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<sup>28</sup> Jennison-Nolan (1979a:21) describes the practice of fishing bare-handed as being of some antiquity, and only occasionally seen in the 1970s: “To hand fish, one simply reaches into holes in tidal pools on the reef flat ... The Chamorro term for this fishing style is *lalago*, and it is believed to be a technique used typically by women.”

<sup>29</sup> Possibly referring to *pânglao* (*Cardisoma* spp.) (<http://www.chamoru.info/dictionary/>, accessed February 2021).

<sup>30</sup> “Biskuchu can” refers to the large metal cans in which biscuits were sold. One example is the Crab Brand “Navy Biscuits” (<https://www.amazon.com/Biscuits-Crab-Brand-Japan-Japanese/dp/B07JFDFDKN>), although they are no longer packaged in the metal cans. A photograph of a *biskuchu* can is at <http://paleric.blogspot.com/2016/10/biskuchon-panglao.html> (accessed February 2021).

In conversations for the REAP, several individuals mentioned going for shrimp in the rivers. For example, Danny Santos (November 13, 2019, interview) frequented the stream fed by the spring at Opop:

There's a spring at Opop ... I remember after the war, ... my cousin and I would go up there to shrimp. I mean the shrimps are big there, and you know not too many people go there. ... And then there's eels. Depending on which river you are shrimping, if you are shrimping at the source, the shrimps are very limited. But if you're shrimping on the other side, the bigger river [presumably referring to Asan River], you know, you see a lot of eels and shrimp. And I remember that place used to be the place where the ladies would go — this is after the war — the ladies would go to wash their clothes. And this is, you know, the people residing in Opop.

He adds that people still go shrimping at Opop. Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 27, 2020, interview) describes shrimping in the stream toward the east side of the village near Chorrito Cliff:

... there's water coming from up on top, Nimitz Hill area. It comes right down on the side and it cuts all the way down to the ocean. There used to be a way there for fresh water that comes through. In fact, we used to go shrimping. We used to go shrimping there. But now it's blocked up. It's closed. The only way now is over there in Adelup. There's an opening in Adelup underneath right there where people used to picnic right there under the breadfruit trees. Adelup, that's the only one now. But we used to go shrimping.

As recently as the 1960s and 1970s, people were still catching shrimp in the streams. Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview) recounts:

We were still kids, about between eight and ten at the time, and we would wait for a rainy season sometimes, because it would bring them down a little further for the river. And after the rain would pass, we'd go down and check the river. ... We would just take the rocks, make our little dams and rivers re-divert everything and then set it and start watching the shrimp accumulate. And then once they get to the corner, we would just net them or just take the pot (motions to scoop up the shrimp) do that, we got the water, and right in the fire.

Any metal pot, cooking pot, I'd just take it. If we went up the river, that was our biggest thing, a box of matches, one pot or a frying pan, and whatever wood you can get up there and a machete.

We just throw it [the shrimp] in. As soon as you got it, it was in the pot, the water was there, you just make sure you cleaned it off a little bit ... You didn't [want to] get too much algae in the water. So you'd drain it, go to the part where — you know, we were taught to, where the water ran the fastest is where you want the best water, and then we filtered it a little bit. Take your shirt, and just kind of put it in front and let it filter. Once you got enough water in your container, you went, the shrimp was there, put it on the fire and just wait it. Let it boil and after a while you had food.

## CULTIVATION

Written accounts of Guam in the 19th century describe Asan as rich farmland, particularly for rice cultivation (Freycinet 1829:415; translation by D. Tuggle):

The farms where the ground is the most productive are in the districts of Agagna, Assan, Agat, Umata, Ynarahan, and Sinahagna. The lowlands of Merizo, Umata, Agat and Assan generally produce the most rice; those of Agagna the most corn; and finally those in Agagna, Sinahagna, Mongmong and Agat yield most of the nutritious roots.

A 1916 Navy report on the island of Guam describes rice paddies at the east end of Asan Village: “At the eastern end of the village a road [to Asan Spring Reservoir] branches off to the left across the rice

paddies of the town” (Cook 1917:59, brackets added). The report also notes rice fields at the west end of the Asan area. Jose Quintanilla, who was 78 years old at the time of an interview in 1979, remembers the pre-war rice fields of western Asan (along the Asan and Matgue Rivers) “extending several hundred yards from the beach to the hills and cliffs” (Jennison-Nolan 1979:41). A July 21, 1944, aerial photograph shows the expanse of rice fields in western Asan (Photo 11).<sup>31</sup>

During the Japanese occupation of Guam, the rice fields of western Asan were taken over by the Japanese authorities, and by late 1943, demands on CHamoru for food production and labor across the island increased rapidly (Tuggle et al. in prep.:232, Figure 100). Luis Cabral (November 7, 2019, interview) remembers these rice paddies, and also that the Japanese forced CHamoru to work the fields; this forced labor included the sisters of Cabral’s mother. The western rice fields extended toward the coast into the area that would become Camp Asan (seaward of the present Marine Corps Drive within WAPA) (Joe Garrido, December 7 and 21, 2019, interviews) (see Photo 11).

The rice fields in the middle of Asan Village<sup>32</sup> are visible in a 1944 pre-invasion aerial photograph (Photo 12) and described by Luis Cabral (November 11, 2019, interview):

Rice paddies would have been right down in the middle of the village, right behind Joe & Flo’s, between Joe & Flo’s and the church. So that whole area to the church would have been, because of the river, access to the river, would have been the rice paddies. And, growing up [in the 1960s and 1970s], we used to cut the grass down there all the time because the reeds would grow and everything. And by the time you’re done cutting, the soil looked different, the ground was shaped differently. It looked like it was in a giant pan, like a flat cooking pan, and it went all the way to the church. I mean, it wasn’t our property, but we felt like, let’s clear it all out. Sometimes we’d say, can we burn it? And then we’d wind up having to put it out, you know, because it was going too crazy. And then when the rains would hit, it would flood. ... there were tributaries all throughout this village, which I think made it conducive for the rice paddies because there was always water flowing down somewhere.

Another crop requiring irrigation was taro, but this was being grown only on a limited basis around the village, “nothing major” (Luis Cabral, November 7, 2019, interview).

Corn was also grown on the Asan coastal plain (see Footnote 3). Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) says that his father’s cousin planted corn at the perimeter of the swamp, and at harvest time, the word would go out and those that helped pick the corn would get a share. Jennison-Nolan (1979b:6) references a 1941 Census Bureau report in noting that the principal field crop on the island was corn, with 2,176 acres under cultivation in 1939.

Although it was a major pre-war agricultural enterprise on Guam for copra production, coconut is mentioned by Asan narrators as only a part of the general village landscape. A 1941 Census Bureau report notes over 75,000 coconut trees in Agat, Piti, and Asan (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:6). Photo 2 (above) is an undated photograph but was certainly taken before the war, showing the dense stands of coconut trees along the village road; Photo 9 (above) shows the remains of coconut trees in the 1944 battlefield between Chorrito Cliff and Adelup Point.

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<sup>31</sup> The American landing at Asan occurred on this day, with the first troops touching down at the Asan beachhead at 8:28 a.m. (Crowl 1993:342), so this photograph was likely taken earlier in the morning.

<sup>32</sup> These fields might have been fed by water from Asan Spring, which is inland and above the area shown on Photo 12. The spring is described as contributing to flooding problems in the post-war village, especially after the closure of the Asan Spring Reservoir in 2003.



Photo 11. Rice fields in western Asan, July 21, 1944, view to north. The darker vegetation at the center-right of the photograph is likely the alignment of Asan River; its outlet to the ocean is at the slight indentation in the coastline at the top center of the photograph. (source: NARAII, Record Group 80G-248332)



Photo 12. Pre-invasion planning aerial photograph of Asan, annotated with the invasion beach designations. Chorrillo Cliff is out of view at the left of the photograph; the tip of Asan Point is at the lower right. The large open area inland of Blue Beach at center-right are the main Asan rice fields; the small light-colored area at center-left are rice fields in what is now the main part of Asan Village. (source: WAPA photo collection)

## LANCHOS

A long-standing CHamoru custom, dating to the Spanish *Reducción* of the late 17th century, was the village-*lâncho* settlement structure, in which village residents had their homes in town but spent lengthy periods of time on their *lânchos* (farmstead) tending crops and livestock (Hezel 2015:48). A form of this structure was still in place in Asan at least through the 1950s.

Opop, the hilly area inland of the coastal plain, was used for farming by Asan residents. In the post-war period, there were around five to seven families who farmed in the Opop area (Danny Santos, November 13, 2019, interview). There were no houses, although some people had lean-to shelters. One person, Juan Terlaje, tended natural bee hives in *lemmai* or *dukduk* trees (two types of breadfruit). Danny and his friends would hold a can on the end of a long bamboo stick and Terlaje would climb the tree and gather honey and put it into the can. The boys would get a payment of a treat of honeycomb. Santos also remembers his paternal grandparent's ranch at Opop, where they:

... raised chickens, pigs and what have you. And there's just a couple of vegetables for family consumption ... I remember ... the "bitter melon" ... and the long beans. ... I used to help harvest those things. And my brother ... Edward and I would go with my grandfather up to Opop using the carabao cart and then we'll harvest the vegetables and take it back to Asan and then my grandmother will cook it.

The pigs were fed with a boiled mixture of small papayas, coconut, and *lemmai* that had fallen to the ground. Chickens were free-ranging. Danny's maternal grandparents had a large property in Piti where they raised cattle (where the original Guam Petroleum was located). After the war, Danny and his cousin would take leftovers from the mess hall to feed the pigs and look after the cows.

Although not mentioning a specific location, Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 27, 2020, interview) talked about her father's livestock:

My father used to raise cows because he uses them not only for plowing. They use them for plowing because my father likes to plant. So, plowing, raise pigs. And at the time, people can raise pigs not close to your home but further away from your house. I mean, later on it's not allowed anymore. But we would raise the pigs away towards the jungle area. We call it the "boonies."

Many residents had gardens adjacent to their homes, and some had small livestock. Luis Cabral (November 7, 2019, interview) says that his family's pigpen was on the side of the house, and if they "caught a wild pig they would throw it in there for a while, let it eat good, and then they would prep it [to eat]." There were ten to 15 families in the village that had chickens, mostly up to 20 birds each, although the Salongong family had 40 to 50 chickens. Chicken manure was captured under the raised pens (with slotted floors) and given to farmers (although Cabral does not remember actual farming within the village).

## RESOURCE GATHERING

Asan residents relied on collecting plants and animals to supplement their fishing and farming. Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) says that *kankong* (*Ipomoea aquatica*) grew naturally in the wetlands on the coastal plain, and that "if someone wants to get *kankong*, they would just go behind the houses and cut." He also recalls going up to the Asan Spring Reservoir to pick *lemmai* (*Artocarpus altillis*, seedless breadfruit), which were larger and better than the present day *lemmai*.

Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) describes bird hunting with his friends in the hills above Asan Village in the 1950s. Prey included *ko'ko'* (Guam rail, *Hypotaenidia owstoni*),<sup>33</sup> *påluman sinisa* (dove), *chuchurika* (rufous-fronted fantail, *Rhipidura rufifrons uraniae*), and *sáli* (Micronesia starling, *Aplonis opacus guami*). One of his friends was a skilled hunter with *paken goma* (slingshot). Although the boys cooked and ate their catch, this was not a subsistence activity in the sense of supplementing the family's daily diet, but rather was something that the boys did.

People also hunted *fanihi* (fruit bat, *Pteropus mariannus*). Joe Garrido (December 7, 2019, interview) mentions *fanihi* hunting on the ridge above Camp Asan (brackets added):

In those days you still have those indigenous plants. Now most of the plants up there is *tangantangan* but in those days they got this *lemmai* and *kafo'* and *påhong*<sup>34</sup> and all that. And so, it extended all the way to the other side [of Marine Corps Drive]. I remember that, that place some people would hunt *fanihi*.<sup>35</sup>

### SHARING RESOURCES

*Påtte* is a CHamoru term for redistributing food stuff collected by a group effort (Topping et al. 1975:165). This is a recurring theme in stories about community activities in Asan. For example, Jennison-Nolan (1979b:16, brackets added) details the sharing of fish that was caught in a group effort:

The use of the *lagua* and *chinchulo* involved a long established system for dividing the catch among those cooperating in the fishing operations. Half of the catch went to the net owner, and if the use of both *galaide* [inshore canoe] and net were involved, half went to boat and net together, even if owned by different people. Of the remaining half, one third was allocated to swimmers who herded fish toward the net; the rest was distributed to other helpers, such as netholders, and also to watchers.

Of note is the last group (“watchers”). Life-long Agat resident Charfauros said that “If they even looked as though they were watching, they’d get some fish” (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:16).

In the present project, Luis Cabral (October 29, 2019, interview), who is a diver, reiterated this custom:

... I still do it to this day, if I catch anything here in Assan, I share it with the family. When my Uncle Joe was still alive, anytime I had octopus or certain fish that he liked, instead of bringing it into the house I would bring it down there first, give it to him before I would come up and clean my gear.

Yeah, and it didn't matter ... whatever I was doing, I would take that time to take that catch and share it even with my relatives down the street, my Auntie Rose Fejeran. If I drove up and they were outside barbecuing, if I had something in the back, I'd ask them if they want it. I am one of those that, I could never sell my catch. I tried once and it didn't feel right. I think I was brought up in the sense that at that time, that tradition of catching, we're catching to share with everybody, it's

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<sup>33</sup> The Guam rail is an endemic species of flightless bird that disappeared from southern Guam in the early 1970s and was extirpated from the entire island by the late 1980s, largely as the result of the accidental introduction of the brown tree snake to Guam sometime between 1944 and 1952 (<https://nationalzoo.si.edu/animals/guam-rail>; accessed February 2021).

<sup>34</sup> *Kafo'* and *påhong* are types of screw pine trees (*Pandanus* sp.).

<sup>35</sup> Freycinet (1826) labels Asan Point with the place name “Pte. Acahi-Fanihi;” see discussion of the place name in the section on Asan Point in the chapter on “Asan History.”

not just for me to sell. If I'm selling, let someone else do it for a purpose. Or like if I take *tangantangan*, I'm selling it because I want to go get an ice cream or buy a Coke or what have you. But we always made sure that after a while, we gave back to the village, somehow.

The Boy Scout Troop 17 was active in the 1960s and early 1970s with almost all boys in the village participating. Two of the scout masters were Seabees from Camp Asan, which was still active (Luis Cabral, November 11, 2019, interview). The scouts helped with fiestas, funerals, and even traffic control ("we didn't think about it, you know, get run over or anything, you just started marching out, took your whistle and blew and held the traffic until the procession went, or the funeral procession was going out"). Other activities included fishing, tending small ranches throughout the village (with pigs, cows, chickens), and hiking.

When it's mango season, we were sent up to collect mango. And we didn't bring back just a little bag, we brought back, you know, fifty-pound sacks of mangoes from the hills, or looking for wild pineapple. ... there in those days, we were young enough and light enough to climb even the breadfruit tree. So, we were basically made to go out and get all this natural stuff and bring it back, and either share it with everybody or if anyone needed whatever, we did what we could. But, even like the land crabs, if they needed land crabs, we knew where to go.

One of the described activities was fundraising by supplying materials for the Niño Perdido Fiesta (Luis Cabral, November 11, 2019, interview):

I remember, ... sometimes the Boy Scouts would say we need a fundraiser, fiesta's coming up, so we would pre-sale the bundles of *tangantangan*, really cheap. ... We would just sell it [for a] quarter, or fifty cents, a bundle. ... We would go out, cut the *tangantangan*, split it. ... then we would tie them off. Then the guys would grab a few and go take them to the houses and then, you know, they'd give us a quarter, fifty cents, for it; and we'd put it all back together for the Boy Scouts for stuff we needed.

And then when we did the mass, of course, we had a good, an active troop. We'd go to the mass, do the fiesta—I mean, do the procession, do the whole bit, you know, carry the flags if you were an altar boy or whatever. And, you know, we'd go around the village, just do the thing, and then we'd start hitting all the parties after that.

Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral (August 27, 2020, interview) talks about sharing resources:

My father used to raise cows [and] we will have pigs. ... They share a lot. And my father, we will harvest the corn, we will share with my aunts, my uncles, and the neighbors around us. So, we will share with them everything that we grow. My mother knows that we cannot use them all so, we share them with the neighbors. When they slaughter the pig, they would share. A cow, they would share. I'm the one that goes around and asking the neighbors, our mother is asking if they want certain part of the pig or a certain part of a cow, or if they happen to be lucky and have a real huge fish, or something like that.

And then my mother will barter because she used to make salt. She would go down by the beach area and boil salt water and make salt. We'd barter that for maybe flour or something like that. But they used the bartering system at one time. And my father used to make *tubã*. We would do the *tubã* vinegar.

## V. AGAT UNIT

Like the Asan Beach Unit, the Agat Unit is a largely offshore area consisting of 567 acres of water, out of a total 598 acres (Figure 12). The land portion of the unit consists of three small, non-contiguous parcels between the coastal Route 2 and the shoreline: Ga'an Point, the largest of the three, is a broad promontory in the center of the unit at the mouth of the Salinas River; Apaca Point is at the north end of the unit; and Bangi Point is at the south end of the unit. The Agat Unit encompasses a large portion of Agat Bay, incorporating a coral reef extending from 1,000 to 1,500 feet from and parallel to the coast. Water within the reef is one to four feet deep, and during low tide, some of the reef is exposed.

The Agat Unit lies in the northern third of Agat Municipality (Figure 13). The modern village of Agat is on the inland side of Route 2<sup>36</sup>, roughly centered around Ga'an Point. Old Agat was the pre-war village that was located near the intersection of the present Routes 2 and 12; it was destroyed by U.S. military pre-invasion bombardment in 1944, and was subsequently rebuilt roughly following the original road layout.

Interviews for the WAPA REAP study were carried out with two individuals from Agat: Jlawrence Materne Cruz (born in 1954) and Antonio Babauta Babauta (born in 1938). Short biographies of the narrators are presented in Appendix A. Full interview transcripts are provided in Volume IIb of the REAP.

### PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Agat Unit lies on the west coast of Guam, under the shadow of Mount Alifan (871 feet), the northern end of the ridge of the same name; the Alifan Ridge marks the physiographic divide between east and west in the southern volcanic region of the island. Inland of the Agat Unit, the terrain is relatively level for about a half-mile, and then gradually rises in the foothills of the Alifan Ridge, before sharply ascending to Mt. Alifan. The foothills are dominated by grasses and scattered ironwood trees; denser forests cover the steeper slopes (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:19).

The Agat Unit centers on the coast of the Agat Watershed, which is drained by six main rivers (from north to south): Namo River, Togcha River, Salinas River, Ga'an River, and Finile Creek (Figure 14). The largest and northernmost is the Namo River, which is approximately 2.6 miles long, originates from north of Mt. Alifan, and enters the ocean south of Apaca Point. Channelized by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers for flood control in the early 1980s (NPS 1983:39), stream flow is generally low except during heavy rains when there is potential for flooding; the 1913-1914 Corps of Engineers topographic map suggests that the original mouth of the river exited closer to Apaca Point than at present. There is a remnant wetland at Apaca Point (NPS 2013:66). The other rivers originate from Mt. Alifan and have shorter and steeper drainage basins.

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<sup>36</sup> Jennison-Nolan (1979b:Maps 2-5) refers to Route 2 through Agat as "Chalan Canton Tasi." Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:34, citing Babauta, pers. comm. 2005) states that Route 2 through Old Agat was formerly known as Cereen Street. Otten and Bitanga (1947:7) describe the road, which they call Cerain Street, as being about 25 to 45 meters from the shoreline; there was one row of houses between the street and shoreline. The 2002 USGS topographic map of Guam has the label "Cerain" for the area of Old Agat.

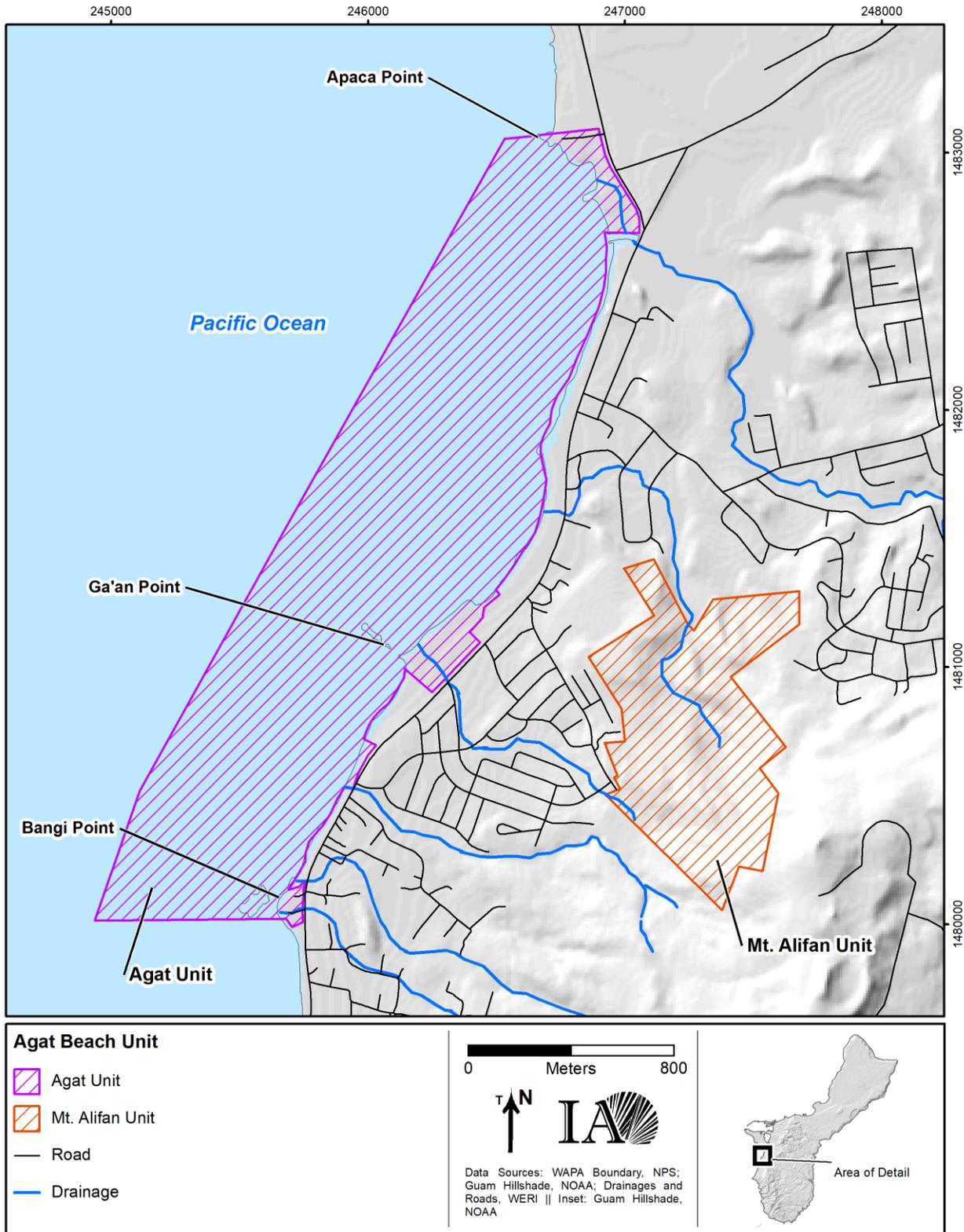


Figure 12. Agat Unit.

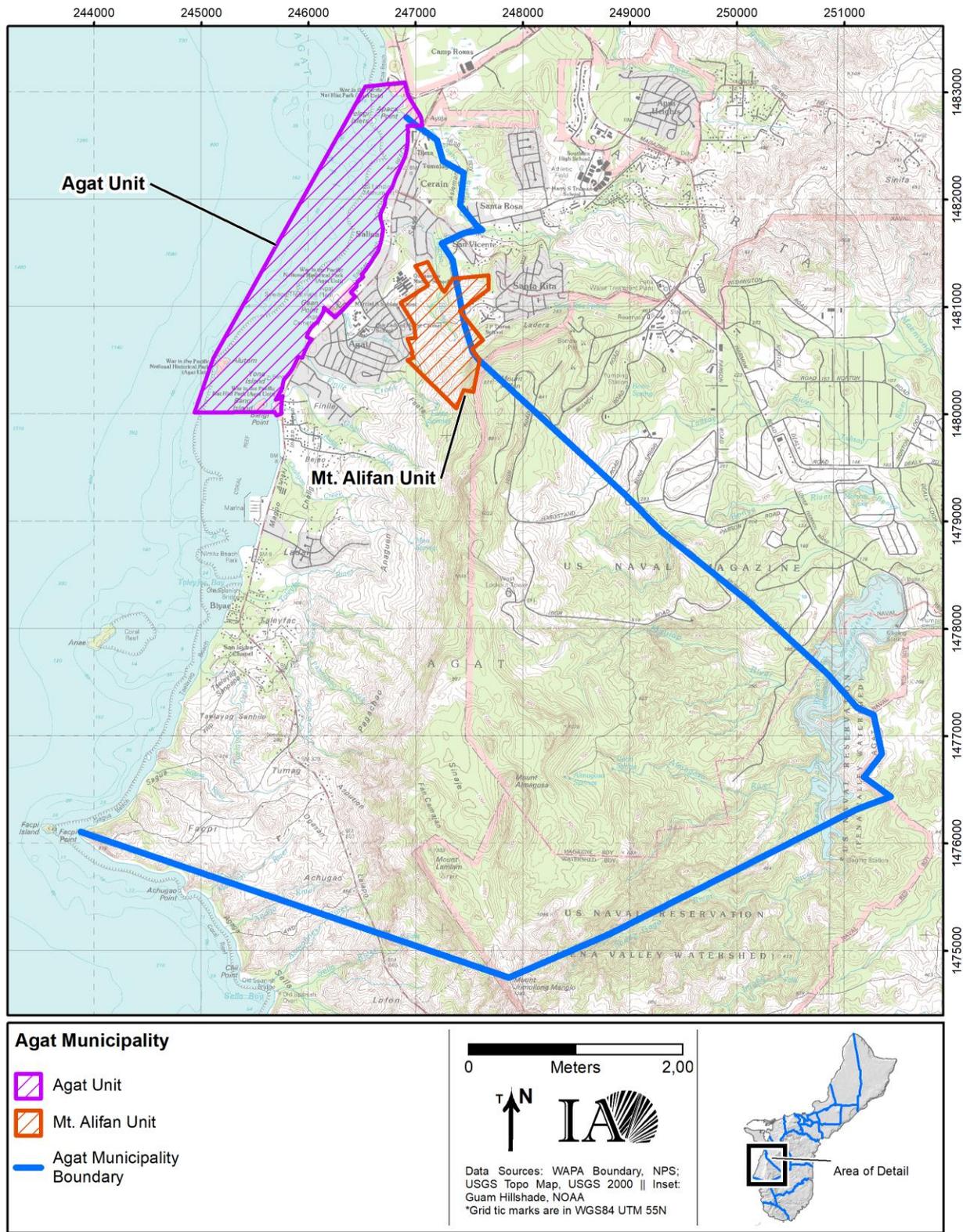


Figure 13. The municipality of Agat, showing the location of the Agat and Mt. Alifan Units.

Numerous springs on the slopes of Mount Alifan provide continuous water to the area. The springs, which are typical of water sources in the southern volcanic region of Guam, flow from an aquifer that lies at the contact between permeable limestone and denser underlying volcanic layers (Allen 2007:6). These include Agat Spring at the north side of Mount Alifan and Faata Spring feeding Finile Creek. Agat Spring was developed into reservoir in 1929 (Allen 2007:3).

The coastline from the mouth of the Namo River to Ga'an Point is a narrow sandy beach called Togcha in the north half and Salinas in the south half. Rizal Beach is in a small cove north of the low limestone cliff at Apaca Point. The shoreline at Ga'an Point has been modified, and is the only artificial shoreline in the Agat Unit (NPS 1983:42). Four island groups lie off-shore of the coast: Pelagi Islets off of Apaca Point and Yona, Bangi, and Alutom Islands off of Bangi Point.

NPS (1983:42) describes the off-shore environment of the Agat Unit:

The reef flat widens generally toward the south from a width of 52 meters at Rizal Beach to 808 meters south of Gaan Point. At the north end of the Agat Unit, an intertidal reef flat with scattered depressions grades to the south into an irregular inner reef flat and low-tide moat south of Apaca Point. The inner reef flat is interrupted at Gaan Point by the manmade peninsula. The outer reef flat is cut by depressed channels at Togcha Beach and south of Gaan Point. Alutom Island lies on the outer reef flat margin to the south.

## **CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY**

The geography of the larger Agat region provides a physical context to understand the cultural history and landscape of the Agat Unit.

### **PLACES AND PLACE NAMES IN AGAT**

Figure 15 shows locations of places discussed by the oral history narrators. Table 4 lists place names in the Agat Unit and the general Agat region.

Agat has a long history in written records, dating to accounts of the place as one of the Spanish-created parish villages during the late 17th century period called *La Reducción*. The 1676 map attributed to Alonzo López shows “P. [Pueblo] de Agat” (see Figure 8); Alutom Islet is also shown on the López map. Based on archeological work, the region of Agat has a history that extends into pre-contact times.

Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) says that the boundaries of Agat extend from the Namo River to Humuyong Månglo [the southern mountain before Umatac], which corresponds with the present municipality extent (see Figure 13). The village itself, however, which includes the pre-war Old Agat and the post-war new community, is largely between the Namo River and Bangi Point.

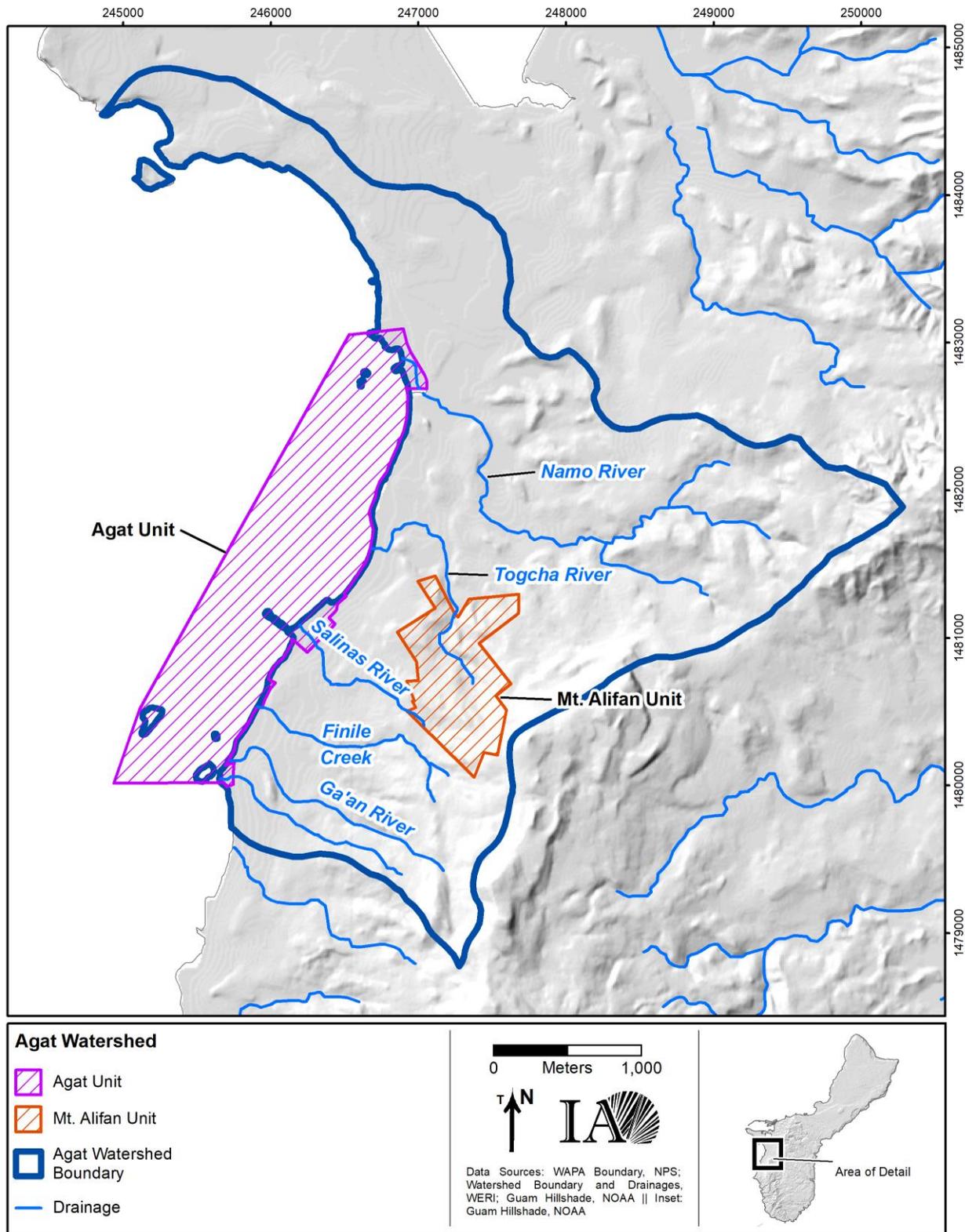
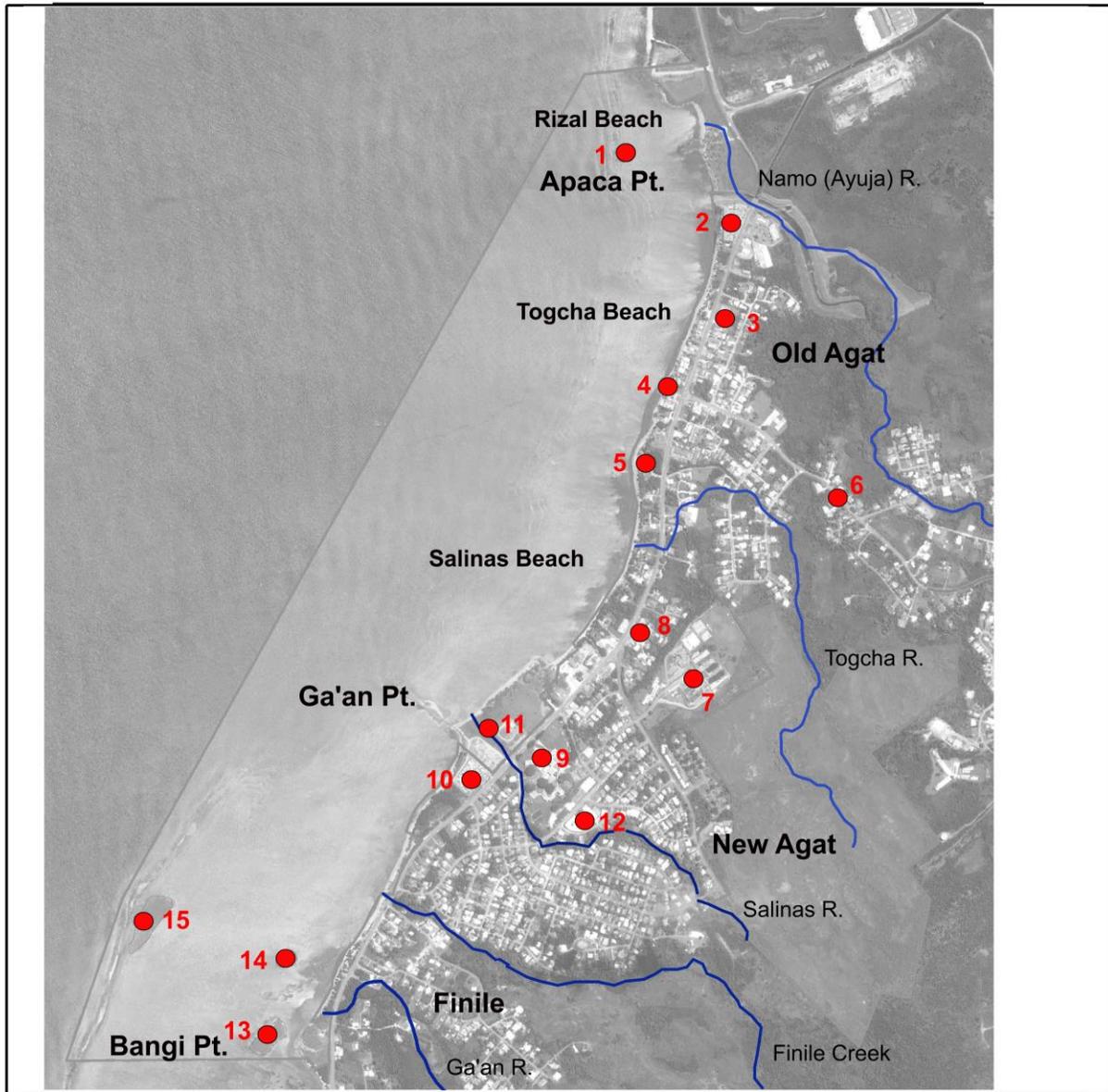


Figure 14. The Agat Watershed.



**Key Places and Place Names in Agat**

- |                            |                                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Pelagi Is.              | 10. Mt. Carmel Cemetery              |
| 2. Inn on the Bay          | 11. Resettlement Village             |
| 3. Circle K Agat           | 12. Our Lady of<br>Mt. Carmel Church |
| 4. US Landing Monument     | 13. Bangi Is.                        |
| 5. Old Agat Cemetery       | 14. Yona Is.                         |
| 6. Route 12 (Harmon Road)  | 15. Alutom Is.                       |
| 7. Oceanview Middle School |                                      |
| 8. Kim Chee Store          |                                      |
| 9. Agat Elementary School  |                                      |

0 Meters 600



Data Sources: WAPA Boundary, NPS; USGS Topo Map, USGS 2000 || Inset: Guam Hillshade, NOAA

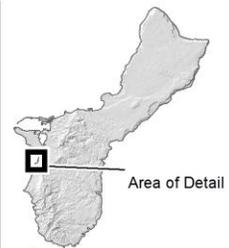


Figure 15. Key places and place names in Agat.

Table 4. Key Places and Place Names in Agat.

Place	CHamoru*	Relation to WAPA Unit	Comment
Agat (old)	Hågat	village; south boundary is Kim Chee Store, and south of that is the Ga'an area (Jlawrence Cruz March 14, 2020, interview)	spelled Hagat on López 1676 map
Agat (new)	Hågat	village; inland side of Route 2, roughly centered behind Ga'an Point	re-located village built after WWII
Alifan	Sabānan Alifan	peak and ridge separating west coast from central interior of island	
Alutom Island	Islan Alutom	small island off of Bangi Point	
Apaca Point		promontory at north end of Agat Unit	spelled "Apouka" on Duperry 1819 map; also Apuh'a and Apouca on early 20th century American maps (Hunter-Anderson et al. 2001:74)
Ayuja	Ayuha Ayuya	river at north end of Agat Unit	alternate name for Namu River
Bangi	Bangngi'	area of Agat south of Finile	
Bangi Island	Islan Bangngi'	small island off of Bangi Point	
Bangi Point	Punta Bangngi'	promontory at south end of Agat Unit	
Faata		spring feeding Finile Stream	
Fena	Fena	inland watershed at headwaters of Talafofo drainage	
Finile	Finile'	area of Agat south of the Agat Cemetery; stream at south end of Agat Unit	
Fuña		legendary place of human creation; village; possibly at or near Apaca Point	see Tuggle et al. in prep.:38-40; and Appendix B in this report for detailed discussion
Ga'an Point	Puntan Gå'an	promontory at center of Agat Unit	
Lompuk		upland area of Agat, on western slope of Mt. Alifan (Jennison-Nolan 1979b)	
Namu	Ñāmu	largest of six rivers in Agat Unit; enters ocean south of Apaca Point; also called Ayuga River	channelized by U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in early 1980s

Place	CHamoru*	Relation to WAPA Unit	Comment
Pelagi Islets		cluster of small islets off of Apaca Point	
Salinas	Salinas	beach north of Ga'an Point and south of Togcha Beach; river with outflow to ocean at center of Ga'an Point	“salinas” refer to “the rendering of salt from sea water for the preservation of meat” (Hunter-Anderson 1989:21, referencing T. Babauta, pers. comm.); could also refer to the salty groundwater typical of this section of the Agat coastline (Hunter-Anderson 1989:21)
Togcha	Tokcha'	beach fronting Old Agat; also river in Old Agat	
Yona Island	Islan Yona	small island off of Bangi Point	

\* CHamoru spelling is primarily from R. Steffy interviews (see Volume IIb) and Kumision I Fino' Chamorro (n.d.); spelling of stream names comes from *Digital Atlas of Southern Guam* (<http://south.hydroguam.net/drainage-usnames.php>, accessed February 2021).

### ORAL TRADITIONS AND ORIGIN MYTHS

The Agat Unit includes a significant location in terms of Guam origin myths, the Rock of Fuña. This location refers to the CHamoru tradition of a rock of creation and is discussed in depth in an analysis of competing accounts of the story (Tuggle et al. in prep.:35-40); because of the cultural significance of the tradition and the place, the detailed discussion is reproduced in full in Appendix B. In brief, the account, which was first mentioned in known records in ca. 1598-1600, relates the custom of an annual celebration at the location of a rock that gave birth to humans. The López 1676 map has an inscription adjacent to the western coastline just south of Orote Peninsula that reads: “Aqui dentro del mar esta la piedra que llaman, Fuña donde dicen nacio todo el genero humano”; this is translated by H. Tuggle (in Tuggle et al. in prep.:35) as “Here in/under the sea is a rock named Fuña, where they say the whole human race was born.”

The name Fuña is also given to a village near the sacred rock (Tuggle et al. in prep.:38, referencing García 1683). Le Gobien's map of 1700 locates “Fuña Isle” off the coast of Agat (Figure 16). Lévesque (1995:216) suggests the village was at Apaca Point, while Tuggle et al. (in prep.:38) look more to Le Gobien's map that the village was on an islet offshore of Apaca Point. It was in this village that CHamoru held an annual celebration of the creation story.



Figure 16. Portion of a 1700 map by Le Gobien, showing Fuña Isle off the Agat coast. (source: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b5963293k>, accessed February 2021)

## MYTHIC LANDSCAPE: THE PELAGI ISLETS

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:12-13, referencing Beatty 1967:41) and Jennison-Nolan et al. (1979:78) tell the story of the origin of the Pelagi Islets that are located near Apaca Point:

... a long time ago several men went fishing in a canoe that was loaded with nets and *puting* (the narcotic fruit of the *Barringtonia asiatica* tree, used to stupefy fish). When the canoe began to leak, the men jettisoned the nets and *puting* in an effort to paddle to shore against the outgoing tide; however, they were unsuccessful. By the next morning, the canoe had become a rock and the jettisoned articles had become another rock. It is believed by some that the canoe rock, shaped long and low like a canoe, is a predictor of sea conditions: differences in the sounds of the water slapping against its surfaces indicate whether the sea will intensify or slacken. It is interesting to note that the other rock, which is formed much like a pile of food or nets, supports trees and grasses whereas the canoe rock next to it is essentially barren (Charfauros 1940).

## AGAT HISTORY

This section summarizes the prehistory and history of the Agat area.

### PRE-CONTACT AGAT

There have been no major archeological undertakings in the area of the Agat Unit, although work has been carried out on smaller parcels: to the north on a small Navy property on the north half of Apaca Point (Hunter-Anderson et al. 2001), to the south for the present Agat Small Boat Harbor (Kurashina et al. 1987; Hunter-Anderson 1989), along the easement of Route 2 (Moore et al. 1995; Hunter-Anderson 2002) and within the developed area of Agat (e.g., Yee 2009; Craft 2013).

The archeological investigations indicate the presence of Latte Period occupation along the coast, not unexpectedly given the later historical accounts of CHamoru activity in the area. At Apaca Point, a cultural deposit was dated from at least the late 13th-14th century (Hunter-Anderson et al. 2001:134), and isolated cultural deposits as well as intact and dispersed human remains (found in the constrained right-of-way of Route 2) suggest comparable occupation around the mouth of the Namo River (near the present Inn on the Bay) (Hunter-Anderson 2002). To the south, Latte Period human interments and occupation materials were found at and near the intersection of Routes 2 and 12 (summarized in Moore and Amesbury 2015:12; see also Yee 2009; Craft 2013). Hunter-Anderson (2002) identifies numerous human interments typical of the Latte Period in deposits adjacent to or underlying Route 2. It is notable that the human remains were discovered in areas that had seen virtual total destruction by the U.S. military invasion in 1944 and subsequent redevelopment. As noted by Craft (2013:20), “it is deemed highly probable therefore that intact human burials and subsurface cultural deposits may still be located within the current project area [a small parcel at the inland-north corner of the Route 2-Route 12 intersection]; this evaluation can certainly be applied to elsewhere along the coast, including the Agat Unit.

### OLD AGAT VILLAGE

The original community of Agat (generally called Old Agat since World War II) was a long-standing village dating to the earliest period of recorded Guam history. It had its antecedents in the pre-contact based on results of archeological work in the Agat region. The first written use of the name “Agat” is by Olive y García, the biographer of Spanish mission leader Diego Luis de San Vitores who arrived in Guam in 1668 (García 1985:299). Tuggle et al. (in prep.:5) write that “A number of Spanish governors

considered Agat a better location for the capital city because it had much better access to Apra Harbor and had extensive lands and wetlands for its support.” It encompassed or was in proximity to the important CHamoru village of Fuña, which had ceased to exist by the 17th century (Tuggle et al. in prep.:38-40; see also Appendix B).

By 1680, Spanish efforts for control culminated in the consolidation of the CHamoru population into seven towns on Guam, of which Agat was one (the others were Hagatña, Pago, Inarajan, Umatac, Inapson, and Mapupun) (Hezel 2015, quoted in Tuggle et al. in prep.:79). By 1690, there were five main pueblos (villages with churches that were governed as parishes by the resident priests); these were Hagatña, Agat, Pago, Fena, and Umatac (Tuggle et al. in prep.:80). This period of village consolidation was also one of conflict between Spanish and CHamoru. Conventionally called the “Spanish-Chamorro Wars”<sup>37</sup>, the years from 1671 to 1698 saw Spanish subjugation of the native population, uprisings and reprisals by villages, and skirmishes between Spanish and CHamoru. Agat figured as a point of uprising. In 1680, a church was built at Agat and dedicated to Santa Rosa (Haynes and Wuerch 1993:4-5). It was burned four years later by CHamoru in 1684, but was rebuilt. It was again destroyed and rebuilt, this time following a typhoon in 1693.<sup>38</sup>

In the 18th century, Agat continued as one of a handful of village-parishes, the others being Hagatña, Inarajan, Merizo, Pago, and Umatac (Tuggle et al. in prep.:96). A 1758 census lists these six villages and an additional six others, with a total island population of 2,467. Agat is listed with 134 men and 108 women (Tuggle et al., in prep.:Table 5). At the beginning of the 19th century, Agat was one of only three villages outside of Hagatña that had churches (Tuggle et al. in prep.:105).<sup>39</sup> In 1818, the Freycinet (2003) expedition recorded Agat with 42 houses, four royal farms<sup>40</sup>, and 20 *lanchos*; there were 219 people in Agat (which included Sumay on the Orote Peninsula). Agat was also the western anchor to a cross-island route to Inarajan through the Fena watershed (Tomonari-Tuggle et al. 2018:117, Figure 22).

Tomonari-Tuggle et al. (2018:footnote 9, brackets added) note that “A number of Spanish governors considered Agat a better location for the capital city [as opposed to Hagatña] because it had much better access to Apra Harbor and had extensive lands and wetlands for its support extending from Apra on the north to the coastline south of Agat.” Allen (2007:20, referencing Rogers 1995:95) cites Spanish governor Francisco Ramón de Villalobos as having specific plans to move the capital to Agat:<sup>41</sup>

... he planned to connect with Apra and its harbor via a canal across Orote Peninsula. He had tile kilns built at Agat, improved roads and bridges in the area, and introduced the first smallpox vaccinations (Rogers 1995:97). In spite of his plans, however, Spanish support decreased, and the capital remained in Hagatña.

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<sup>37</sup> Tuggle et al. (in prep.:48) discuss the changing perspective toward the use of the word “war” in the conflicts of this period.

<sup>38</sup> The church was still being used into the mid-1800s (Haynes and Wuerch 1993:5).

<sup>39</sup> The Jesuits had been expelled from Guam in 1769, and replaced shortly after by Augustinian friars. However, Spanish influence in the Americas as well as the Pacific declined in the early 1800s, as the Spanish Empire fell apart. By 1815, there were only two friars on Guam (Tuggle et al. in prep.:105).

<sup>40</sup> In 1829, Freycinet (2003:157, quoted in Tuggle et al. in prep.:140) described these farms as “part of the patrimony of the kings of Spain.”

<sup>41</sup> Even as recently as the post-World War II era, there was still an interest in moving the capital to Agat. Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:34, citing Babauta, pers. comm. 2005) say that the post-war naval government seriously considered moving the capital from Hagatña but powerful Hagatña families objected strongly and the plan was dropped.

By the end of the 19th century, the village had been combined with Sumay on the Orote Peninsula (Tuggle et al., in prep.:160). A census taken in 1901, shortly after control of Guam was assumed by the U.S. after the Spanish-American War, lists 843 residents in Agat proper, with another 696 in “Agat (district of Sumai)” (Tuggle et al. in prep.:191, quoting Safford 1905:137).

In the 20th century, Old Agat was the pre-war village that was located near the coast and south of the Namu River. There was one principal street, about 50 yards inland and parallel to the shore, and most of the houses were wood and thatch (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:13). The pre-war Catholic church in Old Agat, referred to as the Santa Rosa Church, was located on the site of the present Circle K Agat gas station<sup>42</sup> (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:31). A 1916 Navy report on the island of Guam provides a description of Agat Village in the early 20th century (Cook 1917:62-63):

Agat is a town of about 800 inhabitants and has 15 or 20 houses of mamposteria, including a church, an old parish, and a public school, together with a hundred or so plank or bamboo houses with nipa roof. It is built along the road beach for a distance of one fourth of a mile and is about three streets in depth. It is in the center of a good agricultural district, lying between the sea and the foothills of the main range of mountains, and extending from the Atantano River on the north to about 2 miles below Agat. Coconuts, sweet potatoes, corn, and rice are the principal products, and are grown in the bottoms east and south of the village, as well as on the neck of the Orote Peninsula. One or two of the wealthier citizens own cattle ranches in the foothills of the mountains where the bunch grass thrives. Good fishing is afforded by the coral shallows of Agat Bay, and fish are to be seen inside the reef, while near the houses on the beach great nets drying in the sun are always a part of the view in good weather. The spiritual welfare of the inhabitants is looked after by one of the Capuchin friars.

Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:31) describe the community of Old Agat prior to 1944:

Before the war, Agat’s population lived in the area now known as old Agat. In 1939, the village had a population of 1,126 people. They lived in the village and farmed outlying areas including Fena. The Catholic church was located on the site of the present 76 gas station. Across the street from the small Spanish-style, stone-based church was the public elementary school, built on land donated by Catholic Bishop Elias (Babauta pers. comm. 2005). The old cemetery is situated on the shoreline south of the school, where the Togcha River presently debouches. Babauta (Babauta pers. comm. 2005) stated that on the beach just north of the old cemetery was the only public bathroom in Agat before the war. It was on land owned by the Carbullido family. When the Japanese took over in 1941, soldiers lived in the Carbullidos’ house. The shoreline from the Namu toward Nimitz Beach<sup>43</sup> is called Salinas, from the prewar custom of making sea salt by boiling. The process was carried out in little shacks along the beach.

Agat in 1940 is described in an appraisal document for the new Agat development after the war (Otten and Bitanga 1947:7):

The old village of Agat was located on Agat Bay ... The principal street called Cerain was parallel to the shore line, 25 to 45 meters distant. There was one row of houses between Cerain Street and shore line. There was a second street about 75 to 85 meters farther in from the shore. There were four cross streets. The village was located on level land at the junction of the road from Sumay and the road to Maanot Ridge (Harmon Road).

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<sup>42</sup> Adjacent to the Santa Rosa Church in Old Agat was an “old grave site with a lot of the old *taotao Hâgat* [long-time residents of Agat], the Carbullidos, the Chacos, the Terlaje, and everything. There are many, many gravestones that are still there with the names on it” (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview).

<sup>43</sup> Nimitz Beach is approximately 1.6 miles south of Ga’an Point.

Most of the houses in the village were of wood construction, a few were of thatch, and a very few were of Spanish masonry construction. Most of the houses had thatched roofs before the war. There was a large but lightly reinforced concrete church which was nearing completion in December 1941. The streets of the village were clean, surfaced with cascajo, and maintained with oil coating by Naval Government. There was a distillery at the north end of the village in suburban Lot 238, operated and owned by Alfredo T. Bordallo.

In addition to the 791 people in the village, there were 450 others who lived on the western slopes of Mt. Alifan, along the coast toward Facpi Point<sup>44</sup>, or near the Agat-Maanot Road.

... There was no electricity in the prewar village. Water supply was by a three-inch pipe from Agat Spring. ... There were two public bath and wash houses. There were a few ceptic [sic] tanks in the village. There were many bored hole latrines. Property owners on the shore line built their latrines over the water on the reef about 20 meters from shore, and built foot plank walks to the light frame buildings used for the latrines. Tides washed the waste away.

### AGAT VILLAGE AFTER THE WAR

Agat Village was destroyed by the July 1944 American pre-invasion bombardment, which began on July 8 and culminated in the landing on July 21. The Agat beachhead was secured on July 29.

#### The Refugee Camp at Ga'an Point

In the aftermath of the invasion, a military Civil Affairs team established refugee camps at Manenggon, Agat, and Asan, for displaced CHamoru, serving almost 18,000 people (Moore et al. 1995:14). An initial camp near Agat was set up at Camp Bright on Orote Peninsula and along the coast just north of Old Agat, but within a month, the people (most of whom were from Sumay, Apra, and old Agat) were moved to Ga'an Point (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:31-32). In the new camp, A-frame houses with one or two rooms were constructed in a grid-like arrangement (Photo 13):

... [house] supports were posts cut from *ifil* (*Intsia bijuga*), *gagu* (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) and other trees, coconut tree trunks, and old telephone poles. Roofs and sometimes the walls were woven coconut fronds or pandanus. Some of the houses had walls of rough lumber and scrap wood, referred to locally as "dunnage lumber," obtained from military shipping pallets. The houses were laid out in rows in three residential sections. Floors were elevated about 2 ft off the ground, and there was no plumbing.

... Various government facilities were built at the camp, closer to the shore than the houses. There was a school and a church and a long building that had a dispensary at one end and government offices at the other. One of these offices was that of the "time keeper," who kept track of government workers' hours; many people worked for the military at this time. Three laundries, one for each of the three camp sections, were located near the government offices. The Navy put up latrines near the beach in what is now called a pillbox, one for women and one for men.

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<sup>44</sup> Facpi Point is approximately 3.4 miles south of Ga'an Point. It marks the boundary between the areas of Agat and Umatac.

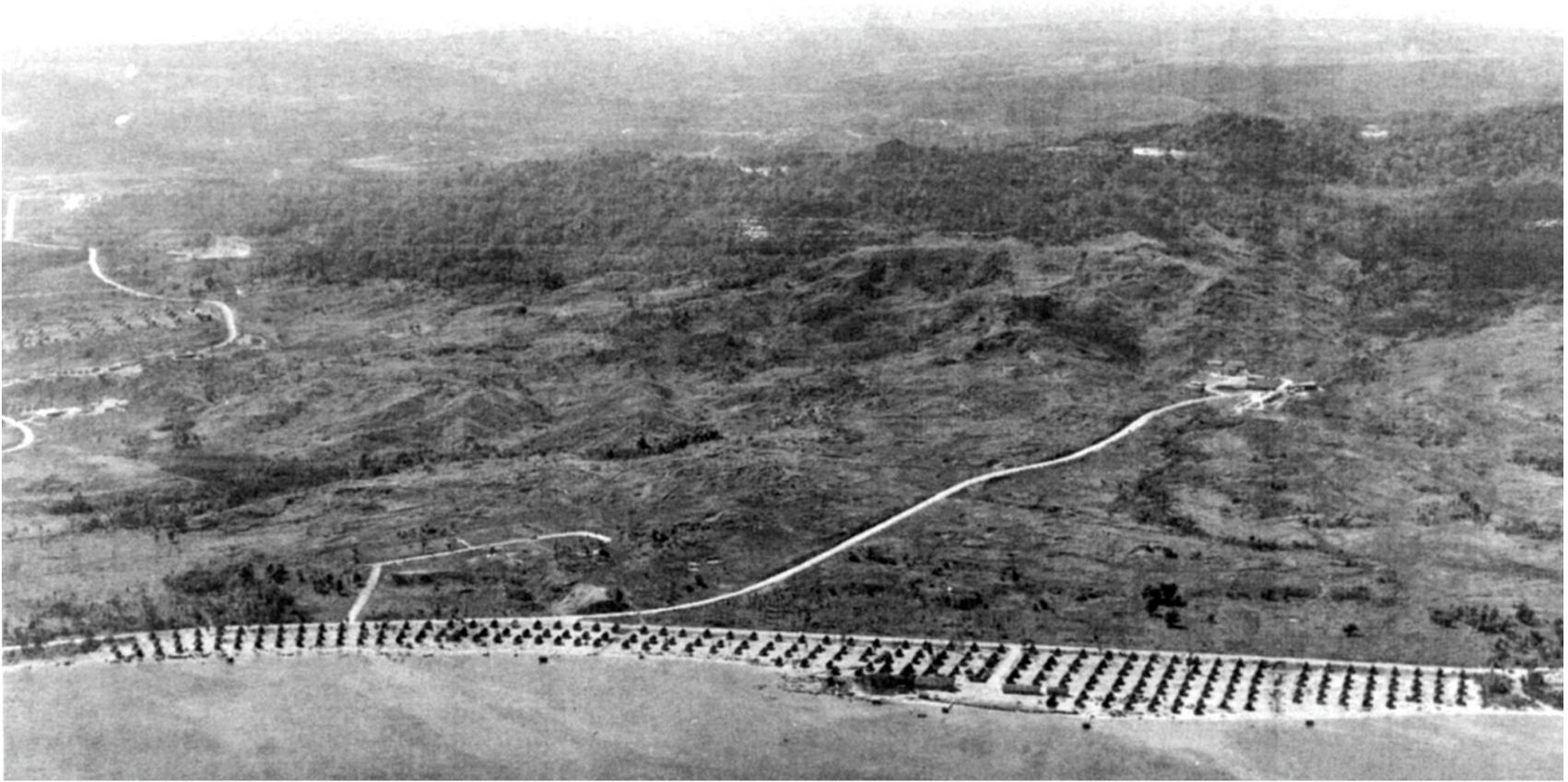


Photo 13. Aerial view of the Agat refugee camp in May 1945, view to east. (source: NARAII, Record Group 80G-346180)

Apple (1980:86-87) also describes the refugee camp:

At first the Guamanians shared the mess line and water cart with the Marines; later a civilian kitchen and mess line were set up. Salvage parties found abandoned Japanese food supplies and construction materials. Tents and crude shacks were the housing. Heavy rains were a problem and at times supplies were handcarried into camp. Adult men in the camp were hired for labor—often to dig graves. Agat’s camp was opened on July 25—by 11 p.m. that night there were at least 700 refugees. The peak reached 6,689 on August 5.

As part of a land appraisal for the later New Agat development, Otten and Bitanga (1947:7-8) describe the camp:

The houses (constructed by the Navy) are made of thatch, pine, and pieces of plywood and metal roofing. The village has no electricity. It is supplied with water, and there are several public wash houses. There are temporary frame school buildings. Everything has been constructed for temporary use and can be considered as only suitable for temporary use. The streets are adequately graded and improved.

... Drinking water was supplied by catching rain water from trees and storage in large earthen crocks imported from the Philippines ... Guamanians call these crocks Tinaja. ... During dry seasons it was necessary to haul water from the old village of Agat. Water for animal use was secured from water courses which were dammed to provide reservoirs for irrigation also. Shallow wells were dug about seven feet deep and four to five feet in diameter. Water from these wells was drawn by rope and bucket for livestock.

For the present project, Antonio Babauta<sup>45</sup> (February 20, 2020, interview) states that his family returned to Agat from the Japanese camp at Manenggon, staying first at Base 18<sup>46</sup> until the refugee camp at Ga’an Point was ready (Old Agat had been destroyed in the American re-capture of the island):

... we settled in Base 18 until they decided that the CHamorus were able to come down to the lower Agat, next to the beach. And, that’s where we all, my parents, we all settled in there, my grandmother and my grandfather. The village that was a settling area for the CHamorus, or for the people of Agat, is now a cemetery and it’s called the Mount Carmel Cemetery.

... I remember the Seabees, they built a [concrete] bathroom<sup>47</sup> out in the ocean with a walkway. One side is for female, and the other side is for male. I remember them building a shower next, there’s a river down ... where the cemetery is, there’s a river that runs out to the ocean, and there also they built a shower area for both. Well, one side is for female and the other side is for male.

Antonio Babauta (February 20, 2020, interview) remembers the square, one-room house in the refugee camp; the floorplan of the house was broken up by curtains. An outdoor kitchen extended off the side of the house and was used for cooking, initially with collected firewood:

You get some sort of a metal containers so you can be able to put some sand and some kind of a corals so you can be able to place the pot, and the firewood. That I remember, until, I think, my father bought a kerosene burner. You know, on one side you have a bottle of kerosene and then the

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<sup>45</sup> This is not the same Tony Babauta who was interviewed by Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006).

<sup>46</sup> Base 18 was located where Oceanview School is presently, “the whole area from Oceanview ... up towards Santa Rita” (A. Babauta, February 20, 2020, interview)

<sup>47</sup> A concrete foundation in the water at Ga’an Point may be the remains of the bathroom built by the Seabees, although this would need to be verified by a site visit.

two burners. ... you have the two burners, and then at the end, it's a bottle. You just put it down and then fluid goes to the burner, and you burn it.

A church and school were built in the refugee camp at Ga'an Point. The only church in Agat at the time, it carried over the name Santa Rosa Church from Old Agat (Antonio Babauta, February 20, 2020, interview; Jawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview).

Like the post-war military cemetery at Asan, a temporary cemetery for war casualties was established at the location of the present Oceanview Middle School (Cruz 2002:G-2). The cemetery held 1,677 remains (Steere and Boardman 1957:420).

In September 1946, the island was devastated by Typhoon Querida. Just before the typhoon hit, the refugees at Ga'an Point were bused to safety at Base 18 in Apra Heights. Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:6) note that "The village of Agat was one of the most severely affected by Querida (30 houses lost and 30 other badly damaged). After Querida, heavy canvas and corrugated tin were used in a second series of makeshift houses and public buildings." When residents returned after the typhoon had passed, some of the make-shift houses still remained but by then the block system was being laid out in New Agat, and the Babauta family eventually was assigned to Block 5, Lot 16 (Babauta, pers. comm. 2005, in Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006).

### **Building a New Agat**

Following the war, the military government developed a new Agat Village south of Old Agat, on land that had been largely used for coconut, rice, and corn cultivation, family gardens, and cattle and pigs (Otten and Bitanga 1947:8, 10). Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:34) describe the naval government plans for New Agat:

... the Island Commander, Marine Major Gen. Henry L. Larsen, and the City Planning Commission devised a plan for the rebuilding of Agat. ... A 180-acre tract of land in New Agat "opposite the site of the existing village" was to be used, and three house designs were suggested, "designed objectively for Guamanians" by Navy Commander Allan T. Squire. According to the announcement in the Navy Times, these houses would be built as models.

The Type A model house was a simple tin-roofed wood frame house without indoor plumbing, estimated to cost between \$700 and \$1350. House Type B was a "typhoon-proof house built of concrete blocks and concrete slab roofing," with indoor plumbing and estimated to cost between \$1700 and \$2400. House Type C was to be larger, "also typhoon-proof, built of concrete blocks and wood with a concrete floor" with indoor plumbing and estimated to cost between \$1800 and \$2700.

A large plaza overlooking the ocean was planned for new Agat as well; the plaza would contain buildings to house a bank, post office, commissioner's office, dispensary, library, primary school for 300 pupils and auditorium/municipal hall; stores would include a barber shop, beauty shop, cobbler shop, bakery, general provisions, and restaurant with bus terminal; even an outdoor theater, to be built with private funds, was included in the plan. The houses were to be financed through loans made with the Bank of Guam (then run by the navy), amounting to about 60% of the total cost of house and lot; loans were to be amortized over 5-12 years (Anonymous 1946).

... In the grid-like layout of new Agat, which was typical of the military housing designs beginning with the first refugee camps, a series of 29 blocks was created on relatively flat land on the inland side of Rt. 2, formerly known as Cereen St. (Babauta pers. comm. 2005). Individual lots within the blocks were numbered and were assigned to families by the village commissioners (generally the same individuals who had been in office prior to the war). Family members tended to request adjacent lots, perpetuating the prewar village residence pattern (possibly an even older cultural

preference) wherein the dwellings of extended families tended to cluster in space, forming compounds.

During the 1950s, people were building houses using a variety of means, including private contractors (some from the ranks of skilled carpenters and masons brought from the Philippines to work on government projects) and family members and friends with carpentry skills. There were three construction contractors operating in Agat in the 1950s: Lapid, Quitugua and Samar (Babauta pers. comm. 2005). These houses were small, single-story, flat-roofed concrete structures, to which people could add over time as their means permitted.

Photo 14 shows the new Agat Village under construction in June 1949; the Ga'an Point camp is still present. Antonio Babauta (February 20, 2020, interview) shares his view of the new development:

After living down in the beach, the Seabees, they turned the upper area of Agat into a village. And this village was supposed to be a model, it was supposed to be a model village for the rest of the villages on the island, but somehow it never happened. But Agat is ... the first village to have a curb, an asphalt road, a water line, sewer line, and the properties are well divided to fit a house. And this is what I remembered. As a matter of fact, back in nineteen, I think it was forty-seven, 1947, when my parents got to move up to the upper Agat, which is the area called San Roque Street. I remember in that area, and living up in the upper Agat, we now, look like we're more civilized. We have good houses, good road, good sewer system, water system. We now have a school, a big school ground, it's called the Agat Elementary School.

Houselots in New Agat were distributed by lottery by the military, as described by Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview):

They were lotterying out the homes and everything. And the parcels were like my grandmother Maria bought her lot for only five dollars. My father bought his lot for only two dollars, and he was able to get two. Actually, my grandfather was the one who got the other one. And my grandfather, my dad's father, Francisco, ended up getting the other lot side-by-side for two dollars. ... And then my grandmother was fortunate enough to get that parcel where she was able to build her business; and that ended up being commercial zoned area.

Lots were generally 60 by 90 feet, although lot sizes varied depending on physical conditions (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview):

... there were some portions because of hills and everything they had to reapportion. Some were fortunate enough to get additional spaces. Then of course, those that were fronting like the Salinas River behind my house, from the street to the boundary was 90 feet and then we had like maybe about 30 or 40 extra feet all the way to the river. So, we were able to claim that and clean it out, and the government allowed us to use it.

In the post-war years, the "really hustle and bustle part of the village" centered around Agat Elementary School and the Catholic church school, along San Vicente Avenue (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview). Cruz' grandmother had a bakery that she opened in 1950 when she first moved to Agat; it was set in the front of the family house, and a *hotnu* (dome-shaped outdoor brick oven) was in the back yard.<sup>48</sup> It was next to the Sablan's Store, and down the street from Keng's Store. In 1960, Cruz' grandmother opened a dress shop in the space formerly occupied by the bakery.

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<sup>48</sup> Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) describes his grandmother's house as being "a typical CHamoru old-style house:" "she had the one-bedroom house right; and then the living room and then the store in front, the dress shop; and then the restroom was outside; the kitchen and dining on that side."



Photo 14. Aerial view of New Agat under development, June 1949. (source: IA photo collection)

As New Agat was developed in 1947-48, church services took place in a reused military Quonset hut. A new church was subsequently built around 1951 at the present location of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Catholic Church.

Another typhoon hit the island in November 1949. Hunter-Anderson and Moore (2006:6, quoting Sanchez 1988:269) describe the aftermath of Typhoon Allyn:

Many of the homes built in 1944 and 1945 were either destroyed or extensively damaged. In the post-typhoon rehabilitation, new homes were constructed, changing the appearance of the villages from the temporary and uniform look of 1945-46 to more modern and permanent looking communities. Thatched roof homes and bored-hole latrines disappeared for all practical purpose. Concrete foundation and floors replaced wooden posts and floors in many a home. Inside plumbing became common place

Ga'an Point was the site of another emergency encampment, this time in 1962. Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) says that as a young boy in the late 1950s, Ga'an Point was *halom tãno* (jungle, undeveloped land) and that some people had ranches in the area. Following Typhoon Karen in November 1962, the area was used as a "tent city" for displaced people. Cruz remembers rows and rows of tent houses from the beach to the coast road. Typhoon Karen was the one of the most destructive typhoons in the island's history. With winds estimated up to 185 miles per hour, it damaged or destroyed 95 percent of the homes on Guam, leaving at least 45,000 people homeless. In the wake of the storm, displaced residents were evacuated to Hawai'i, California, and Wake island, or were sheltered in tent villages constructed by U.S. Navy personnel.

Around this same time, Filipinos who had come to Guam as construction labor in the post-war years had the opportunity to become permanent residents; others could attain that status through marriage to American citizens (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:26). In both cases, they could then apply for U.S. citizenship, and thus bring in immediate family members to the island. Many of these Filipinos settled in Old Agat, "where they built a sizeable residential community" (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:27).

## TRAILS AND TRAVEL

The historic and modern coast road (now Route 2) roughly follows the 16-mile path of the Spanish-era El Camino Real, which connected Hagatña to the southern community at Umatac. The road was constructed with *cascajo* (coral gravel), with bridges and causeways built across many of the west coast streams and wetlands. In a tour of the island, Spanish Governor Villalobos (1833, quoted in Tuggle et al. in prep.:145, brackets added) noted a substantial stone bridge across the Ayuja River<sup>49</sup>; it was built in 1810 by then-Governor Parreño.

At the turn-of-the-20th century, the main improved highway out of Hagatña extended only as far as Piti, the main harbor. It was expanded south in 1908 to connect to Agat. A 1913-1914 topographic map shows Ga'an Point as the end of the improved surface road, with a dirt road or trail continuing south. Although improved, the coastal road across streams still required skill and speed: the sandy river deltas could "be crossed at low tide in motor cars, providing only that the car maintain high speed in the crossing" (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:13, quoting ONI 1944:153). In a 1916 Navy report (Cook 1917:63), the good road ends at Agat:

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<sup>49</sup> Ayuja River is an alternate name for the Namu River (see Freycinet 1826; Corps of Engineers 1913-1914)

Beyond Agat the road, which is no longer passable for vehicular traffic, follows a southerly direction for a distance of about seven and one-half miles, of which the first miles lie along and on the sandy beach ... At one time there was a road of some character extending from Agat to Umatac and evidences of its existence are still be seen along this part of the way. Especially worthy of note are two stone arch bridges, in perfect condition to-day, the supports of which are of cut stone and of the best workmanship. The present road, if it may be called a road at all, since it is no more than the beach itself, with an occasional trail leading around rocky points.

Following the re-capture of the island in 1944, Seabees reconstructed the coast road into a highway, following standard U.S. highway specifications: “main arteries were to be four 11-foot lanes, curves were restricted to 6 degrees and grades could not exceed 6 percent. Rugged rock outcrops required extensive cuts” (NPS 2013:46). A 12-mile, four-lane highway with nine bridges between Sumay and Hagatña was completed in 60 days. The road in Agat was surfaced in cascajo “all the way to Facpi Point” (Otten and Bitanga 1947:7).

Historically, footpaths and cart roads connected the coast road to the upland range anchored by Mount Alifan; the trail from Old Agat crossed into the upper Talafofo watershed where many Agat residents had farms or carried out resource collection in Fena.<sup>50</sup> During the pre-war period, Harmon Road (now called Route 12) was built by the naval authorities to make the Fena area more accessible for local food production (Moore et al. 1995:10, referencing Harmon 1938); the road crossed into the Fena area through the Maanot Pass (Otten and Bitanga 1947:7). The 1944 Army Map Service topographic map of Guam (AMS 1944) shows the improved road to the Talafofo watershed.

## **TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY PRACTICES**

This section describes traditional and contemporary practices in the Agat area, focusing on village life and subsistence activities. The emphasis is on activities of the period from the immediate pre-war period to the 1980s.

### **VILLAGE LIFE**

Agat has a long history as a CHamoru community, with the first written record in the early Spanish accounts (e.g., the 1676 map attributed to Alonzo López). The disruption caused by wartime destruction, however, shifted the geographical focus of the village from Old Agat to the area south around Ga’an Point, and then subsequently expanding back to the Old Agat area in the post-war era. Nonetheless, community practices were maintained in spite of the dislocation, particularly those associated with the church.

#### **The Church**

The church is the central focal activity of the village (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview). The Agat community in the area of WAPA celebrates two annual fiestas: Fiesta of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in July, and Fiesta of Santa Rosa de Lima in August, which were the highlights of the village (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview):

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<sup>50</sup> Fena is the inland headwaters of the Talafofo drainage, lying on the upper east slopes of the Mount Alifan range. After World War II, the Fena Watershed was acquired by the U.S. Navy and in 1951, the Navy completed a major water development project, capturing the headwaters of the Fena River to fill a 2,500 million gallon reservoir to supply a large portion of the water needs of the island (Ruzicka 2016:10).

I used to remember as a kid that's something we looked forward to because all the cousins from the north would come down to stay in Agat with us, and we would have the Santa Kâtmén<sup>51</sup> fiesta in July; but of course that coincides with the liberation activities [Liberation Day on July 21], so although we would celebrate it, but most of the time with the cousins when time for carnival time we would go up; but then the fiesta time, the weekends of the fiesta is when we would all get together.

... during the war, the people celebrated the feast of Santa Kâtmén, and Santa Kâtmén's always related to the death and dying because of the promise of the scapular. The scapular is the promise the Blessed Mother gave to Saint Simon Stock – was that whoever wears the scapular in a state of grace – the hour of their death – would be taken to heaven. So, because the people of Agat had a devotion to Santa Kâtmén ... in the preparation towards the end of the war it was celebrated, and a lot of people would offer up their nobena [pledge, promise, vow] ... to Santa Maria [Santa Kâtmén], and those are stories I've heard from the survivors of Fena.<sup>52</sup>

The Fiesta of Santa Rosa was the traditional village fiesta. Santa Rosa was the original patron saint of Agat (Mount Carmel came into existence only in the 1950s with the construction of New Agat). Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) says that his mother and her sister would prepare food for the week. Animals such as *binâdu* (deer) and *fanihi* (fruit bat, *Pteropus mariannus*) were hunted or trapped.

Pre-war artifacts of the church dating from the early 1900s remain important to the community (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview). These include the *La Rosa Santa Enteru*, the Dead Christ, and the Sorrowful Mother, which always comes out on Good Friday. Cruz continues (March 14, 2020, interview):

The statue that's in Agat – that statue was since 1912. They still use it every year. ... But ... the body of the Delarosa was damaged during the war, so they had to modify it and use two-by-four [wood] but of course they covered it with a dress. Those are antique articles that have been all the way back to the early 1900s. ... They're wood carving, and amazingly they're not [termite-eaten] or anything. I wonder what kind of wood is it.

### **Social Events: Weddings, Funerals, and Gatherings**

Social events bring the Agat community together, and many center on important life events. Antonio Babauta (February 20, 2020 interview) describes the tradition of CHamoru weddings that he and his family followed when he married in 1962:

... the bride has her own party, the groom has his own party. It's a two-day party. The first night, which is a Friday night, we have our own party. And then we have my part of my family, my aunts, my uncle, my *pari*, my father's *pari*, all the close relative, they all gathered. They have their tuba, they have their whiskey, they have their guitar, whatever they can play, and they sing a song going up to the bride's house. It's called *komplimentu*. They go up there and they meet her side of the family, too. They all drink for maybe half-an-hour, singing, dancing, drinking. And then after the half-an-hour, they will disperse and then the Saturday wedding. Of course, I send ... the lady that does the hairdo, the cosmetic and all that. ... the beautician, to assist her that morning.

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<sup>51</sup> Santa Kâtmén is a CHamoru reference for the Lady of Mount Carmel (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview).

<sup>52</sup> Fena refers to the Fena Caves Massacre, which occurred on July 23, 1944, three days after the American landing. Japanese forces lured residents of Agat with the promise of food, forced them into the caves, and killed them with bayonets and grenades. Thirty-four people were killed; more than 60 people survived.

... During the *komplimentu*, we have a chest, and inside the chest are clothes that she will be wearing after the wedding.

... Then, Saturday ... after she is well taken care of by the beautician, she walks down to the church. We meet at the church, and we walk in to the altar, or in front of the altar, and we kneel and all that, go through the whole process of the wedding ceremony. When the church [ceremony] is completed, we go up to her house to get the blessing from the parents, you know, after going to church. ... From there, we go down to my mother and we do the same thing. In the meantime, they're having breakfast. We went up and we had breakfast at her house. That's breakfast for her. And then, of course, this is a late breakfast. After breakfast you're still full, you go down to my side and we had lunch there.

So, there's two days of party. Friday is a big party, and then Saturday is the breakfast and the lunch. And then after that, she changed, we go to our relatives elsewhere in different villages that we know of, and we get their blessing too.

Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) served as an altar boy in the 1960s, and he recounts that "in those days... the wedding was like six o'clock in the morning." He explains that the *komplimentu* was the wedding party where the groom provided the dowry for the bride.

As for funerals, there are traditional rites that are practiced (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview). When an individual dies, a rosary is immediately performed at home, with prescribed rosaries at designated intervals. Following the burial, there are another nine nights of rosaries, followed by nine nights of *lisâyun guma* (public prayers of the rosary for the deceased) or *lisâyun familia* (family prayers of the rosary for the deceased). In the days when there was no morgue or mortuary, burials had to be carried out quickly, but at present, burials can be delayed for several weeks.

NPS (1983:44) notes that WAPA is used as a venue for life event celebrations, as expressed in family gatherings such as picnics:

Shoreline picnicking is an established traditional cultural activity for the local Chamorro population and for other residents of Guam. Extended family groups, friends, and more distant relatives often get together at the beaches to celebrate important family events and to solidify family ties. It is important to recognize this activity in planning for recreation use, and one whose origins go back far beyond World War II.

A more sombre commemoration memorializes a heinous atrocity of the waning days of the Japanese occupation, the Fena Caves Massacre. Japanese authorities had selected around 100 young men and women from Sumay and Agat to serve as a work force, while their families were forced to march to an internment camp at Manenngon in the interior of the island. In mid-July, as U.S. bombardment became intense, Japanese soldiers rounded up the remaining young people and took them to caves in the Fena area, and on July 23, carried out a massacre. A movement to create a memorial to the victims and survivors of the massacre started in the early 1980s.<sup>53</sup> The movement started during the Fiesta of Mount Carmel in 1981 or 1982 (Jlawrence Cruz, March 14, 2020, interview):

Well this was [when] we were celebrating the Mount Carmel fiesta back in 1981-82. I came back to Guam for a year and Uncle Mike [Miquel Jesus Cruz] was saying that he remembered his sister being killed in Fena. I was just inquiring about it because the Tinta [Cave] and Fâha [massacres]

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<sup>53</sup> Founding members of the Fena Memorial Foundation include Jlawrence Materne Cruz, who was interviewed for the REAP study, Antonio Cruz Babauta, Ignacia "Ancha" Torres Tajalle, Juan Quintanilla (Fena survivor), Maria San Nicolas Alerta (a Fena survivor), Antonio "Tony" Manibusan Palomo, Juan Perez (of Santa Rita), and Joaquin C. Babauta. Juan Quintanilla and Maria San Nicolas Alerta are Fena survivors.

celebrations were already ongoing. And, I said, “Uncle Mike you mean to say that there was some Agat people that died during the war?” In one side he said, “Hunggan, man ma puno’ taotao Hãgat gi iya Fena” [Hãgat residents were killed at Fena] and I said, “Who are they?”

So that’s when I started going out with Tony Babauta, and then I went to Anita Aguon, my next-door neighbor. She lives right behind the church, and her brother died [at Fena]. And then I found out that two of my uncles, my dad’s first cousins, my uncle Galo, and, I forgot who the other one. Anyway, they were killed there. And I’m finding out that there were more than twenty people, and I said, “Ton, we have to do something about this because we should recognize these people as our heroes. This is something that Agat – these are serious events that our Agat people should memorialize.”

So, hence we started. They criticized us for taking off on the Mount Carmel fiesta. We took the procession all the way to Route 2 to Gã’an Point, and at Gã’an Point we put twenty-five flags – Guam flags on the ground. And we had the Bishop [Archbishop Anthony Sablan Apuron] bless it, and that was the start of the Fena Memorial.

### FISHING PRACTICES AND MARINE RESOURCE COLLECTION

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:7) writes about marine resource collection in pre-war Agat, noting that outrigger canoes (*gãlaide*) were used for inshore fishing, and that 75-year-old Jose Lizama Charfauros of Agat “recalls an average of at least one canoe and usually more for every third household” in pre-war Agat. ... Canoes were used to set fishing nets in seine dragging operations and to get to fish weirs and traps located in deeper waters within lagoons.” Photo 15 shows a canoe and net fishing operation.



Photo 15. Pre-war scene of canoe and net fishermen, probably in Agat Bay with the tip of Orote Peninsula on the horizon. (source: WAPA photo collection Box 12.20)

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:8) shows a fish weir and canoe in Agat Bay, with the caption “Fish weirs in deeper portions of lagoons such as Agat Bay were checked on a regular basis by owners in their outrigger canoes. This picture was taken not later than May 1941” (the photograph is unreproducible so is not included here). Dixon et al. (2017:216, brackets added) suggest that stone weirs may have been a means to intensify or expand food production in the early contact period: “... stone weirs [were] recently recorded within the unique estuarine environment of Apra Harbor ... and may represent the intensification of a traditional technique for acquiring fresh and easily dried fish for exchange with [Spanish] galleons and other vessels.”

Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) comments on the social sharing related to fishing:

When they said that the mackerels coming in [at] Finile [southern portion of Agat], we all would go down – my mom, my auntie, my grandmother – and we would help and everybody would pull the [net]. And all the kids would play and they would tell us to splash the water to scare the fish, to chase the fish to the net. And the older folks would pull the net in. I remember outside at Uncle Mike Cruz’s beach in Agat, there was a big –it’s similar to the *hukilau* in Hawai‘i. I remembered everybody in the village I could think of were out there helping because the net was so – [re]member back then I was so small – but the net was so big. And then when the fishes are all put in storage, then we all line up; and they would give us five fishes each – the kids, and I guess the *manâmko* [elderly person] probably got ten fish each. But there was an abundance of it you know there was so much.

*Do’gas* (*Strombus luhuanus*) was another marine animal that was harvested. Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) says that his family, sometimes along with other families, would go out to Bangi Point or Nimitz Beach before the boat harbor was built. *Do’gas* was collected at low tide, and prepared with coconut milk. Jennison-Nolan (1979a:22) describes *do’gas*:

... [which] is considered a delicacy by many Guamanians. Two sites at which these shells are collected are Apra Harbor and the Agat village coastline. The shells are scrubbed vigorously in a bucketful of seawater several times right at the beach where they are collected. Then they are taken home and boiled in coconut milk. This causes the animal to protrude from the shell just enough so that it can be extracted all in one piece and eaten whole.

A type of seaweed, *ado’* (sea grape), was collected and pickled with lemon or vinegar.

## CULTIVATION

Agat was known as rich farmland, particularly for rice, which was made possible by the extensive marshy wetlands (Hunter-Anderson 1989:22, referencing JICPOA 1944). Root crops such as *sunì* (taro, *Colocasia esculenta*), *dâgon* (various types of yam), and *nika* (yam, *Dioscorea esculenta*) were also common (Freycinet 2003:157). An 1833 report by the Spanish governor of Guam provides agricultural data by village (Villalobos 1833, summarized by Tuggle et al. in prep.:Table 10): Agat had pigs, cattle, and poultry; crops included rice, corn, root crops (yam, sweet potato, and taro), coconut, citrus, bananas, sugar cane, and tobacco.

A 1916 Navy report on the island of Guam describes the area just north of Agat as being covered by “thickly planted coconut trees” (Cook 1917:62). South of Agat “coconut, sweet potatoes, and maize are grown along the sea, with some rice and an occasional sugar field in the well-watered valleys near the hills” (Cook 1917:63). A 1941 Census Bureau report notes over 75,000 coconut trees in Agat, Piti, and Asan (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:6).

Agat before the war was the largest rice plantation on the island (Cruz 2002:G-2, citing Enrique Reyes). Rice paddies extended from the old Spanish Bridge and the Taleyfac River (just south of Nimitz Beach) to the north side of the Namu River, north of Old Agat, and covered the half-mile wide coastal plain (Jennison-Nolan 1979b:13). According to the 1941 Census report (referenced in Jennison-Nolan 1979b:6), there were around 243 acres of rice fields (out of a total of 517 acres in rice cultivation on the island). Otten and Bitanga (1947:10) note that some of the land that became New Agat “was considered to be one of the best [rice producing areas] on Guam.”

During the Japanese occupation, rice production was controlled by the Japanese, who “took the entire crop and rationed a small portion daily to each Guamanian who worked for them” (Otten and Bitanga 1947:10). They also removed coconut trees to make room for rice paddies: in an appraisal study for the post-war Agat Village, land owner Vicente Cruz Ulloa (in Otten and Bitanga 1947:16) recalls that “the Japanese paid him 200 yen for 300 coconut trees which were removed from his land to make a rice paddy;” another parcel owned by Ulloa had been under coconut cultivation prior to the war, and the Japanese converted it to rice after destroying the coconut trees (Otten and Bitanga 1947:15).

Tuggle et al. (in prep.:Figure 100) shows the extent of Japanese-controlled agricultural areas and farms, including rice fields inland of Bangi Point and along the Namu River. The area from the Namu River to Ga’an Point is marked “Kaikontai farm”; Kaikontai was a sub-unit of the Kensetsubu, a non-combat unit that took over responsibility for civilian affairs from the military in early 1944 (Tuggle et al. in prep.:237). By this time, demands for Chamoru labor and food production to support the Japanese occupying force had increased dramatically.<sup>54</sup>

In a 1947 land appraisal report for the new village of Agat, Otten and Bitanga (1947:8) describe the natural regime of the area for crop production and note that:

The area within 75 to 100 meters from the beach, which lay at less than 10 foot elevation, was a dark sandy loam. This dark sandy loam soil is very productive. On this soil, coconut trees grew rapidly and produced large yields. It was a practice to grow gardens under the coconut trees on this soil. Bananas and other crops were grown under coconut trees on this soil.

The low land back from the beach about 100 meters was also a dark loam, but it does not have the sandy texture. ... This soil is deep and very fertile ... It is used for rice production, this soil being the best for that purpose on Guam. In addition to rice production it is particularly well suited for the production of such crops as corn, cabbage, taro, sweet potatoes, and bananas when adequately drained. Two or three crops are generally grown on this land each year. After the rice crop is harvested another field crop such as corn is grown.

... Farther inland from the shore line is found a clay soil ... On this clay soil rice is seldom grown. It is suitable for coconut production, corn, bananas, and taro. The clay soil is found at an elevation above 20 feet and is generally not level. It varies from gently sloping to steep hill sides. [note: they say that in areas of less than 10 inches of surface soil, and on slopes greater than 6 percent, only sword grass is found ... this is savanna]

Otten and Bitanga (1947:8) add that surface drainage was necessary to ensure crop viability:

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<sup>54</sup> Tuggle et al. (in prep.:233, referencing Higuchi 2013, 2016, brackets added) write that “By the end of 1943, about 8,000 Chamorro were being used as labor on these farms [Japanese-controlled], and another 3,000 were used in military construction and other projects.”

It was the practice to dig surface ditches about eighteen to twenty inches deep to aid in the run-off of excessive amounts of water. If surface drainage was not provided, crop production was hindered and crops were damaged.

## LÂNCHOS

In the long-standing house-*lâncho* system, families living in Old Agat had ranches and farms in Fena (on the east side of Alifan Ridge) and south in the present New Agat and Nimitz Beach areas. Amesbury and Hunter-Anderson (2003:31, referencing a personal communication with R. Franquez) note that in the early 20th century, cattle were grazed in the Fena area, and were brought to Agat for slaughter; the meat was subsequently delivered to Hagatña and Sumay.

In the 1930s, Enrique Reyes worked on his family farm at Nimitz Beach, walking from his family home in Old Agat to the ranch in Nimitz (Cruz 2002:G-2); some people also used paddling canoes to get to their coastal farms (Hunter-Anderson 1989:22, referencing Moore et al. 1987). Reyes and his family raised taro, yam, banana, sweet potato, green beans, and other vegetables, and also had rice paddies on about 2-1/2 acres of his land. He pointed out that “during the rainy season the only thing that people could plant was rice and taro; they went up to the highlands to plant crops such as taro, yams and corn.”

Jennison-Nolan (1979b:16, referencing informants Charaufos and Quintanilla) describes the Agat area that was used for farming and ranching in the pre-war period:

... a few small ranches and ranch houses ... located on the savanna below Mt. Alifan along an old bullcart trail. The land was used for the cultivation of field and tree crops and for the pasturage of cattle. Animals were tethered rather than fenced.

Even after wartime destruction of Old Agat and displacement of the general population, the *lâncho* system quickly returned to practice. Apple (1980:86-87) writes that by August 15, less than a month after the refugee camp at Agat had opened, the number of camp residents dropped to 5,009 from a high of 6,689, as some CHamoru returned to their *lânchos*, although they came back “to Agat for hot meals and to load up with supplies to take home.”

## RESOURCE GATHERING

Agat families farmed in and collected wild resources from the area now occupied by the Naval Magazine and Fena Reservoir on the east side of Alifan Ridge (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:33). They reference Antonio “Tony” Cruz Babauta (pers. comm. 2005) as recalling catching fruit bats in Fena and bringing them to Agat for exchange with local vendors. Jlawrence Cruz (March 14, 2020, interview) also recalls his father trapping or shooting *fanihi* (fruit bat) at the family ranch:

He would set those big chicken fence [cages], and put bananas inside – hang the bananas [on the cage] and then the bats would fly into it, and then when they fly into it, they[‘d] fly [through and a] spring would just close the door sometime they’ll catch twelve or fourteen fanihis back then. ... I used to remember the *kâdu* [fruit bat soup]. And, I remember the one thing that I at that time, that I really went for were the wings. ... It was chewy and very ... flavorful and I didn’t really go for the furry part.

People once caught shrimp and *asuli* (freshwater eel) in the Salinas River “back then, in the fifties because the river was clean.” Expanded housing and pig farming upstream have polluted the stream.

## SHARING RESOURCES

In discussing fishing as a social activity, Jennison-Nolan et al. (1979:19) emphasize the communal aspect related to reciprocity in the village:

Fishing provides many favored foods in the local diet, but it is also an important aspect of contemporary culture. The sharing of the catch with family, friends, and neighbors is integral to a time-honored system of reciprocity within the local community. The giving, or sharing, of anything—labor, food, or equipment for example—guarantees a return service or commodity and constitutes a form of insurance against times of need. It also serves to cement relationships. In addition, some fishing methods are cooperative efforts involving several people and sometimes whole villages. These practices, which can be viewed as social events as well, also serve to reinforce relationships and function as cohesive forces in village social life.

Enrique Reyes (in Cruz 2002:G-2) talks of mutual assistance and exchange in farming and fishing:

Mr. Reyes, his family and some friends of the family helped work on the farm. The crops were shared mainly within the family although he recalled exchanging some of his grown food with local fishermen for fish and selling his produce to other people in the village who didn't farm or have land to farm. He also stated that he traded some of his crops and livestock with one of his aunts' husband—a Carbullido—who was in the military, in return for goods from the commissary, such as clothing. To each of those friends that had helped on the rice paddies, Mr. Reyes gave about one hundred pounds of rice.



## V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter summarizes the historical and ethnographic information on Asan and Agat, identifies ethnographic resources within and adjacent to the Asan Beach and Agat Units, and concludes with recommendations for future actions that can be addressed in the WAPA Asan and Agat Unit Management Plan (AAUMP) and environmental assessment (EA).

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: ALTERED LANDSCAPES AND CONTINUITY

As stated in the SOW for the REAP, information is needed to “identify ethnographic resources and historic properties of cultural and religious significance within the AAUMP’s area of potential effects.” Subjects of the REAP include the mythic landscape of the Asan and Agat study areas, traditional practices, and ethnographic resources of CHamoru and other traditionally associated people. Particular emphasis of the REAP are changes in traditional practices from pre-World War II through the war, and into the post-war period.

Eight residents of Asan and Agat were interviewed for the REAP. They range in age from 61 to 83 (as of 2021), with oldest being born in 1938 and the youngest in 1964. The oldest narrators for the present study were young children during and after World War II; combined with the stories told them by their parents, their memories provide a look back to the early part of the mid-20th century. The youngest narrators offer perspectives of the 1960s and 1970s. In total, the narrators relate traditions, practices, and history from at least the 1930s to the present.

Given the age range of the REAP narrators, the study focused on the period from roughly the late 1930s to the 1970s, with consideration of the period up to the present. The research also included review of historical documents (including graphical materials such as maps and photographs) and earlier ethnographic reports to provide a context and inform the synthesis of current interviews.

The transformation of the built and cultural landscapes during the period of study is significant, reflecting changes in the cultural milieu of the Asan and Agat areas. In the 1930s, Guam residents were increasingly relying on a wage economy based on the U.S. naval government and commercial efforts like copra production, but they still practiced long-standing traditions subsistence fishing and farming. Villages like Asan and Agat were well-defined geographic and social entities. Early in the war, Japanese occupiers instigated rules and initiatives that initially sought to convert residents to a Japanese way of life (including changing the name of the island to Omiya Jima) (Rogers 1995:169), but became more oppressive as the war progressed to the detriment of the local population. The 1944 invasion totally devastated the Asan and Agat landscapes, and left village residents homeless. Military authorities built resettlement villages but not in the same locations as pre-invasion residences. In Asan, new residences were built in areas of former rice fields and upper slopes rather than along the coast as in pre-war days. Subsequent acquisition of the area between Asan Village and Asan Point separated the community and the coastal plain west of Asan River; construction of what is now Marine Corps Drive created a hard line between the new village and coastal waters. In Agat, the refugee camp and subsequent resettlement area completely moved the village a mile to the south of the pre-war community to land that had been formerly used for ranches and farming.

Changes in post-war Asan and Agat were intensified by continuing modernization and village expansion, as well as a significant shift to a wage economy that had begun early in the 20th century but increased after the war (Hunter-Anderson and Moore 2006:17). The 1970s/1980s GHURA redevelopment of Asan transformed the village layout with new road and drainage systems. The post-war gap between the main Asan Village and neighboring Kalakak (see Photo 16) was closed by construction of new roads and

homes. Small, home-based stores gave way to more commercial outlets closer to Marine Corps Drive. Similarly in Agat, the new Agat Village inland of Ga'an Point and Old Agat were eventually joined by new residences along Route 2.

In the context of these changes in landscape, aspects of community life in Asan and Agat were nonetheless maintained. The ocean remains an important part of the community identity, with some families and individuals who are recognized as respected masters of fishing. Extended families participate in fishing events; in a REAP interview, James Terlaje provided photographs of his extended family on a fishing trip that was an opportunity to teach younger family members how to fish, as well as a means of family bonding (Photo 16). Places like Shelton's Music Store on the coast (see Figure 7), which is no longer open for business but building is still called by that name, are known as landmarks for people fishing in Asan Bay.



Photo 16. Terlaje grandchildren learning to fish. (source: James Terlaje; see Volume IIb)

The church maintains a central place in community life. In 1980, Apple (1980:66) wrote that while the CHamoru life style “is no longer predominantly rural and agricultural, it is still centered about family and church.” This sentiment remains to the present, although some church-related customs such as the village-wide party on the second day of the Niño Perdido Fiesta in Asan may be somewhat more muted.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES NOT ASSOCIATED WITH WORLD WAR II

The significance of WAPA as a National Register historic district and landscape is based on its role and strategic importance to the United States' war effort in the Pacific (NPS 2013:2). However, the park encompasses properties of cultural significance that are not related to World War II. Based on the present study, the following cultural places and practices should be considered significant components of the WAPA cultural resource dataset.

### ASAN BEACH UNIT

Historical and ethnographic resources in the Asan Beach Unit include Asan Point, Gapan Islet (Camel Rock), fishing and Sâgua Assan, and pre-contact burials.

#### Asan Point

Asan Point, including the large landscaped expanse now occupied by WAPA, is notable as the location of a succession of uses during the late Spanish and early U.S. administration of the island, as well as the major development and evolution of U.S. camps after World War II. The 1819 Freycinet expedition named the point "Pte. Acahi-Fanihi," which could indicate that it was a notable place for hunting *fanihi* (fruit bat); Freycinet (1829:415) also notes that Asan is one of the most productive agricultural areas on the island. In the first half of the 20th century, the main coastal road passed through the Asan Point area (see Figure 10); scattered village homes lined the road and rice fields and coconut trees covered the area. After the 1944 American re-capture of the island, the landscape of the point was irrevocably altered, first by the devastation of the invasion and then by the assumption of military construction of Marine Corps Drive and the various camps. The shoreline was hardened between the mouth of Asan River and the point, and a swimming lagoon just east of the point was dredged. By virtue of the security requirements of the camps as well as the hard, linear boundary created by what is now Marine Corps Drive and the shift in residential areas to east of Asan River, the community of Asan had little interaction or access to the point.

Nonetheless, Asan Point was still frequented by community members, mostly children. In the 1950s and possibly later, boys went bird hunting on Asan Ridge. Children often ignored the security fencing to watch movies or give performances at the outdoor theater, or had *carte blanche* access because of their association with their Boy Scout leaders who were Seabees. At present, the point offers access for fishermen looking to maximize fishing along the boundary with the Piti Bomb Holes Marine Preserve, or to walk the reef at low tide to Gapan Islet.

Two existing monuments at the point commemorate Apolinario Mabini, the Filipino insurrectionist who was held prisoner at the Presidio at Asan Point from 1901 to 1903; they were installed by Filipino organizations in 1961 and 1964. A third monument to Mabini, however, proved to be controversial. Planned for installation next to the Asan Mayor's office, it was protested by many village residents, with one of the reasons being that it was never determined that Mabini had been held within the village, and therefore the location was not appropriate. Once installed, it was the target of some vandalism, and ultimately, was knocked down during a typhoon and not replaced. This controversy underscores the importance of the monuments at Asan Point: to Filipino residents who honor his memory, and to CHamoru residents who recognize his presence at the Presidio.

## **Gapan Islet (Camel Rock)**

Gapan Islet (Gâpang Islet; also commonly called Camel Rock) is significant on two cultural counts. It is the location of an important CHamoru legend related to inter-village warfare and the attempt by two boys to protect Asan from invasion by rival districts. It is also important as a historic and contemporary location for collecting marine resources, particularly octopus and crabs during low tides.

## **Fishing and Sâgua Assan**

Fishing is an important community activity, especially the area around Sâgua Assan (Asan Cut). In the 1970s, this was “a favorite fishing place for the Asan village residents” (Jennison-Nolan 1979a:32) and it continues to attract fishermen, as well as recreational divers, to the Asan coast. In conversations with REAP narrators, Shelton’s Music Store (at the point where Sâgua Assan comes to the shore) is a landmark that divides the Asan Bay fishing areas: from the cut toward Asan Point, and from the cut toward Adelup.

Fishing in general, especially net fishing, brings community members together, and provides an opportunity to practice the CHamoru custom of *pâtte*, a CHamoru term for redistributing food stuff collected by a group effort.

## **Pre-Contact Burials and Occupational Deposits**

Pre-Contact human remains at Asan have been uncovered by archeological work since 1979. Wells et al. (1995:32) reports two burials about 1.5 m below surface just southwest of the former WAPA visitor center parking lot in Asan. Burials nearly a meter below surface were found in 1918 construction at Asan Point (Wells et al. 1995:29, referencing Guam Newsletter 1918 X[4]:10). These burials occur in the context of Pre-Latte and Latte Period occupational deposits that have been found in areas within the present Asan Village; for example, near the Niño Perdido y Sâgada Familia Catholic Church (e.g., Hunter-Anderson 1983).

## **AGAT UNIT**

Historical and ethnographic resources in the Agat Unit include the Pelagi Islets and Fuña at Apaca Point, and burials along the coast. Like the Asan Beach Unit, fishing is an important traditional community activity.

## **Fuña at Apaca Point**

A place called Fuña at Apaca Point is the location of the CHamoru tradition of a rock of creation, i.e., a rock that gave birth to humans (see Appendix B for a detailed analysis of competing accounts of the story). Associated with that tradition is an annual celebration of the creation story at a village by the name Fuña. The place could be either on Apaca Point itself, or an island off the coast of the point (see Figure 16 for a 1700 map that shows Fuña as an island).

## **Pelagi Islets at Apaca Point**

The Pelagi Islets off of Apaca Point are associated with the mythic landscape of Agat. Their origin is tied to a story about fishermen who were caught by the strong out-going tide and had to abandon their leaking canoe. The canoe became one of the islets, and jettisoned fishing equipment became another. Fishermen use the sound of slapping water against the canoe-shaped islet as an indicator of impending sea conditions.

## **Pre-Contact Burials and Occupational Deposits**

Pre-contact human remains, as well as occupational deposits dating to the Latte Period, have been uncovered by archeological work along the seaward side and within the right-of-way of Route 2 (Moore et al. 1995; Hunter-Anderson 2002), as well as in parcels within Old Agat (Craft 2013, citing Yee 2010). It is notable that the human remains were discovered in areas that had seen virtual total destruction by the U.S. military invasion in 1944 and subsequent redevelopment. As noted by Craft (2013:20), “it is deemed highly probable therefore that intact human burials and subsurface cultural deposits may still be located within the current project area [a small parcel at the inland-north corner of the Route 2-Route 12 intersection]; this evaluation can certainly be applied to land areas of the Agat Unit.

## **OTHER PARK UNITS**

A portion of the Asan Inland Unit falls within the study area of Asan Beach Unit, and the Mt. Alifan Unit is in proximity to the Agat Unit. In both cases, there are potential ethnographic resources that should be addressed in future research and management.

## **Spanish Road (El Camino Real)**

Two locations of the 16-mile Spanish road connecting Hagatña with villages along the southwest coast of the island fall within the Asan Inland Unit: across the ridge west of Matgue River on the west side of Asan (see Photo 3), and possibly along the coast at Chorrito Cliff on the east side of Asan. The Spanish road was in existence from at least the early 19th century, but was generally obliterated by historic and modern development, especially construction of what is now Marine Corps Drive.

## **Subsistence Gathering**

Asan narrators described subsistence cultivation and gathering activities in the hilly area called Opop inland of Asan Village and Kalakak. People hunted birds and fruit bat, and collected breadfruit. One person tended a natural bee hives from which he collected honey. Several people also farmed in the area, following the traditional home-*lâncho* settlement pattern that began in the late 17th century. Similar activities likely occurred in the Mt. Alifan Unit. These are important ethnographic practices, comparable to fishing and marine resource collection in the Asan Beach and Agat Units.

Asan Ridge was called Achi-Fanihi on an 1819 map, and is noted as a location where contemporary hunting of fruit bat (as well as birds) took place.

## **MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS**

The SOW states that the REAP should make recommendations for further and more in-depth research and/or interviews with other individuals.

### **FUTURE ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH**

There is a valuable corpus of existing oral histories pertinent to WAPA that would be beneficial to future ethnographic research in the park, and should be compiled into a single inventory document. The present research found references to previous oral history interviews specifically related to WAPA: for example, the administrative history (EH and Associates 2004) indicates that a considerable number of interviews were carried out with people involved in the development and operations of the early park, as part of World War II anniversary commemorations in 1993 and 1994, and a special volunteer oral history effort in 1997. Outside of the park, there have also been oral history interviews conducted as part of archeological projects (e.g., Hunter-Anderson 2002; Moore et al. 2018) that could be a valuable resource for WAPA. There have also been interviews related to pre-war fishing and marine use (Jennison-Nolan 1979b).

A second research action is continuing the oral history effort started with the present study. Admittedly, it was a challenge to find narrators who had a long history with Asan and Agat, largely because of the aging population. However, it was well worth the effort in terms of the stories that were collected. The inventory of existing oral histories should be reviewed prior to identifying new narrators, to ensure that a broader sample of the WAPA area population is represented.

A third research action is the compilation of CHamoru place names for locations within WAPA, which was begun in a preliminary fashion in the present study. This is an opportunity to link CHamoru identity with the land, and can be used to connect cultural ties to the locations of military actions that are interpreted in the park. Research on local place names, including alternative names, spellings, and meanings, can provide a sense of place in CHamoru terms, which will contribute to a more well-rounded park interpretive program that recognizes the CHamoru landscape as underpinning the events of World War II.

A possible avenue to carry out the research recommendations in a holistic manner is an ethnographic overview and assessment, as defined in NPS Director's Order 28 (NPS 1998:49642):

This initial comprehensive background study of types, uses, and users of ethnographic resources reviews existing information and identifies new data needs. It will be programmed and conducted when park resources are known or thought to be traditionally associated with a contemporary group or groups. The overview reviews and summarizes existing ethnographic data for people and resources associated with parks; the assessment evaluates them and identifies data gaps. Information is derived primarily from existing archival and published materials and is supplemented with ethnographic interviewing of knowledgeable community consultants

### **FUTURE ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH WITH A LANDSCAPE FRAMEWORK**

Landscapes and landscape change provide a physical/geographical framework for understanding the ethnography of the study area. The 2013 cultural landscape inventory (NPS 2013:5) establishes a baseline inventory of landscape features, but an on-site overview of key features within the WAPA park units was greatly inhibited by dense vegetation. A recommendation of the CLI is to carry out a complete archeological survey of the park to flesh out the 2013 results; this recommendation is repeated here.

Prior to the survey, however, an archeological overview and assessment (AOA) should be carried out. As defined by NPS Director's Order 28 (NPS 1998:49578), an AOA is:

... the basic element of a park's archeological resources management program. It is an archeological research report produced for a park and the first step in determining the requirements for additional archeological research. Based on a thorough examination of existing records, documents, and reports, the overview and assessment describes and evaluates the known and potential archeological resources in an area and identifies the need for additional field surveys to locate, evaluate, and document resources.

As part of the AOA, previous archeological work that has been undertaken within and adjacent to the WAPA park units should be reviewed and synthesized. A cursory review of work carried out in the 1980s for Asan flood control (Thomas and Price 1980) and the GHURA community redevelopment at Asan (Reinman and Taylor 1981; Hunter-Anderson 1983; Graves and Moore 1986), as well as more recent work by Wells et al. (1995), Moore et al. (1995), and Hunter-Anderson (2002) along the Marine Corps Drive corridor<sup>55</sup>, indicate the presence of buried cultural deposits, including human remains, dating to the Pre-Latte (in Asan) and Latte Periods (in both Asan and Agat). A synthesis of this work (and work carried out within and adjacent to other park units) will help to inform the updated landscape survey of the park.

#### FUTURE MANAGEMENT AND INTERPRETATION

The park can also support its community neighbors by recognizing that the land on which the World War II battles were fought has a much broader history that pre-dates 1944 and extends to the present as a contemporary local identity. As evidenced by the stories of the narrators and the background research in the present study, Asan and Agat were and continue to be vibrant communities whose members share a relationship with WAPA lands outside of World War II events.

In terms of future management actions, particularly in developing the new AAUMP, consideration should be given to ensuring further study, preservation, and interpretation of the ethnographic resources identified in the present study. In addition, local voices (both CHamoru and Filipino) should be solicited in future management proposals.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Although there have been numerous small-scale, compliance-related archeological projects in both Asan and Agat since the 1990s, there has been less work in the Agat area in general.

<sup>56</sup> The present study did not include any Filipino narrators, but the background research indicates that there is a cultural presence in both Asan (associated with the Presidio, and expressed by the two Mabini monuments in the Asan Beach Unit, and the controversial monument in Asan Village) and Agat (with the large Filipino population in the Old Agat area dating back to the immediate post-war period).



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**APPENDIX A.**  
**SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF WAPA REAP NARRATORS**

Full transcripts of the interviews undertaken for the WAPA REAP study are in Volumes IIa and IIb.



## **SHORT BIOGRAPHIES: ASAN NARRATORS**

### **Luis Francis Mendiola Cabral II**

Luis Francis Mendiola Cabral, II (Luis Cabral) was born on July 8, 1960, the eldest of Luis Francisco and Nicolasa Mendiola Cabral's three sons. In Assan, he grew up in the low-lying area behind the old Joe & Flo's Mexican Restaurant building along the river that runs through there. In the late 1970s, when Luis was in high school, the Guam Housing and Urban Renewal Authority (GHURA) carried out a significant redevelopment of Assan Village; GHURA purchased the family house and property, and the family moved to Mangilao. In 1979, Luis left Guam for college at Seattle University, where he majored in Fine Arts (music); he subsequently received a Master's in Education from the University of Portland. He followed in his parents' teaching footsteps and became a music teacher with the Guam Department of Education, and also served in administrative roles such as Fine Arts coordinator and vice-principal. Luis is an avid SCUBA diver and diving instructor.

### **Luis Francisco "Frank" Cabral**

Frank Cabral was born on March 23, 1939, at the Cabrini Hospital in Manhattan, New York. His father was from Bogota, Colombia, and his grandfather was originally from a tribe called the Chibcha. Frank's mother is Maria Melo Cabral. After joining the Air Force, Frank was stationed at Andersen Air Force Base on Guam in 1957. He met Nicolasa Mendiola during the Fiesta of Niño Perdido, the Assan community's patron saint.

After being honorably discharged from the Air Force on the U.S. mainland, he returned to Guam and married Nicolasa on July 11, 1959. Nicolasa's father gave Frank and Nicolasa property near the river that runs from east to west behind Joe and Flo's Restaurant to build a home. Frank and Nicolasa were teachers with the Guam Department of Education, and in 1982, they participated in a teachers' strike. Like hundreds of others who participated in the strike, they were forced to relocate. They moved to Hawai'i for almost five years, and then to Majuro in the Marshall Islands, where Frank eventually became the Administrator of a co-op school. While in Majuro, he and Nicolasa completed doctorates in elementary education.

In his younger years before teaching, Frank taught himself to play the guitar. After returning to Guam, he supplemented the family income by playing in bands at dinner shows in hotels and at events around the island.

### **Nicolasa Toves Mendiola Cabral**

Nicolasa Cabral was born on March 2, 1943. She grew up in Assan, which is the Mendiola family's home village. Her parents built a three-floor home, with a store on the street level called "Hillside Store." On July 11, 1959, she married Frank Cabral, and Nicolasa's father gave Frank and Nicolasa property near the river that runs from east to west behind Joe and Flo's Restaurant to build an Assan house. Nicolasa was a teacher with the Guam Department of Education, and in 1982, she and Frank participated in a teachers' strike. Forced to relocate, they moved to Hawai'i for almost five years and then to Majuro in the Marshall Islands, where Nicolasa and Frank completed doctorates in elementary education.

### **Jose "Joe" Ulloa Garrido**

Joe Garrido was born on March 31, 1944, at his grandfather's ranch in Ungaguan (close to the present Admiral Nimitz Golf Course at Radio Barrigada). Joe's parents were initially from Hagåtña, but during the Japanese occupation, the family moved to his grandfather's five-hectare ranch in Barrigada. Just before the U.S. invasion in July 1944, the Japanese forced CHamoru to gather at Manenggon, and Joe was told that his mother and sister carried him on the trek from Barrigada to Manenggon. They stayed at Manenggon for a short time before the Americans attempted to relocate everyone back to their homes. However, the family chose to live in Talo'fo'fo' for a few years. When his grandfather could go to

Barrigada to check on their ranch, he discovered that the Navy had condemned the land and built large antennas (it became known as Radio Barrigada).

When Joe was around five years old (in late 1949), his family moved to Assan, where the Navy had built a resettlement village for displaced families. Houses cost \$50 each. When Joe was almost 17 years old, his family moved to Agana Heights. He graduated from George Washington High School in 1963. He joined the U.S. Army in 1964 and was stationed primarily in Europe. In 1967, he left the service and returned to Guam.

### **Joaquin “Danny” Siguenza Santos, Jr. (Colonel, ret.)**

Danny Santos, who is a retired Marine Colonel, was born on October 9, 1935, the oldest of 11 children of Joaquin Siguenza Santos and Josefina San Nicolas Limtiaco. His father was from Assan, and his mother was from Piti. He grew up in Assan, and his mother inherited land in Nimitz Hill, where he and his siblings eventually built permanent residences. During the Japanese occupation, he lived with his paternal grandmother, Maria Siguenza Santos. Danny left Guam in 1955.

### **James David Tenorio Terlaje**

James David Tenorio Terlaje was born on March 8, 1964, in Paris, France, and is the seventh of nine children of Agapito Taihito Terlaje and Cynthia Pangelinan Tenorio Terlaje (Cynthia Terlaje was interviewed in 2013 for an NPS WAPA project). His parents met while attending the high school at Julale, Hagåtña. Neither of them graduated, but Agapito took the GED test, and after passing, entered the U.S. Army. He returned after two years and married Cynthia on July 18, 1953. Except for deployment to Vietnam and Korea, Agapito took his family to his military career’s tour duty assignments. The Terlaje children were born in North Carolina, California, England, and France. Their eldest, John, and youngest, Cindy, were born on Guam. The family returned to Guam around 1966, but a year later, Agapito was deployed to Vietnam.

Agapito retired on Guam in 1970, after which he got a job at Land Management in the Guam government. According to James, things at home were different after his father retired, and although they had medical insurance, his father focused on animal husbandry, farming, and fishing to supplement his family’s growing demands. Agapito purchased several *chenchulu* nets and invited single boys and adults in Assan to join in fishing. The Terlaje family became known as a traditional fishing family, and gained the community’s respect for providing the youth with life skills, and providing fresh fish to Assan villagers. As word got out about this, residents from different villages came to Assan when the Terlajes were out fishing.

James, on the other hand, did not enjoy fishing. He considered it hard work, and he felt he had given up many childhood pleasures because he had chores to complete at home. Fishing was just another household chore as far as James was concerned, and he did not enjoy killing fish—even if he was to eat it later. He resisted going, but no one was allowed to stay home without a parent. Resentment turned into rebellion as he grew, and eventually James moved to California to prove to his father that he could make it on his own.

James subsequently met Ninamaria Pereira, a gifted operatic singer, and they married at Assan’s Niño Perdido y Sâgrada Familia Catholic Church on February 15, 1975. Together, they have three children: Jade Lauren, Luke Edward, and Seth Philip. The Terlaje family has resided in Kalâkkak in Assan for generations, even before Guam’s first American administration in 1898. His mother’s family, the Tenorios, lived in Agana Heights, but her parents had a mom-and-pop store called Two Leaf Store in Assan.

## **SHORT BIOGRAPHIES: AGAT NARRATORS**

### **Antonio Babauta Babauta**

Antonio Babauta Babauta was born in Hagåtña on August 2, 1938. He is the oldest of seven children of Vicente Charfauros Babauta and Rosalia Sablan Babauta. The family moved to Sumay and then to Agat before the Japanese invasion. In 1944, the Japanese forced Chamoru to march to a camp at Manenggon; the family was there when word came that the Americans had recaptured the island. The family returned to Agat, where Antonio grew up.

He graduated from George Washington High School (the only high school in Guam) in 1958 and immediately joined the U.S. Navy. He retired from the Navy after 27 years. He had been stationed in Guam off and on during his service and was in Guam when he retired. The family settled in Agat.

### **Jlawrence Materne Cruz**

Jlawrence Materne Cruz was born at Agat in November 1954. His father is Lorenzo Cruz Cruz from familian Tanaguan and Sungot, and his mother is Maria Cruz Materne from familian Pinalek and familian Pó from Agaña. His parents moved to Agat in the late 1940s. Jlawrence grew up in Agat. He graduated from Father Duenas Memorial High School in Tai', Mangilao, in 1972. After high school, he pursued a religious life in teaching; in 1978, he entered the monastery Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary in Hawai'i. He eventually returned to Guam.



**APPENDIX B.  
THE ROCK OF FUÑA**

by H.D. Tuggle

This appendix is an extract from *A Synthesis of Archaeological Inventory and Evaluation Efforts on the Island of Guam. Volume II: AD 1521-1950*, prepared by H. David Tuggle and others (Tuggle et al. in prep.:37-43), for Department of the Navy, Naval Facilities Engineering Command Pacific.



## THE ROCK OF FUÑA (A PLACE OF HUMAN ORIGIN)

*Aqui dentro del mar esta la piedra que llaman, Fuña donde dicen nacio todo el genero humano*  
(Here in/under the sea is a rock named Fuña, where they say the whole human race was born).<sup>57</sup>

This statement is written on the López-based 1676 map (see Figure 8) adjacent to the western coastline just south of Orote Peninsula. This is a reference to the Chamorro tradition of a rock of creation, first mentioned in known records in the ca. 1598-1600 account by Fray Antonio de los Angeles. Los Angeles, “the first missionary of record to the Marianas” (Driver 1977:19), was in the islands for about a year from 1596-1597. Later in Manila, los Angeles prepared an account for the king of Spain, Philip II, describing the customs of the Chamorro (“Indios”), including a description of Chamorro religion. Such reports were made to advance the cause of missionization, and this report was obtained from los Angeles by Fray Marcelo de Ribadeneira, who published it as part of his history of the church in Asia.<sup>58</sup> Due to the importance of this text, a transcription and translation of the original (Ribadeneira, 1601:78; trans. DT) are provided:

Their festivals are made with great organization/arrangement, especially the contests/games they customarily hold to enjoy themselves, and to honor their Idols. To [the Idols] they offer their seeds, fishhooks, and small rice cakes, which they later keep as remains for [to feed] the sick. And as they are people with crude understanding, and blind from their Idolatry, they believe a rock gave birth to them, [a rock] to which they go every year to hold a festival/celebration ... They say a woman gave birth to the land, and the sea, and everything that can be seen. And asking them how the rock not having eyes, not eating, gave birth to humans, they answer that it gave birth to two men, and that one of them changed himself into a woman ... They worship their Maganito,<sup>59</sup> in rocks, or in whatever strikes their fancy.<sup>60</sup>

Hazen sus fiestas con gran concierto, en especial las escaramuças que por holgarse acostumbran de hazer, y por honra de sus Idolos. A los quales ofrecen sus semillas, las redes y anzuelos para pescar, y panecillos de arroz, que guarden despures como por reliquias para los enfermos. Y como son gente grosera de entendimiento, y ciegos con la Idolatria, entienden que les pario una piedra, adõde cada año van todos a hazer fiesta ... Dizen que una muger pario la tierra, y la mar, y todo lo que se ve. Y preguntandoles como la piedra no teniendo ojos, ni comiendo, pario los hombres, respõdē que pario dos hombres, y que el uno se bolvio en mugger ... Adoran a sus Maganitos, en piedras, o en qualquier cosa, que seles antoja.<sup>61</sup>

There are two central aspects of the los Angeles text. The first is that there is a physical place of human origin (a rock on Guam) and that the Chamorro hold annual celebrations there, by inference religious celebrations of creation. The second is the description of the origin in which it is a rock—perceived as a

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<sup>57</sup> “Aqui dentro del mar esta la piedra que llaman, Fuña donde dicen nació todo el genero humano;” transcription and translation by DT.

<sup>58</sup> It is not clear if Ribadeneira’s account is a direct copy or a partially paraphrased rendition of the text that de los Angeles provided to him. The text, unfortunately says nothing about where de los Angeles was in the islands, nor, of course, does it say anything about the Chamorro who provided the information to de los Angeles. As far as is known, de los Angeles provided no biographical history of his stay in the islands.

<sup>59</sup> The only Chamorro-based word in the text, *Maganito* is Hispanicized *Manganiti*, plural of *aniti* meaning ancestral spirit in general as used in this text, and also as ancestral spirit as represented by the skull (see discussion in Russell 1998:237; also Pobre de Zamora [1602] 1993:23); the meaning was later Catholicized to refer to the devil.

<sup>60</sup> For other translations, see Driver (1977) and Lévesque (HM 3, 1993:73).

<sup>61</sup> Transcription of the original archaic Spanish of 1601, a period long before conventionalized modern Spanish orthography.

woman—that gave birth to everything in complicated and unclear circumstances. So although an origin rock is mentioned, there are no place names or deity names in this description, which is of course a summation of the understanding by a priest, los Angeles, who had begun learning Chamorro only a few months earlier.

Another account of Chamorro creation is given by the Jesuit Coomans in a church report of 1668 ([1667-1673] 2000:15-16; trans. from Latin by Lévesque):

Puntan was a man born without a father and only one sister. He lived in imaginary spaces, but alone. When the moment came for him to die, he called his sister and let her know his last will and testament, which was, that out of his body and limbs something for the common good be done ...

That “common good” was the creation of the various parts of the world made from his body parts.<sup>62</sup> Coomans then adds, “The above [parts of the world] came from his body, but [Chamorro] fable has it that the whole human race issued forth from a rock, at least themselves ...” So Coomans was aware of the creation version of the rock but does not relate it to that of Puntan (although the two may be torn from a single creation story), nor does he mention the location of the rock. It is the López-based map that provides a name and location for the origin rock (and by inference, the location of the associated village where the religious celebrations were held).<sup>63</sup>

In later versions of this tradition, the rock of creation is referred to variously as Fuaña, Fuña, Fu`a, Fua, Fouha, and others, and today it is commonly identified as Fouha Rock (and other names) at Fouha Bay, near Umatac (e.g., Beaty 1967:32; Rogers 1995:25; Sanchez 1998:2; Flood 2001; Farrell 2011:60; Taitingfong and Marsh 2018; Perez 2019). The origin rock is one component of the NRHP site “Fouha Bay; or Fuja of Fuuna [i.e., Fuña],”<sup>64</sup> and it is the subject of a recent detailed educational historic field trip lesson plan titled “Fua Rock: Cradle of Creation, Cradle of Identity” (Petra n.d. [2018?]).

Based on the 1676 map location and other sources discussed here, this seems to be a mislocation of the rock of creation. However, one hypothesis to entertain is that Fouha-Umatac location is associated with the Puntan component of a possible composite creation myth, with the phallic rock at Fouha and the mother rock at Fuña (see Taitingfong and Marsh 2018). This complex topic is a subject for linguists-ethnologists to sort out, and relevant to this is the statement from Leonard Iriarte, a Chamorro oral historian (2016)<sup>65</sup>:

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<sup>62</sup> Again, unfortunately this is a priest’s translation/summation of a Chamorro text without quoting the text, and worse yet, we are not even given a complete version of the creation story. After indicating some of the body parts of Puntan that became features of the world, Coomans ([1667-1673] 2000:16, emphasis added) writes: “*I omit the rest, for they are similar comparisons.*” Coomans adds the important note that the creation story is in “verses,” “poetry,” which raises the question of how much more was lost by the failure of the Jesuits to convey the form and complete text of what may have been a very extended narrative?

<sup>63</sup> Adjacent to the statement on the map about the rock of Fuña is the word “Fuña” written as a place name, but it is not clear if this is a place name for the rock or the village. The López-based map does not show a church in this location, although one had been established there in 1672. This was either an oversight, or the church was not functioning when the place was visited by López.

<sup>64</sup> The NRHP form was prepared in 1974 in the first systematic NRHP survey of Guam sites. Typical of forms of that period, it is brief and largely absent of documentation, and gives little attention to the traditional place itself.

<sup>65</sup> Leonard Iriarte, I Fanlalai’an Oral History Project; text from a video by Cruz (2016); transcription by DT.

I think further research is required for us to be able to identify the actual location [of the origin rock] ... I'm not so sure it was there [at Fouha] ... we need more research ... more of an inventory of the language, more inventory of the historical accounts, more analysis of that needs to be done.

After López and Coomans, García (1683:468), in his hagiography of San Vitores and using Jesuit reports, indicates that Fuuña (or Fuña) was the name of the sacred rock and was near a coastal village of the same name. The village of Fuña was well-known before the Jesuit mission arrival in 1668; it is one of only two villages on Guam mentioned in the document of Fray Juan Pobre de Zamora (1602), the other being Umatac.

In García's first reference to Chamorro tradition of creation (1683:203; trans. by DT<sup>66</sup>) he mentions the origin rock, but does not name it; "... that all lands, and humans, and all other things, had origin in the earth of the island of Guam, which was first a man and later a rock from which came all humans ..." In a following paragraph, García refers to Puntan as the first man, but like Coomans and others, he does not clearly relate that tradition to the rock. It is in García's second reference to the origin rock where the name Fuuña is provided, along with its association with the village of the same name. This is found in the discussion of the Jesuit fathers searching for a place for a church that has a port and a good view from which to scout for ships, and they decide that "el Pueblo de Fuuña" was such a place. García (1683:468-469; trans. by DT) describes the village as desirable for a church because it is well located:

... for receiving ships, as well as for spreading the Faith because it is frequented by the natives, and by the surrounding villages.<sup>67</sup> Fuuña is celebrated by all people (is famous among all people) for displaying the stone or rock upon which it is believed the origin of mankind took place. It is near some Ports; from one point that extends west-northwest, raised six or eight *bracas* [*brazas*; fathoms<sup>68</sup>] above the sea, one can discover ships at great distances. The sea bathes this point on three sides, for which it is inaccessible to enemies, and for the part that continues with the land ... this can be easily defended.

In 1672, the people of Fuuña agreed to have a church constructed there. They gave the Jesuits a place and helped them build it (presumably of wood), and it was dedicated to San José. Two fathers then served the church and missionized in the surrounding area as well. However, García (1683:469, brackets added) comments:

... they [the priests] did not have little to do [i.e., it was not a small task] in this same Pueblo [Fuuña] to convince outlying people as well as those of the village to disabuse themselves of the false mother of humans Fuuña, that is the rock we mention: because as the Pueblo was famous among all people, it was most difficult to persuade belief that countered its fame.

There are three inferences from García's account: the origin rock and the village were each called Fuuña/Fuña; it was the village, not the rock, that is described as being on a point, 6 to 8 fathoms above the ocean; and this was an extremely important cultural locale that gave the village great fame. Considering the comment of 1596 from Father Antonio de los Angeles, quoted above, not only was Fuña famous, it was the focus of an annual celebration (a form of pilgrimage?) for the Chamorro, and this may also be what García was referring to when he mentioned it being "frequented" by natives.

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<sup>66</sup> Another translation is in McDonough et al. (2004:173).

<sup>67</sup> The sentence structure implies that people come from near and far, and further suggests (in the next sentence) that they do so because of the rock of creation.

<sup>68</sup> A *braza*, fathom, was probably the 5.5 foot measure.

The location of the village is never explicitly identified by García. However, in García and other early texts, relative geographic location of named villages unquestionably establishes the position of Fuña in the general location of the López-based map of 1676. In the 1678 uprising, the Chamorro had burned villages at Sumay, Orote, and Tuparao, and as a consequence the Spanish governor de Salas planned a surprise attack on those villages to avenge this. But “when they [the soldiers] arrived at *Fuuña*” they were spotted by the Chamorro, who then fled, with the Spanish pursuing them and burning the villages of Tayfac, Unian, and Pupuro (García 1683:567; trans. by DT, emphasis added). This supports the argument that *Fuuña* was in the area of old Agat, between the villages on Orote to the north and the villages immediately to the south of old Agat, exactly as shown on the 1676 map<sup>69</sup> (also see Lévesque HM 6, 1995:298,621).

The earliest known published map with the place name “Fuña” (as “Fuña Isle”) is in Le Gobien (1700:75), and the location is off the coast of old Agat. The text of Le Gobien repeats much of the García version about *Fuuña* (as Fuña), with apparently the only reference to location being the “west coast” of the island of Guam (Le Gobien 1700:197).

Le Gobien (1700:3) acknowledged that his published maps were from Alonso López and presumably the 1676 map, or ones equivalent to it were the basis for the engraved published version. There are two important differences between the Le Gobien map and the López map of 1676. The first is the addition of “Isle” on Le Gobien (whether or not this was on another López map is of course unknown). The other difference is that the place name “Fuha” (Fouha) is found on the 1676 map, but not on Le Gobien, which indicates that López recognized these as two separate names and locations. The 1676 map is thus a primary source that gives a specific location for Fuña and an explicit identification of the place “... where they say the whole human race was born.”

More than a century after Le Gobien, Freycinet ([1829] 2003:33, 71) recorded both Fouha and *Fuuña* in his place name list (as “Fuha” and “Fugna” – “gn”, the French orthography for “ñ”, thus Fuña).<sup>70</sup> Freycinet ([1829] 2003:274) also recognized the village of Fuña and the associated Fuña rock of human origin, and that the rock was “situated by the seashore in the locality of the Peladgi Isles to the northwest of Agat,” although he was not sure of the precise location. Freycinet uses Agat as a geographic reference presumably because it was an occupied, known village of the time, while the village of Fuña had long since been destroyed.

The place name “Fuña” does not appear in any version on the 1832 Villalobos map nor in his manuscript that accompanies the map; it does not appear on any later maps that were examined for this report. However, the place name “Fuha” spelled “Fuja” (Spanish *j* as the *h* sound) does appear on Villalobos and most later maps, surviving as the modern Fouha.

So, for whatever reason, by the 1800s the place name “Fuña” had disappeared from maps. As Freycinet noted, the village itself had disappeared, in fact had been destroyed in the Spanish-Chamorro

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<sup>69</sup> The Fouha-Umatac location of Fuña seems so fixed in 20th century perception that the editors-translators of García add this footnote about the mention of the village in this location, “This *Fuuña* seems to have been on Orote Point” (McDonough et al. 2004:483). They overlook the possibility that this was *the* Fuña, and that Fouha as Fuña was an error.

<sup>70</sup> Another spelling of the place name, “Fulhuña,” is found in a government report written in Manila by Nicolás Saavedra ([1852] 1996:136, 162). This report is a tertiary compilation, with no identified sources and so this spelling may simply be a copyist’s error. The only other known example of this spelling is in Ibáñez y García (1886:149), in a text copied verbatim from Saavedra.

Wars. Although the name disappeared from maps, it occurs in later Spanish textual documents, most of which are simply using or copying the information from García.

The first suggestion that Fuña was not near old Agat, but at Fouha seems to be in Corte (1876:23, emphasis added; trans. by DT), who says about the village of Fuña: “There remains today no vestige of the pueblo; *not even any certainty of its location.*” Without mentioning the Le Gobien map, he speculates<sup>71</sup> that it was near Umatac because of the similarity of the name “Fuha” (his text) with Fuña and the fact that one of the forts at Umatac was named “San José,” the patron saint of the church at Fuña.<sup>72</sup>

References in English to the location of the origin place occur as early as 1905, but like Corte, not near old Agat, rather at Fouha Bay. For example, Safford (1905:111) referencing the García Spanish text of 1683 (p. 203), writes:

The particular spot from which the first men originated was a rock situated on the west coast of the southern portion of the island, at a place called Fuuña, a short distance north of Umatac. It rose 6 or 8 fathoms from the sea.<sup>73</sup>

The Safford text, not quoted in full here, is nearly a verbatim translation (without quotes) of García’s text of 1683, except the actual location information “southern portion of the island ... a short distance north of Umatac” was added by Safford. Thompson (1945:25, brackets original) quotes the García text in the form of a 1936 English translation in the *Guam Recorder*: “Fuuna [a point on the coast of the southwest of Guam] is celebrated ... for there is a rock ... from which they believe all men had their origin.” In this case, the proposed location of the sacred rock is clearly identified as added by Thompson to the García text.

As noted above, today the place of the Fuña/Fuuña rock is believed to be at Fouha, but it is not clear how this became a modern tradition, perhaps based on Corte, Safford, Thompson, and others.<sup>74</sup> However, all of the Chamorro versions of creation need to be compiled and geographically evaluated, considering the hypothesis mentioned above that it is the Puntan-male portion of the myth complex that is associated with Fouha, and the female with Fuña rock at old Agat.

In conclusion, the López work, Le Gobien (secondarily), and Freycinet, indicate that the village and the sacred rock of human origin known as Fuña (in the spelling of López-Le Gobien) were located near the old Agat Village. They make clear that the village of Fuña was not “on the rock”, and that the village, not the rock, was destroyed along with many others by the Spanish in the wars because it became a rebel village. Whether the rock was an islet or not remains a question, but the statement on the López-based map

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<sup>71</sup> Haynes and Wuerch (1990:5) is a recent report that cites sources for placing Fuña near Umatac. Corte (1876) is one of their sources, so they are citing a speculation as a fact; their other source is García (1683) and his text provides no such location.

<sup>72</sup> Corte (1876:23) clearly recognizes that the village Fuña was associated with the Chamorro sacred place of origin, and states that this was a reason it was “reduced,” that is, destroyed. This is not true: it was destroyed, not explicitly because it was “important for its superstition,” but rather, as one of the ten major villages ravaged in the 1678 military offensive of Governor de Salas (Freycinet [1829] 2003:39).

<sup>73</sup> Safford’s description reads as if the rock was 6 to 8 fathoms above the sea. In García’s original text, however, this specifically refers to the location of the village of Fuuña, with the possibility that it may include the rock.

<sup>74</sup> Given the map of Le Gobien and Freycinet’s information, it is a puzzle as to why the apparent confusion between Fuña and Fuha/Fouha occurred at all.

that it was “dentro del mar” (“in/under the sea,” as translated above) considerably strengthens the argument that it was.

Anne Hattori<sup>75</sup> remarks that the Chamorro cultural creation account “has never been given the respect it deserves,” and this presumably includes attention to the location of the sacred rock of Fuña. It can be given such attention by additional research in support of Iriarte’s above quoted position.

### **Fuña/Fu’uña: A Religious Center and One of the Largest Villages on Guam**

For understanding the Chamorro cultural landscape of Guam, the identification of a sacred place of origin is certainly of major importance. At the same time, research should include the archeological focus of identifying not only the place of the origin rock, but also the location and remains of the very important village of Fuña. Annual fiestas were held at the village in veneration of the place of Chamorro origin, and as quoted above in Pobre de Zamora ([1602] 1993:21), it was one of the largest villages on Guam, and is noted in later reports to be of great size and importance.<sup>76</sup>

The problem then remains: where *exactly* was this village located? Lévesque concludes (HM 6, 1995:216, based on the García description of the peninsula, and the Le Gobien map):

... we can safely determine that the site of the ancient town of Fuña, or Fuuña, was next to what is now called Apaga, or Apaca Point. A monument should be built on this site, as it is the exact site of the sacred stone marking the spot where man was created, according to a legend of the Chamorro people.

The location today is a public park, Apaca Point Park. Whether Lévesque’s precision of location is warranted may be challenged<sup>77</sup> but this is a place to consider closely in follow-up research. The investigation of the possible locales of the extremely important village would be an archeological and historical priority.

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<sup>75</sup> Video by Cruz (2016).

<sup>76</sup> Its importance is mentioned in the Jesuit annual report for 1668-1669 (quoted in Lévesque HM 4, 1995:512, 514) and it is noted at least twelve times in García’s 1683 history compiled from reports. For a long period of time, the Jesuits considered it a “friendly” village, but in the 1678 revolt it turned against them; it was burned at least once by the Spanish; the church and the village were destroyed by a typhoon in 1693, but rebuilt. According to the research of Haynes and Wuerch (1990:5), there is no record that the church was in use after 1715, and it is probable that the village was abandoned around this time.

<sup>77</sup> As indicated, what is much more open to challenge is Lévesque’s assertion that the rock of Fuña was not an isle or island, but rather “a rock on a peninsula”—the peninsula of Apaca (Lévesque HM 5, 1995:12). Our reading of the descriptions is that the sacred rock was an islet, which in this location would be the islet of Apaca.

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