I. Introduction

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

On landing on Saipan itself, however, the visitor is presented with a different picture. Here is no Pacific island with abundant coconut palms, breadfruit, and pandanus; nor is there here the pre-World War II island covered with carefully tended fields of sugar cane. Saipan, five years after the war, is a strange and incongruous mixture of natural beauty and the ugly, abandoned remains of war. In the few years since the invasion of the island by American forces in World War II, the ancient ruined stone pillars (latte) that formed the foundations of prehistoric Chamorro houses have been joined by more recent architectural relics. The main town of Garapan—its pre-war population was more than 13,000—is no more. Wrecked in the invasion battle, it was bulldozed and its ruins now lie beneath several feet of crushed coral limestone, on which were built rows of immense, war-time warehouses that today stand empty and abandoned. The only visible remains of Garapan's former existence are the belltower of the old Catholic church, whose top projects above
18

SAIPAN

THE MARIANA ISLANDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Area (Square miles)</th>
<th>Peak Elevation (Feet above sea level)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farallon de Pajaros (Uracas)</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>1,047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maug</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asuncion</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>2,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrihan</td>
<td>18.29</td>
<td>3,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagan</td>
<td>18.65</td>
<td>1,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alamagan</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>2,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guguan</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sariguan</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>1,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatahan</td>
<td>12.48</td>
<td>2,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farallon de Medinilla</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saipan</td>
<td>46.58</td>
<td>1,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinian</td>
<td>39.29</td>
<td>564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aguian</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rota</td>
<td>32.90</td>
<td>1,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guam</td>
<td>215.50</td>
<td>1,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>399.12</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Data from Bryan (1946).

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

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

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

In this curious milieu, repeated at many a deserted American base in the Pacific islands, live some five thousand people. This community does not inhabit the kind of village that through long and undisturbed occupancy has acquired an appearance that joins
Fig. 1. Map of the Mariana Islands.
it immutably to its habitat. There are no well-ordered relationships here on Saipan between man and nature, no completely accepted modes of subsistence and occupancy that are reflected in a neatly formed cultural landscape—houses, fields, and other man-made modifications of the natural environment. There are no easily delineated patterns of settlement that give clear expression of a well-integrated and long-established local organization of community life. For war has passed this way, and its manifestations cannot be erased in a day or a year. The community on Saipan was torn by the roots from its pre-war existence. It is this community, striving to adjust itself to the upset social and natural conditions of its island home, that forms the subject of this study.

The Mariana Islands

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

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

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

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

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

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

Saipan

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

1 For further information on the physical geography of the Marianas, see Bryan (1946) and the United States Navy Department Handbook (1944).
plateaus and coastal terraces, and a low coastal strip on the west side, which surround the rugged interior. The interior upland consists of steep slopes and rocky cliffs, culminating in a north-south crest from which rise several minor peaks and one major one, Mount Tapochau, that is the highest point on the island (see fig. 2).

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

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

The island's vegetation has been so altered by man that its original character is no longer preserved. Only in a few small restricted areas on Mount Tapochau and along the cliffs and steep slopes of the east coast are there patches of forest that probably resemble the vegetation of early days. The Japanese planted sugar cane on most of the arable land. Today, acres of sugar cane fields lie abandoned, invaded by vines and weeds and interspersed with the cultivated areas of present farms, as well as by the acres of abandoned military installations. The latter are in turn being rapidly overgrown by vines, shrubs, and the tangan-tangan (Leucaena glauca), which in places has formed almost impenetrable thickets. Along the coast the usual strand vegetation is to be found. Other prominent features of the vegetation are the lines of acacia (Acacia confusa) and ironwood (Casuarina equisetifolia) set out by the Japanese, who also planted numerous poinciana trees. As on Guam, areas along the upper and mid mountain slopes are covered with sword grass ( Miscanthus floridulus). Saipan also has one marsh
Fig. 2. Map of Saipan.
area around Lake Susupe, just east of Chalan Kanoa village, and a small bit of mangrove swamp farther north along the lagoon shore.

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

### The People of Saipan

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

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

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

25

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

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

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

Physically, the pre-contact Chamorro stock has also been greatly altered. The Chamorros were almost exterminated, largely through the introduction of epidemic diseases, on Guam during the Spanish period. In the subsequent recovery of the population, sizable admixtures of Spanish and Filipino have made for a relatively hetero-
geneous racial group, further modified by additional outbreeding with individuals from other European countries, America, and more recently Japan. Many present-day Chamorros are physically indistinguishable from Europeans, while others display generalized Mongoloid features.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROBLEMS AND INTERESTS

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

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Published 1953, after this report was in press.
Field research into the nature of Chamorro culture is a logical extension of the anthropological investigation of modern Hispanic-American cultures. As subjects for study, the Chamorros are of more significance in the frame of reference of culture change among Hispanicized, New World societies than in purely Oceanic ones. The first purpose of this report is to bring the Chamorros into the comparative study of Hispanicized, non-European peoples more specifically than has been done heretofore. It is primarily for this reason that the first part of this report is concerned with the historical antecedents of contemporary Saipan. This subject has been competently treated by Joseph and Murray in the introduction to their own volume on Saipan, but an attempt has been made in the present work to deal at somewhat greater length with the events of the Spanish period in the Marianas.

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

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

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