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Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives

Respecting the Ancestors • by Judy Flores

College of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences
University of Guam • Unibetsidåt Guåhan
Mangilao, Guam

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Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives
Volume 14, 2023

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Pacific Asia Inquiry

Multidisciplinary Perspectives

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Co-Editors' Note

Manuel Lujan Cruz and Christopher Rasmussen

The three articles of Volume 14 of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* explore institutions, colonialism, and daily life in Guam, while the six diverse book reviews represent multiple disciplines and cover Pacific and Asia. This volume's articles comprise what is one of the most Guam and Mariana-centric of any PAI in its decade-and-a-half history. The two historical articles span the turn-of-the-century overlap of Spanish and American rule and examine institutions of the colonial order in law, education, and economic development. While they are fascinating and compelling works on their own, side-by-side, they provide valuable insight into the mechanics of two empires, while suggesting ways CHamorus and others in Guam navigated, resisted, and subverted institutions designed to serve outside interests. The contribution from the social sciences focus on current and potential students to the University of Guam. This article demonstrates the transformative potential the only four-year university in the Western Pacific can have for the region and its peoples, while acknowledging the barriers students encounter both at the moment of entering and during their studies at UOG. As editors, we did not designate a theme for volume 14, but one seems to have emerged, nonetheless. Collectively, the articles offer stories of Guam's institutions, how they have and continue to operate; whether they advance or frustrate the aspirations of individuals and communities of the region; and how they have and, may in the future, change.

Carlos Madrid's "A Murder in To'to: Local Responses Against Convict Violence in Guam," offers an excellent legal history, a vivid snapshot of late-Spanish era Guam society, and a gripping story of crime and punishment. Using archival sources and family history, Madrid carefully reconstructs the murder of Marcos Untalán, and then follows the crime's subsequent investigation, trial, and aftermath. Madrid documents a deliberate judicial process, one shaped by Spanish, CHamoru, and Filipino actors, and offers a valuable account of daily life in the village of To'to, specifically, and Guam and the Spanish Pacific broadly. The colonial legal system brought Filipino criminals to Guam, putting local people at risk - illustrated by Untalán's shoking murder. Madrid's article also shows how

that same system was subject to a significant degree of local influence. One of the perhaps surprising discoveries was that at the end of the Spanish period clemency for criminals was the rule rather than the exception.

Bradley Brazzeal's "Chamorro Employees of the Pre-War Guam Agricultural Experiment Station" follows the story of CHamorus working within a key colonial institution. Agriculture experiment stations like the Naval-era one in Guam were important components of American rule in the Pacific and Caribbean territories acquired following the 1898 Spanish-American War. Brazzeal's exhaustive study of archival sources documents how CHamoru laborers worked the land, built the facilities, and did much of the scientific work on what became the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station (GAES). Brazzeal shows how CHamoru employees, many of whom received scientific education in the United States and the Philippines, understood the purpose of their work differently from the Naval authorities. The incongruity is perhaps most visible in the career of GAES employee Francisco B. Leon Gurerrro. Leon Gurerrro became a leader of the Guam Congress and one of the principal figures in securing the 1950 Organic Act of Guam. He did not see his work with the GAES in conflict with demands for Guam autonomy but consistent with them. Brazzeal also shows how the Naval administration limited the effectiveness of the GAES, which was chronically underfunded, paid its CHamoru workers far less than similarly trained American citizens, and was shut down when the United States Congress refused to continue funding during the Depression.

Lynsey J. Lee's article, "Four Studies on the University of Guam," examines a staple of the higher education experience: the English placement test. Lee documents a focal shift of the placement test from rigid technical interpretations of validity toward an awareness of the importance of individual student needs and experiences. While the article is pragmatic in its intent and approach, it too conveys how the university, and assessors, navigate social and cultural changes in a globally connected island community while maintaining its commitment to equitable student learning opportunities.

As fitting for a capacious journal that includes Asia and the Pacific, the book reviews range across space, time, and disciplines. The section begins and ends, also fittingly, with Guam. Leiana Naholowa'a reviews

Christine DeLisle's *Placental Politics: CHamoru Women, White Womanhood, and Indigeneity under US Colonialism in Guam*, a work that she suggests is a needed reinterpretation of twentieth century Guam history. DeLisle's book is a deeply informed analysis and highly sympathetic reading of birth, connection to place and identity, modernity, mobilities, and the lives of women in Guam. Naholowa'a compares *Placental Politics* to both a guidebook for future researchers and as a "destination for where following the footnotes of CHamoru women in history have taken us." Two historians, Aaron Wilson and Sean Scanlon, take up recent works on twentieth warfare and foreign policy. Wilson finds in anthropologist Lin Poyer's, *War at the Margins: Indigenous Experiences in World War II,* a much-needed reorientation of the War in the Pacific narrative that foregrounds Pacific peoples' experience and draws connections across diverse communities. Scanlon, meanwhile, reviews Mark Atwood Lawrence's reinterpretation of late twentieth century US global power in *The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era*. Scanlon charts and evaluates Lawrence's argument that the Cold War-era pivot to Asia permanently altered U.S. foreign policy and its relationships with developing nations in Asia, the Pacific, and across the world. Philosopher Brett Fulkerson-Smith's close review of Tao Jiang's, *Origins of Moral-Political Philosophy in Early China: Contestation of Humaneness, Justice, and Personal Freedom* contends that Jiang's work illustrates the enduring relevance Chinese ideas on freedom from the pre-Han era have for contemporary political philosophy and in the philosophy classroom. Meanwhile, it is the uncertain future of pedagogy and education in the age of AI that animates literature scholar David Gugin's close and critical review of AI advocate David Patel's *Artificial Intelligence & Generative AI for Beginners.* Artificial intelligence systems' ability to generate narratives and, dangerously, misinformation appear at an inauspicious political moment in which dark conspiracy theories grip and motivate large portions of the electorate in the United States and elsewhere. Reviewing Marcel Danesi's *Politics, Lies and Conspiracy Theories: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective*, PAI book review editor Chris Schreiner shows that even absent the powerful tools Gugin discussed, voters and politicians are creating and acting on false narratives and misinformation that threaten democracy. Focused the

ways metaphor has replaced argumentation in modern politics, Schreiner's review echoes Gugin's emphasis on education, in this case schools' failure to "inculcate critical thinking, rhetorical acumen, and civic awareness." Rounding out the reviews is Paulette Coulter's sympathetic reading of Chris Perez's final novel *Juanit.* This coming-of-age-story in Guam and the United States returns to the themes of this volume's articles: colonial institutions, education - specifically the University of Guam - and identity, albeit with greater intimacy and compassion.

This volume of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* offers readers unique opportunities to reflect on Guam's and the regions' past, present and future. As in previous volumes, contributors from across the humanities and social sciences have opened up new perspectives on seemingly old issues and, hopefully, inspired others to continue to discover how life has, is, and perhaps should be lived. As co-editors, we would like to thank all of the contributors, blind reviewers, and the PAI Editorial Board members for making this volume possible. In particular, we want to acknowledge Judy Flores for the wonderful cover art, "Respecting the Ancestors," Leiana Naholowaʻa for designing and formatting this volume, and Dean of the UOG College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences James Sellmann for sage advice and timely exhortations.

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CALL FOR PAPERS

Pacific Asia Inquiry: Multidisciplinary Perspectives
Volume 15, Fall 2024

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSIONS: September 6, 2024

The Editorial Board of *Pacific Asia Inquiry* invites the submission of articles, critical essays, and case studies, as well as book, film, and other reviews for possible publication in Volume 14. Submissions from across the liberal arts and social sciences are welcome. *Pacific Asia Inquiry* is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal published online by the University of Guam, College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences. It features scholarly research relating to the Mariana Islands, Micronesia, and the wider Pacific; as well as Asia-oriented studies that make connections with Pacific Islands.

Submission Procedures

Submissions may employ any theoretical or methodological approach so long as they are written in a readable style accessible to specialists and non-specialists alike. When you submit a manuscript, please include the following as separate files in one email message:

1. A cover page, including authors' names, titles, affiliations, and addresses, including street and e-mail addresses;

2. The main text, with the title of the article, an abstract of the paper (the abstract should be no more than 150 words), including photos, tables, figures, media, and references.

Our blind peer review process requires that authors' names and addresses appear only on the cover page. No identifying information may appear in the abstract or text itself. Relevant publications, including those written

by the author(s), may appear in the reference section, but nothing should be said to connect the reference with the author(s) of the submitted manuscript.

General Submission Guidelines

Submissions should not exceed 10,000 words, including tables and references. Please follow the conventions of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (7th Ed., 2020) or the MLA Handbook (8th Ed., 2016). Other discipline-appropriate documentation styles are acceptable but should be discussed with the Editor(s). Indent the first word of a paragraph by one "tab" or half an inch (five spaces) and number all pages consecutively, putting numbers in the lower right-hand corner. Figures, tables, and photos should be inserted into the manuscript at the time of initial submittal, and they need to be appropriately titled, sourced, and numbered consecutively. Endnotes and/or footnotes may be used, and references should appear at the end of the paper. Do not insert automatic formatting anywhere in the manuscript. Additional guidelines apply. Please visit http.//www.uog.edu/pai for full guidelines and for access to previous volumes of *Pacific Asia Inquiry,* which may be used as a general reference. Please be advised that this is a venue for scholarly articles. Fiction and poetry submissions will not be entertained. Fiction, poetry, art drawings and art photographs may be submitted to the *Storyboard* journal.

Please forward inquiries and submissions electronically to:

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Full text downloads of ***Pacific Asia Inquiry*** volumes 1-14 are available for free and may be examined at www.uog.edu/pai.

A Murder in To'to: Local Responses Against Convict Violence in Guam

Carlos Madrid
University of Guam

At 10:30 in the morning on December 1, 1886, Don Manuel Aflagüe, the First Deputy of the City Hall of Agaña, was approached by a distressed young man named José Untalán. A native of Guam and son of Filipino settler Marcos Untalán and of Joaquina de Guzmán, José delivered shocking news to the deputy mayor: his father Marcos had just been brutally murdered by convicts at his rancho in To'to.[1]

To'to area associated with the Untalan family,
Author's photo, 2023.

[1] I would like to acknowledge the help and support given by *Siñot* Joseph Palomo, great-grandson of Marcos Untalán, who I interviewed July 22, 2020, and who facilitated valuable background information on Filomena Untalán. Also to Ralph Unpingco and Malia A. Ramirez for their valuable time and information of interest to this article. Credit is due to Robert A. Underwood and Richard K. Olmo, Robert A. Underwood, and Chris Rasmussen for reading early drafts of this article and contributing with valuable edits and suggestions. While I acknowledge the importance of using the official spellings for CHamoru and for Guam place names like To'to, Agaña, or Guåhan, in this article I keep the spelling used on the archival documents of the era in order to retain the original scope of meaning used at the time.

The historical presence of convicts, ex-convicts, and *forzados*, as referred to in recent academic literature, was a social phenomenon in the Mariana Islands since the Spanish conquest in the late 1600s (Fernanda García de los Arcos, 1996; Mawson, 2016, 2013).[2] Throughout the 1800s, owing to a completely different range of circumstances and guided by disparate policies, succeeding Spanish metropolitan administrations transported varying cohorts of political exiles, *deportados*, convicts, and other prisoners of Spanish or Filipino origin to this archipelago (Madrid, 2006).[3]

This article delves into the intricacies of a homicide case perpetrated by convicts in Guam in 1886, drawing from the original archival materials of the ensuing legal trial. The investigation not only unveils the limits of solidarity among fellow Filipinos, but also underscores the perils posed by a roaming convict population to the agricultural landscapes tended by local Guam residents. Additionally, it offers insights into the nuanced responses of the colonial administration, shedding light on manifold facets of daily life and the surrounding environment in the vicinity of To'to. Moreover, a closer examination of the forensic and judicial procedures that unfolded subsequent to the murder presents a compelling illustration of an early instance of meticulous professional scrutiny. This inquisitorial endeavor was orchestrated by a judicious assembly of Spanish, Chamorro, and Filipino protagonists, thereby offering a vivid exemplar of cross-cultural collaboration within the realms of the forensic and judicial domains.

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[2] María Fernanda García de los Arcos, *Forzados y reclutas: los criollos novohispanos en Asia, 1756-1808*, México: Potrerillos Editores, 1996; Eva María MEHL, *Forced migration in the Spanish Pacific World: From Mexico to the Philippines, 1765-1811*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Mawson, Stephanie, "Rebellion and Mutiny in the Mariana Islands, 1680-1690", *The Journal of Pacific History*, 50 (2), 2015, p. 128-148. And by the same author, "Unruly Plebeians and the Forzado System: Convict Transportation Between New Spain and the Philippines During the Seventeenth Century." Revista de Indias LXXIII, no. 259 (2013): 693-730.

[3] Madrid, Carlos. *Beyond Distances: Governance, Politics and Deportation in the Mariana Islands from 1870 to 1877*. Saipan: Northern Mariana Islands Council for Humanities, 2006.

Background of the Murder

For the residents of Guam, where violent incidents were relatively uncommon, any report of a crime must have been unsettling and worrisome, especially considering the recent memory of the Governor's murder just two years earlier and the execution of four local men that were found guilty of the crime by a Manila judge. In the murder of Marcos Untalán, the ethnic background of the individuals involved in the case, all Filipinos, likely added to the already tense atmosphere within the culturally diverse community of the city. The crime posed another test for the justice system, prompting the local colonial government to ensure proper procedures were strictly followed, perhaps as a means to demonstrate effective governance in the Mariana islands. The subsequent investigation into the crime holds particular significance for those interested in understanding the living conditions of the people of Guam during that era.[4]

In Guam and the rest of the Mariana Islands, the Spanish Penal Code for the Philippines and the Law of Criminal Prosecution (*Código Penal de las Islas Filipinas, Ley de Enjuiciamiento Criminal*) were applied, which were essentially identical to the laws in peninsular Spain.[5] According to

[4] The narrative of the events that follows is derived directly from the trial record, located at: NAP, Marianas 1822-1898. SDS-4340. B-10. s-536 to s-572. It was signed in Agaña on December 27, 1886, by Judge of First Instance Joaquín María Llácer y Martín, who had also presided over the investigation into the murder of Governor Pazos.

[5] The Spanish Penal Code underwent an update in 1884 with the Royal Decree of September 4, and it was subsequently extended to the Philippines in 1886. To adapt the legal code to the Philippine context, a commission was established, although they ultimately favored maintaining harmony between the laws. The vast majority of the articles enforced in Peninsular Spain were applied in the Spanish Philippines, with only a few exceptions. Upon its publication in the official *Gaceta de Manila*, the law allowed a grace period of four months before it came into effect. This duration was intended to ensure that the news of the updated code reached the entire Philippine territory. However, for the Marianas and the Batanes archipelagoes, which were located at a greater distance from the capital, the grace period was extended to six months, taking into consideration the logistical challenges posed by their remoteness. See: *Código Penal y Ley Provisional para la Aplicación de las Disposiciones del mismo en las Islas Filipinas*. Madrid 1886, 10.

Article 489 of the Law of Criminal Prosecution, each Court of First Instance (*Juzgado de Primera Instancia*) was required to have the assistance of a forensic medical examiner, whenever this was requested by the coroner.

Seal and Letterhead
Real Audiencia de Manila, 1886

Since Agaña served as the seat of the Court of First Instance, the role of the forensic medical examiner had to be fulfilled by one of the professional doctors, either military or civilian, assigned to the Mariana Islands. Therefore, when acting as a medical examiner, the doctor had to adhere to the methods and principles of the discipline, and they were subject to legal responsibilities. However, due to factors such as distance, limited budget, and scarcity of medical resources and personnel, the government officials, whether they were Spanish, Chamorro, or Filipino, faced severe challenges in conducting on-site investigations. The primary suspects in the murder were five convicts from the Presidio, Filipino prisoners who had been sent to the Mariana Islands to serve their sentences for various crimes ranging from resistance to authorities, to robbery, and murder. During their time in the Mariana Islands, the convicts were often employed in public works projects. Chamorro and other local farmers could and did hire these convicts by paying the colonial government a monthly fee of 2.5 pesos per individual. The revenue generated was used to offset the costs of maintaining the Presidio

itself (Chacon, 1885).[6] According to the law, the initial stages of criminal proceedings were overseen by the *Gobernadorcillo*, the town mayor.[7] In the case of a murder, a judicial team was formed ex officio, consisting of individuals with jurisdictional responsibilities in the area where the crime occurred. In the absence of Agaña´s Gobernadorcillo, it fell to its *Teniente Primero*, First Deputy Mayor Manuel Aflagüe, to fulfill these duties on behalf of the highest municipal authority. Within the judicial team, the ultimate authority was not the Governor, but rather the Judge of First Instance, in this case Joaquín Llácer y Martín, who during the early investigation acted as Coroner. Only if a resident judge was unavailable would the Governor assume the role of Judge, as it was the customary practice in earlier times. Other members of the judicial team included the medical examiner, likely a military doctor, and two official local witnesses who would attest to the entire process. Aflagüe revealed that all five Filipino convicts—Simón Panday, Rufino Boncao, Mariano Benoligo, Manuel Ceñido, and Guillermo Jacome—were employed by the same person, a Chinese settler named Rosauro Ungpinco, the patriarch of today´s eponymous Guam family.[8] Earlier that morning, the *Comandante* of the Presidio had already reported that convict Rufino Boncao had confessed to the murder. However, Boncao claimed to have acted alone, while the other two suspects, Benoligo and Panday, denied their involvement in the crime. The other two, Ceñido and Jacome, went a step

[6] The amount of 25 pesetas per month per convict. That is equivalent to 2.5 pesos.

[7] In 1893 the law was updated with the issuance of the Royal Order on September 7th. This Order relieved the local municipal authorities from the responsibility of conducting proceedings in criminal cases. The details of this change can be found in Manuel Artigas' book, *El Municipio Filipino*, Volume I, 2nd Edition, published in Manila in 1895, 84, footnote. However, there are indications that in Guam town mayors might have continued the practice of conducting preliminary investigations in criminal cases. This is supported by an entry in American Officer William Safford's diary, where he noted a similar instance in 1899. See reference to the Gobernadorcillo of Agaña Don Gregorio Pérez in: William Safford*, A Year in the Island of Guam*, 239.

[8] In the source document of the episode cited earlier, the surname 'Ungpinco' was spelled as 'Un Pinco'. According to personal communication between the author and Ralph Unpingco on April 10, 2020, a man named Rosauro Ungpinco is identified as the patriarch of the family.

further asserting that they were not even present in To'to at the time of the incident.

Were these statements truthful? Or mere falsehoods? Judge Llácer ordered the immediate detention incommunicado of all five suspects, a decision that would prove crucial in resolving the case. Aflagüe was in charge of accompanying the judicial team to the murder site.

The Forensic Investigation of the Crime Scene

In those days, to reach To'to, nearly four kilometers east of Agaña, one had to pass through the small village of Mongmong before arriving at the area of San Antonio. This stretch of the island—Mongmong, To'to, and San Antonio was a very fertile one, characterized by an abundance of coconut trees, ranchos, and agricultural fields where camote, corn, and other produce were cultivated either by local residents, or under the auspices of government offices. The murder had occurred along a side road which led to three ranchos farther away, identified in the records as Pasigao, Nilas, and Manguilas.[9] The lifeless body lay on the right side of the road itself. The body was lying in a supine position, slightly prone to the left, possibly due to the incline of the road. The head was tilted toward the left side. The left arm was extended near the body, while the right arm was bent with a closed fist over the chest. The left knee was also bent. The right leg was slightly bent toward the left, with the left foot resting on top of the right ankle. The area around the head was covered in a substantial amount of blood that had soaked into the soil.

[9] The spelling of both places is directly taken from the source document. Yet, the plausibility of misspelled names should not be dismissed. It is conceivable that these names could align more accurately with 'Nalao' and 'Mangilao.' It was not unusual during that era for clerks transcribing trial documents to inadvertently introduce spelling errors.

Map of Guam in 1914. Highlighted in red,
the approximate areas of To'to, Cañada, Tamuning.

The doctor meticulously observed the body's position and described the wounds, which were both numerous and gruesome. A total of eighteen wounds were counted. Among them were three wounds located in the upper part of the scalp, measuring four, six, and eight centimeters in length respectively. These wounds were inflicted in a top-to-bottom direction using a sharp tool. It was determined that all three wounds were inflicted by the same machete, while the victim was in the process of fleeing from the attacker. Another wound on the upper part of the head, measuring five centimeters in length, reached the skull and appeared to have been caused by a sharp and blunt tool, leaving a deeper cut on the side of the wound farthest from the forehead. Additional wounds were located in the upper middle part of the head, on the back right side. Two oblique wounds, caused by a blunt, sharp tool, were twenty centimeters in length and penetrated the scalp, skull, and brain. Two other wounds, measuring eleven and twelve centimeters, were found in the same area, also in an oblique direction. These wounds fractured the bone, suggesting they were made with a blunt but relatively light tool. Aflagüe and another local official, D. Manuel Manalisay, confirmed the victim's identity as 62 years old Marcos Untalán. He was wearing a blue cotton shirt and pants. He had a leather belt on his left side with a scabbard containing a machete. Upon further inspection, the blade of the machete was found to have

traces of blood, although it appeared to have been cleaned by being plunged into the soil. Untalán was also wearing what they described as *abarcas*, probably referring to the Chamorro-made sandals tied around the ankle and arch of the foot.[10] He was not wearing a hat. A thorough examination of the area surrounding the crime scene was conducted. Approximately thirteen meters southeast from the feet of the body, a black salacot (a filipino type of hat part of convict´s uniforms) was found in the middle of the road.[11] About four meters away from the body, on the right side of the road, a crowbar was discovered. Due to the undulated nature of the terrain, there were no visible dwellings in the immediate vicinity of where the body was found.

A fence along the road enclosed Untalán's adjacent crop, consisting of camotes and corn plants that had already dried up. Roughly 140 varas (116.2 meters)[12] from the body, on the other side of the fence but near the road, a shed was located. Approximately 25 meters from the shed, there was a hole in the ground where Marcos Untalán had apparently been working. Footprints belonging to more than one person were noticed near the hole, all leading in the same direction. Following these footprints about 80 meters to the north, an opening was discovered in the fence that bordered the road. Underneath that opening, a deteriorated brown felt hat

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[10] Its simple design made it easy to manufacture particularly in places where shoes were not available or affordable. *Abarcas* of all sorts provided a versatile advantage in rough terrains, so the Spanish military had officially adopted the use. See: *Nuevo diccionario de la lengua castellana: que comprende la última edición del de la Academia española*. Librería de A. Bouret é hijo, 1876. P. 3. Also José Almirante y Torroella, *Diccionario militar, etimológico, histórico, tecnológico, con dos vocabularios francés y alemán*. 1869, 141.

[11] Black salacots were part of the convicts´ uniform, according to the *Reglamento* active by 1859. Each convict had to be given two pants, two shirts, and one salacot. The pants were of European stripped *lienzo* (a textile made of either cotton, hemp, or linen), "of the highest quality". See: NAP, Presidios (1858-1872). SDS-1418. Normas para la licitación de la contrata de suministro de vestuarios para los presidios,. 5, 10, 16.

[12] Most likely one vara in Spanish Guam was the same than one vara in the Spanish Philippines: 0.83 meters. Two varas made one braza. See: Fedor Jagor, *Viajes por Filipinas*. Madrid, 1875. P. XVIII. One vara was equivalent to 36 Spanish inches. One Spanish inch was 23.22 millimeters.

was recovered.[13] The footprints were no longer discernible on the road. The body was found not far from this location. No signs of struggle or fight were visible in any of these areas.

However, for the doctor conducting the forensic analysis of the corpse, the number and sequence of the injuries provided valuable insight. The initial head wounds indicated that the victim was attempting to flee from the attacker. Another head wound, which reached the skull, was likely inflicted from behind, causing the victim to fall forward and resulting in damage to the forehead and hand. This particular head wound was so severe that it could have been fatal on its own, and its uneven nature suggested it was not caused by a regular blade. Interestingly, one of the machetes confiscated from the main suspect (Boncao) during the investigation had an indentation at an angle that aligned with the wound, indicating that if the attacker was taller than the victim or attacking from higher ground, it would match the trajectory of the wound.

The remaining wounds were inflicted while the victim was facing the attacker, but the doctor observed that they were likely inflicted when the victim was already on the ground. Some of these injuries were delivered with an unusually strong force and could have been fatal if the prior blows to the head had not already caused death. These wounds were consistent with the characteristics of the machete number 3, taken from Boncao. Thus, it was deduced that Untalán might have still been alive and attempted to defend himself by using his hand or the crowbar, resulting in injuries to his fingers in the process.

Judge Llácer called upon two prominent Agaña residents, Don Joaquín de León Guerrero and 26-year-old silversmith Don Juan Martínez y Crisóstomo,[14] to provide their expertise on the machetes as edged

[13]Felt hats were not locally produced, so we can take it as a sign of the economic capacity of Marcos Untalán. Even in Manila, where felt hats were widely used, they were an imported commodity, mentioned in: Wenceslao Retana, *Reformas y otros excesos*. Librería F. F. 1890,31. The literary work of Filipino author and National Hero José Rizal makes reference to felt hats as humble effort to get social distinction. In Rizal´s novel *El Filibusterismo* a character buys a felt hat and a jacket as soon as he is appointed Barangay Captain, and another one gains respectability after getting a felt hat and shoes. See: Jose Rizal, *El Filibusterismo*, F. Granada, 1908 30, 45.

[14] According to the Martinez family genealogy, Juan Martínez y Crisóstomo (1860-1907) was the sole son out of the five children of Rosa Crisóstomo and José Martínez.

weapon experts. After examining the four machetes and the crowbar, both experts concluded that the blade indentation on the machete number 3 used by Bocao was not recent. It predated the murder. Llácer reasonably inferred that this machete might have been the one responsible for the irregular head wound. The other machetes showed recent markings, made not later than eight to ten days. Martínez and León Guerrero noted that machetes 1 and 3 were of legal use, while the others had sharpened tips, a practice that was prohibited by the colonial authorities precisely to prevent their use in criminal or subversive actions. When inspecting the crowbar, they observed a recent small cut, which they believed was likely caused by machetes numbered 1, 2, or 3, as they were made of steel and capable of chipping the iron of the crowbar. Llácer interpreted this as evidence that the victim had used the crowbar in an attempt to defend himself against the machete blows, thus indicating that he was still alive when he sustained the frontal wounds.

With the conclusions from the blade experts and the doctor's forensic report gathered, along with a thorough examination of the crime scene, Judge Llácer, acting as coroner, was able to establish that the murder had been committed by multiple individuals using different weapons and with extreme, ruthless brutality. Llácer and his team needed to obtain further statements from witnesses to determine which of the five suspects had participated in the savage murder of Marcos Untalán and which had not.

The Witnesses´ Testimonies

Legal proceedings could be conducted in the Tribunal, which served as the local judiciary court. Its upper floor accommodated various offices, including those of the city mayor and deputy officers like Manuel Aflagüe. The main hall was reserved for city council meetings. While these spaces

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His siblings were Guadalupe, Joaquina, Emiliana, y María, who was the youngest, born in 1868. Juan married Rosa Pangelinan Martínez, with whom they had five children. One of their notable offspring was Don Pedro Martínez (1892-1967), a prominent businessman. From: *Martínez Family Genealogy. Descendants of Ciriaco del Espíritu Santo*, 3-4. Mentioned as silversmith by William Safford in *A Naturalist on the Island of Guam*, 1899.

may have appeared modest, with only essential furniture and equipment, their institutional significance cannot be overstated. Given the gravity of the crime, it is also possible that the judicial proceedings took place in the Government Palace premises, where a designated room on the ground floor occasionally served this purpose.

The process of administering oaths to witnesses naturally occurred in Spanish. However, it could also have been conducted in Chamorro, for which there were designated translators available. In fact, since 1860, the Chamorro language could be legally used even in the documentation of judicial records (such as *sumarias* or legal proceedings) if the responsible official was not proficient in Spanish.[15] Regardless of the language used, the oath-taking process followed a consistent formula. The individual taking the oath and the witness-to-be were required to stand and uncover their heads. The local official would then point to a cross or simply cross their thumb and index fingers before asking the witness, "Do you swear by God Our Lord and this sign of the cross to tell the truth in what you know and will be asked?" The response would be, "Yes, I swear." The official would then add, "If you do so, may God reward you, and if not, may He hold you accountable." Non-Christian individuals of Chinese background were subject to a specific oath-taking ceremony, which will be discussed later in this paper. Witnesses from other religious denominations or beliefs were sworn "in accordance with their own beliefs".[16] Military officers took their oaths by placing their right hand on the hilt of their sword and swearing under "palabra de honor" (Word of Honor) to provide truthful testimony in everything he knew and was

[15] As determined in the Circular issued by the Real Audiencia de Manila on August 31, 1860, which determined the duties of the Gobernadorcillos in their capacity of agents of the judiciary authorities. The Circular specified that the native languages could be used by the local authorities if he or his assisting officials did not understand Spanish. Cited in Vicente Bas y Cortés: *Derecho Ultramarino Vigente. Volumen I*. Habana 1867. Number 14, 26.

[16] José Feced y Temprano: *Manual del Gobernadorcillo en el ejercicio de sus atribuciones judiciales y escriturarias: Guía del hombre de negocios en Filipinas*. Imp. de Ramírez y Giraudier, Manila,1867.a24-25. Author's translation.

asked.[17] These protocols had been in use in colonial Marianas for generations by 1886.

Besides Joaquina de Guzmán, widow of the victim, one of the first witnesses was José Untalan, one of the sons. He stated that around 8 in the morning on December 1, four convicts, dressed in their prison uniforms but without shackles, arrived at his father Marcos Untalán's ranch and asked if they could cook their breakfast there. Joaquina informed them that her husband was not present and instructed them to wait until he returned. She sent their daughter Filomena to look for him. Upon his arrival, Marcos Untalán told the convicts that he could not grant them permission to enter his ranch due to recent edicts (known as *Bandos*) that prohibited convicts from entering private ranches.

An elderly Filomena Untalan with her daughter Joaquina.
Photo courtesy of Filomena´s grandson Joseph Palomo

[17] NAP CD10, Varias Provincias Marianas 1795-1799. SDS-4368. Diligencias sobre la niña Andrea Perea.

Disappointed, the convicts left, one of them heading towards Agaña and not to return, and the other three remained near the ranch. When one of these three convicts approached again, Marcos Untalán likely felt threatened. After a brief exchange of words, Marcos alerted his sons Vicente and José by saying, "Run away, they want to hurt us." All of them started running, with José in front of his father. When José looked back, he witnessed one of the convicts striking his father in the head with a machete, causing him to fall to the ground. Shortly after José also saw another convict grabbing the crowbar, throwing it away, and pressing his knee on Marcos Untalán's chest, repeatedly attacking him with a machete, while the other two convicts shouted, "Hala, hala, dali" (meaning "Go, go, rush"). José tried to defend his father by striking one of the attackers with his *fociño*, a long wooden tool used in farming, but the other two rushed towards him, saying, "Nangait, nangait" (likely "Wait, wait"). José had no choice but to flee.

Another witness called to testify was Vicente Untalán, presumably a younger brother of José. He testified that during the attack, he ran towards the ocean, hearing the convicts pursuing his father and shouting, "Hala, hala." He later returned to the ranch without looking back. Expanding her first testimony, Joaquina de Guzmán, the widow of Marcos Untalán, confirmed the details provided by herself and her sons. She emphasized that her husband did not know the convicts and had no prior conflicts with them. Despite the severity of the crime, she chose not to press charges against the convicts. Joaquina identified the machete used by the murderer as belonging to her husband, the same one he had used earlier that morning to kill a chicken. Another witness, Matías Pangelinan, was working in the same area of To'to when the attack occurred. He witnessed four convicts entering Marcos Untalán's ranch. Pangelinan went there after being called by the girl Filomena but later returned to his work. Shortly afterward, he saw one convict engaging in conversation with Marcos Untalán, while the other two convicts approached. Although Pangelinan couldn't hear their conversation, he heard Marcos warning his sons and him to run away because the convicts had ill intentions. This prompted them all to flee. Pangelinan didn't witness much and was unaware of any ongoing disputes between Marcos and the convicts. He remembered that Marcos had killed a chicken that morning.

Identifying the Suspects

The main suspect, Rufino Boncao, had already confessed to the Presidio's Comandante that he had killed Marcos Untalán but claimed to have acted alone. Witnesses were required to identify the suspects, so Vicente Untalán, Joaquina de Guzmán, and Matías Pangelinan were called to testify. All three identified Boncao, Benoligo, and Panday as the convicts they had seen on the morning of the murder. The fourth suspect, Manuel Ceñido, was identified by Joaquina de Guzmán as the one who left the ranch immediately after the initial conversation with her husband. This indicated that he had not actively participated in the murder. As for the fifth convict, Guillermo Jacome, none of the witnesses identified him, resulting in his acquittal. The convict uniforms worn by Boncao, Benoligo, and Panday had reddish stains, so they were seized, numbered, and sent for chemical analysis at the infirmary in Agaña to determine if the stains were blood. The machetes were assigned numbers too, for further technical assessment. In another official declaration, Joaquina added that her husband had killed a chicken that same morning with his machete but had thoroughly cleaned the blade with a *bonete* before sheathing it.[18] She suggested that the bloodstains on her husband's machete may have been caused by one of the prisoners stabbing him, as she couldn't explain how the blade could have been stained again after being cleaned. Joaquina mentioned that when the three convicts left the ranch, they appeared upset and angry, but she couldn't hear their conversation. She recognized the brown felt hat found under the fence as her husband's. José Untalán identified machete number 3 as the one Boncao used against his father. In his second testimony, he stated that it took the prisoners about five minutes from the time they left the family ranch to their return to the area where he and his father were working. It was Boncao who approached his father the second time to inquire if his previous question had upset him, while the other two remained at a distance of about 12 varas (9.96 meters), closer to the road than to his father. José couldn't confirm if the other two convicts attacked his father because he ran away after striking

[18] *Bonete* refers to a rag, a piece of cloth to clean, or polish metal objects. With that meaning its used mostly in Latin America. In the Philippines, *bunot* is the coconut fiber use to polish clean wooden floors.

Boncao with his fociño. José mentioned that the felt hat belonged to his father, who lost it while passing through the opening in the fence to escape from the attackers who were chasing him. He stated that at that moment, there was nobody on the road, which was typically busy but not at that particular time (8 in the morning). There were no other people in the adjacent crops. He also declared that their ranch was not used as a shortcut for the Cañada, and there was no trail passing through their land. The trail leading to the Cañada was approximately 300 varas (249 meters) from their ranch and 15 varas (12.45 meters) from where his father was killed.

Chalan Cañada, one of the areas of To'to
where bamboo is abundant, Author's photo, 2023.

José testified that he saw the convicts arrive at the ranch, and he knew what they were discussing because his mother and Filomena informed him. His father did not say anything. After the convicts left the ranch, they stopped to discuss something. When they returned to where his father was, they exhibited angry gestures, with Boncao's hand on the machete's handle. The other two convicts held their machetes in their hands and appeared prepared to use them. The chemical analysis conducted on the clothing determined that there was blood present in Boncao's blouse and in Benoligo's blouse and pants. The report explicitly stated that these stains could not be attributed to betel nut or buyo.

However, due to the lack of technical equipment in Guam, the tests to determine whether the blood was of human or animal origin could not be conducted, as meticulously noted by Judge Llácer.

The Tangled Skein Tightens

Rosauro Ungpinco was summoned to provide testimony. He was one of the individuals of Chinese origin who had arrived in the Mariana Islands in the second half of the 19th century. Some were brought to the islands by the Spanish colonial authorities as a result of a government decree that stated any Chinese trader found guilty of debt to the Public Treasury would be deported to the Mariana Islands to work and repay their debt.[19] Either this was Rosauro Ungpinco´s case or not, once he Guam it seems he was granted land for cultivation and managed to make a reasonably good living. With regards of Ungpinco's testimony, it is worth mentioning that Rosauro being a Christian name (masculine version of Rosaura meaning "Rose of Gold"), would have had the standard Christian oath-taking ceremony, rather than the specific one for non-Christian Chinese individuals.

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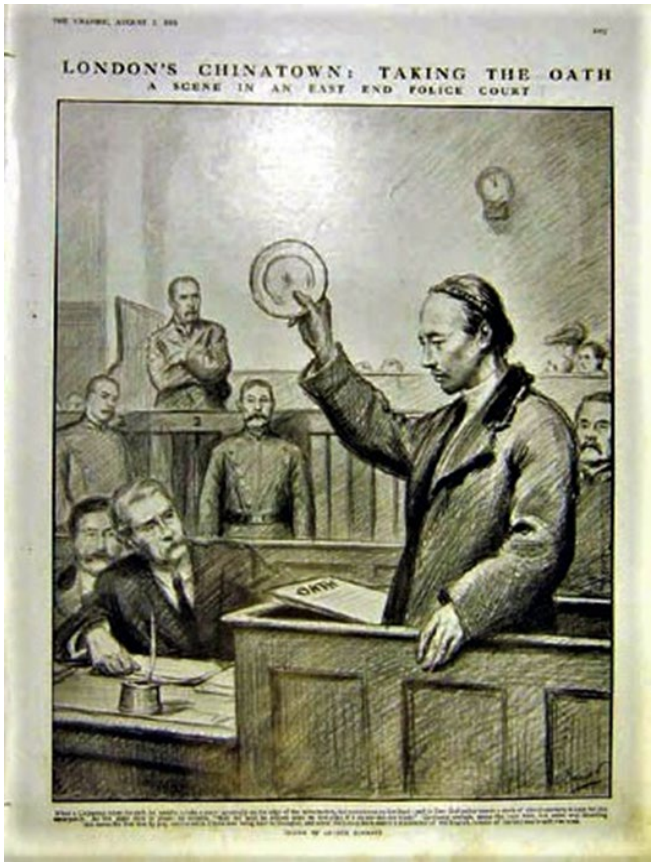
[19] Jesús Paniagua Pérez (ed.), *Memoria reservada de Don Domingo Moriones sobre el gobierno de Filipinas (1877-1880)*. Universidad de León, 1988,147.

Oath Taking for Non-Christian Chinese



"A Chinese oath," The Graphic.
August 2, 1913.
Copyright by John Seed.

In Western legal systems during the second half of the 19th century, finding an appropriate oath-taking formula for Chinese witnesses posed a challenge. In British Hong Kong in the 1840s and in the United States from 1864 onwards, where there was a growing Chinese migrant community, different alternatives for oath-taking were explored, depending on the judge or circumstances.[20] The Spanish legal system in the Philippines had adopted a specific oath-taking ceremony for non-Christian Chinese witnesses as early as 1806. This ceremony involved the use of two lighted candles, a rooster, and two pieces of paper with the person's name, exact date and time of birth written in Chinese characters. The papers were burned

[20] For the instances in British in Hong-Kong see Christopher Munn: *Anglo-China: Chinese People and British Rule in Hong Kong, 1841-1880*, 231-232 and 243. For instances in the United States see: Scott Zesch: "Chinese Los Angeles in 1870-1871: The Makings of a Massacre" in *Southern California Quarterly 90, no. 2 (2008): 109-58.* Accessed April 15, 2020. doi:10.2307/41172418,145-146. Footnote 232. Also in the 1904 case "Rex v. Lai Ping", mentioned at: *Law Notes, Volume 32*. E. Thompson Company, 1929,86.

in one of the candles, and the rooster's head was cut off.[21] This oath-taking rule must have been known in the Mariana Islands, since it is explicitly described in the handbook of duties of the local Gobernadorcillos for the whole of the Spanish Philippines.[22]

A Spanish author commenting on a case in Manila in 1844 protested that such a ceremony should only apply to Confucian Chinese, not Taoist or Buddhists, as it would be meaningless for them.[23] Over time, many Western justice professionals in Southeast Asia assumed that oath-taking in general as meaningless within Chinese systems of belief. Blatant prejudices and misunderstandings against Chinese migrants and their cultures did complicate the matter even further.

Rosauro Ungpinco testified that on the morning of December 1, he sent the four convicts, Boncao, Panday, Benoligo, and Ceñido, to cut bamboo. They left his ranch in Tumon Bay, which may have been located in the same land that his descendants owned until the 20th century, in the present-day area known as Matapang Beach.[24] The purpose of their task was to gather bamboo, and Ungpinco authorized each of them to carry a machete for the cutting work. Around 9 in the morning, Panday and Benoligo returned to the ranch and informed Ungpinco that Boncao had killed Marcos Untalán. They claimed they did not witness the incident themselves. Concerned, Ungpinco took back the machetes from Panday and Benoligo and brought them back to the city, where he surrendered

[21] Joaquín Rodríguez San Pedro: *Legislacion ultramarina: Volumen VI. Gracia y justicia*. Madrid, 1866, 156-157.

[22] José Feced y Temprano: *Manual del Gobernadorcillo en el ejercicio de sus atribuciones judiciales y escriturarias: Guía del hombre de negocios en Filipinas*. Imp. de Ramírez y Giraudier, Manila,1867,24-25.

[23] Comange y Dalmau, Rafael. *Cuestiones filipinas. 1a parte, Los Chinos, estudio social y político.* Tipo-Litografia de Chofre Manila 1894,139.

[24] According to family lore. Ralph Unpingco, personal communication to the author. April 16, 2020.

them to the *Comandante del Presidio*. Unbeknownst to Ungpinco, Ceñido and Boncao had already been brought to the Comandante. Upon learning that an investigation was underway, Ungpinco also surrendered the two machetes to Manuel Aflagüe. However, due to the haste of the situation, Ungpinco did not notice or confirm if the convicts had any blood stains on their clothes or the machetes. He also did not clean the machetes himself and did not witness anyone else cleaning them. Another witness, Ysidro Avendaño, testified that on the morning of December 1, he was the guard on duty at the Rancho de Tamuning, located below the cliff known as Jalaguak (*Halaguak*) and not far from To'to.[25] This large rancho, also known as *Rancho del Presidio*, was under the usufruct or institutional property of the penitentiary. Avendaño stated that after 9 in the morning, Ceñido and Boncao arrived at the ranch. Boncao had blood on his shirt and confessed to Avendaño that he had killed a man. Avendaño confiscated a machete from Boncao and a knife from Ceñido, and then led the two convicts back to the city. On their way, they encountered the *Ayudante del Presidio*, to whom Avendaño surrendered the convicts. In his declaration, Avendaño clarified that he was only responsible for the convicts in Tamuning, and that those in Tumon were unsupervised by a foreman and had no shackles, just in case he got in trouble for that. Guillermo Jacome, another convict, testified that on the morning of December 1, Rosauro Ungpinco sent his fellow convicts to gather bamboo, excluding himself. Later that morning, Jacome was detained. He could provide no further information, except for identifying the missing black salacot as his own, which disappeared the same morning when the others went to cut bamboo. Juan Untalán, another son of the victim, also testified.[26] He was a man who held the trust of the local colonial administration. Two years prior, Juan had applied to become the Jail Administrator of the Cárcel Pública (Public Jail) after the appointed Warden had to resign due to an inguinal hernia. The acting governor endorsed Juan's request and even appointed him as the acting Jail Administrator while awaiting approval

[25] The guard is referred to by Ceñido in page s-562 as the "bastonero", a person holding or using a club. *Bastonero* was the name given to the assistant of a Bailiff or head of a presidio.

[26] Wrongly spelled *Butalan*, mistaken from the spelling *Vntalán*, which in turn was mistaken from *Untalán*.

from Manila.[27] According to Juan Untalán's deposition as a witness, he stated that he was unaware of the motive behind the murder and only knew what his brothers had told him. He, along with José Guerrero (maybe Jose de León Guerrero, cited afterwards), went to the crime scene and covered the blood on the road with soil. Additionally, Juan chose not to press charges against the suspect murderers of his father. Another witness, a Chamorro named José de León Guerrero, testified that he was not present at his nearby ranch when the murder occurred. He stated that his ranch was located approximately 248 varas (23.24 meters) south of the crime scene. José arrived at his ranch around 8:30 in the morning on December 1 and learned about the incident an hour later. He also mentioned that sometime between 6 and 7 on the morning of the crime, he saw four convicts walking briskly about 300 pasos (approximately 750 feet) ahead of him in the *Rancho de Aguilar*, heading towards To'to. This was the extent of what he could attest. The subsequent declaration of the designated blade experts, Martínez and León Guerrero, had been previously mentioned. During the interrogation on December 2nd, Rufino Boncao, the main suspect, confessed to killing Marcos Untalán but disputed the version of events provided by José Untalán. According to Boncao, at around 8 in the morning, he and the three other convicts (Panday, Benoligo, and Ceñido) arrived at Marcos Untalán's ranch. They requested permission to cook their breakfast there, but Marcos refused and insulted them by saying *no tenían vergüenza*, they had no shame. Boncao asked Marcos not to say such things and protested that they were not at fault. Allegedly, Marcos ordered one of his men to "apprehend the Tagalos", as convicts were referred to in those days. In response, Marcos hit Boncao with a crossbar he was working with, and another man hit him in the back. Boncao retaliated by using his own machete to strike Marcos three or four times, but he was uncertain about the exact location of the blows. According to Boncao, this altercation occurred approximately 100 brazas (83.5 meters) away from the ranch. He refuted the version of events provided by José Untalán. Judge Llácer and others present in the room likely had a better understanding of the situation, having listened to forensic reports and seen the victim's body. However, the judge needed unquestionable evidence to establish the involvement of other individuals

[27] LCW, Item 96. Number 786, December 18, 1884. (PDF,317).

in the crime. Conflicting testimonies is most what he had, and those were insufficient for a definitive verdict.

Cross-examination of the Suspects

The Judge further inquired Boncao, who claimed ignorance regarding the wounds on the back of Marcos's head. He couldn't recall the exact position they were in after their initial face-to-face encounter following the verbal exchange. Boncao also stated that he was unaware of the actions of his accomplices or whether any of them had attacked Marcos. He mentioned using machete number 1 during the fight. And later on, while they were all together, they found Ceñido on the road to Tamuning, far from the fight's location. They then left the area together. Boncao was unsure when he lost his salacot but recognized it as his own. In another statement, he mentioned that while he was on top of Marcos Untalán, Benoligo and Panday were beside him, urging him to kill. Eventually, Boncao admitted that it was likely the other convicts also struck Marcos with their machetes, as evidenced by the blood on the blades, which they cleaned afterward. Benoligo, whose full name was Mariano Peñaflor y Benoligo but was commonly known by his maternal surname, was also interrogated on the same day. He acknowledged being aware that he was being interrogated regarding the fight that occurred the previous morning between Boncao and an unidentified man (Marcos Untalán).[28] However, Benoligo claimed to have no knowledge of the incident because he was far away from where it took place. According to him, on the morning of December 1, Boncao, Panday, and him went to Marcos Untalán's ranch and requested permission to cook their breakfast. The woman at the ranch, accompanied by a girl, told them to wait for her husband's permission. After some time, Boncao returned to where Panday and Benoligo were waiting, and they left the ranch while Marcos went back to his work. That was all Benoligo could say. As the Judge grew

[28] This question of Benoligo´s awareness on what was going on, was made only to him. It could by an indicator that an undetermined and unrecorded special factor should be taken into consideration for him. He may have been mentally handicapped, since in the final sentence there was an appeal by the Spanish defendant to lessen Benoligo´s sentence “out of piety”, as seen later in the paper.

increasingly impatient, he confronted Benoligo directly, questioning why he had been providing elusive answers. The Judge proposed alternative scenarios instead, suggesting that Marcos Untalán may have run away in response to something Rufino Boncao said, and that Untalán was chased by Boncao, Panday, and Benoligo before being struck with a machete blow to the head around 500 pasos later, inflicted by Boncao.

Benoligo claimed he didn't know the answer to the Judge's inquiries. The Judge further suggested that once the victim fell to the ground, Boncao went on top of him but was hit by another man with a fociño, after which Panday and Benoligo ran after that man. Benoligo responded by saying he only heard Panday screaming “Rufino, Rufino!” and denied witnessing Marcos Untalán hitting Boncao with a crossbar.

During the presentation of his clothes from that day, Benoligo admitted they were his and that he had been wearing them on December 1. However, he claimed that the stains on the clothes were not blood but rather betel nut stains. He also mentioned that his surname was Peñaflor and wondered about why people knew him by his maternal surname, Benoligo. Simón Panday was interrogated for the second time. During his initial interrogation, he stated that Boncao, Benoligo, and he had left Rosauro Ungpinco's ranch to cut bamboo. Boncao later returned, claiming to have killed a man. Panday declared that he didn't know Marcos or his family and wasn't present at the ranch, so he was unaware of what had happened. The Judge challenged Panday's statement, suggesting that they had actually gone to Marcos Untalán's ranch to ask for permission to cook breakfast and later followed him to the place where he was working. The Judge proposed that they chased Untalán, who was wounded while they yelled “hala hala” at Boncao. Panday denied this version, stating it wasn't true. He also denied witnessing Marcos Untalán hitting Boncao with a crossbar or another man hitting Boncao with a fociño. Panday insisted that the stains on his clothes were not blood. The subsequent confrontations between the suspects—Boncao, Benoligo, and Panday—revealed further contradictions among them. When Boncao confronted Benoligo, he asked if it wasn't true that they were all together while assaulting Untalán. Boncao claimed they were not only next to him but also screaming “kill him, kill him!” and using their own machetes to strike the victim. Benoligo eventually admitted to being present but denied

personally striking the victim. The second and third confrontations, between Panday and Boncao, and between Panday and Benoligo, were less productive than the first. Panday adamantly refused to admit any involvement and insisted on his own version of events, which contradicted the other testimonies. By then Boncao was providing increasingly detailed information about the crime and the involvement of the other two.

Confession and Exposure

Boncao attested that on the morning of the crime, they went to Marcos Untalán's ranch because Untalán was known to Benoligo and Panday. After being denied permission to cook their breakfast and leaving, Panday questioned whether they should retaliate for the offense. Boncao challenged Panday to do something if he wasn't satisfied. Panday's response was: "*Ano, hindi lalaqui cayo*? M*aciron cayo tatacot? Walag cayon bayag anu hindi papataing cay Marcos?"*, which the judiciary secretary translated as "What is this, aren't you men? Are you scared? You don't have balls if you don´t kill Marcos".[29] According to Boncao's confession, after returning to Untalán's ranch, he asked Untalán if he was upset about their previous request. Benoligo then intervened, stating, "so much talk but you don't do anything." This made Untalán realize he was in immediate danger and started running away, with the three convicts in pursuit. Boncao claimed that during the chase, both Panday and Benoligo were hitting Untalán with their machetes. But once Untalán fell to the ground and Boncao was on top of him, he was uncertain if the others also continued to strike the victim. Untalán fought back, trying to defend himself from the machete blows. After the blows, when Boncao finally stood up, one of the others said "it seems he is still alive," to which Boncao responded "better leave him". Allegedly the other two returned to the site where Untalán was laying. Boncao declared he couldn't see if they hit him again with the crowbar. Following the killing, they left the ranch,

[29] The quotes in Tagalog reveal that the lack of proficiency of the secretary/scribe was not limited to Spanish language. In a more grammatically correct Tagalog the lines could read: *Hindi kayo mga lalaki? Natatakot ba kayo? Wala kayong bayag. Kung hindi ninyo papataying si Marcos*.

exchanged the machetes they had just cleaned with leaves they found along the way, and headed to the Rancho de Tamuning. On their journey, they encountered another convict named Manuel Ceñido. Boncao instructed everyone to return to Tumon, to the ranch of Ungpinco. Benoligo's own statement confirmed Boncao's confession. Benoligo added that Untalán had insulted them while refusing permission to cook breakfast, using language like “Sons of a bitch, may a lightning bolt strike you!” Benoligo admitted to challenging Boncao by saying, “so much talk but you don't do anything, kill him already!” He also admitted to shouting “kill him, kill him” and pursuing Untalán like the others but denied personally striking Untalán with a machete. In a subsequent declaration, Panday finally admitted being present at the rancho during the murder, but still denied taking part in it. He provided yet another version of the events. According to him, Untalán refused to give them permission to enter his rancho due to prohibitions outlined in the Bandos, because tools frequently went missing whenever convicts entered farmsteads. Supposedly, Untalán responded, “If you want to cook, go ahead. It's up to you,” before walking away toward his crops. The three convicts subsequently left as well, but after a short while, Boncao exclaimed, “Wait, I'm going to strike Untalán with a machete for refusing us preparing our breakfast.” According to Panday, he and Benoligo attempted to dissuade Boncao from doing so.

Further contradictions emerged from Panday's statements during subsequent cross-examinations. After another interrogation with Boncao, Panday claimed to have been present at the rancho but insisted that he did not participate in the murder. He argued that the bloodstains on his clothes were likely a result of his partners Boncao and Benoligo's bloodied attire. Eventually, in another declaration, Panday finally confessed to fully participating in the crime, aligning his account with that of the other two. He added details about the victim's attempt to fight back, mentioning how Untalán's son struck Boncao with a fociño. Initially, they had agreed that Boncao would shoulder the blame alone, but eventually, Boncao confessed everything, leaving no reason for Panday to continue pretending.

Overall, the initial witness statements were now substantiated by the confessions, which included the fact that Manuel Ceñido, the fourth convict initially present at the rancho, had no involvement whatsoever. He

had simply remarked, "What a bad habit this man has. It seems incredible that we are fellow countrymen," when Untalán denied them permission to cook breakfast. That was the extent of Ceñido's involvement.

The Comandante del Presidio provided the revealing criminal records of the suspects. Boncao had received a ten-year sentence for assault, murder, injury, and illegal detention in a 1878 decision of the Court of Capiz in the Philippines. This sentence was extended in 1883 by an additional eight months of public works. Benoligo's criminal record showed a ten-year sentence for murder and resisting authority, handed down by the Court of Iloilo in 1876. Simón Panday had also received a ten-year sentence for murder since 1869 (likely a typo for 1879), issued by the Court of Barotac Viejo. The *Comandante del Presidio de Agaña* certified that during their time in Guam, all four of them had exhibited good conduct.

Prosecutor and Defense Have the Floor

It was now time for the prosecutor to make his petition. Based on the proven facts and the criminal records of the four accused, the prosecutor requested a death sentence by *garrote vil* for them. Additionally, he requested joint compensation to be paid to the heirs of Untalán in the amount of 200 pesos for damages, and for each of the culprits to individually cover one-fourth of the costs of the legal proceedings. As for Manuel Ceñido, the prosecutor requested absolution.

The defense of the accused, likely conducted ex officio by one of the Spanish officers posted at the time in Guam or by the *Secretario Asesor Letrado* (Secretary-Legal Advisor) of the Governor, aimed to mitigate the severity of the forthcoming sentence. He requested any sentence other than death for Rufino Boncao. Similarly, for Benoligo the defense requested a sentence other than death, citing "piety" as the reason. And lastly, for Manuel Ceñido, the defense asked for absolution.

Judge Llácer, having carefully considered the evidence, testimonies, and proven facts, delivered the judgment. It was determined that the crime of murder, as defined in Article 333 of the 1850 Penal Code and Article 418 of the 1870 Penal Code, had been demonstrated. The existence of the *corpus delicti* itself, along with the spontaneous confession made by

the accused, proved the crime beyond a reasonable doubt. It was also established that their confession was not coerced or the result of a mistake by the accused (*non por premia* and *non por yerro)*.

Furthermore, premeditation was proven through the testimonies of witnesses and the confessions of the suspects. After leaving Untalán's rancho, they discussed their plan and agreed to kill him. Although their conversation was brief, the nature of their discussion qualified as premeditation, and their confession explicitly referred to their planning: they initially walked away from the rancho, discussed the attack, and then returned to commit the murder.

All in all, the judge established that they confessed to the actual crime during a legal trial and in front of him as Judge, thus meeting the legal requirements for a valid confession under the Spanish penal code.

The Judge also ruled that the crime was committed with *alevosía*, treachery, or malice aforethought, which refers to inflicting harm on a victim while ensuring they cannot defend themselves. The cruelty inflicted on the victim, with fourteen additional wounds in addition to the four fatal ones, was considered an aggravating circumstance. Additionally, based on Benoligo's attack on José Untalán to prevent him from defending his father, the Judge ruled attempted homicide.

The possibility of the murder being a result of a sudden outburst following the alleged insults had been ruled out, but an aggravating circumstance was present: all the accused were repeat offenders serving sentences for previously committed murders. As a result, within the range provided by the penal code, the penalty had to be at its maximum degree: death.

THE SENTENCE

> “I hereby deliver my ruling:
>
> Firstly, I declare that based on the presented and proven facts, the crimes committed do indeed constitute aggravated murder with the circumstance of known premeditation.

Secondly, Rufino Boncao y Bonilla, also known as Binoy; Mariano Peñaflor y Benoligo, who is additionally guilty of attempted murder; and Simón Panday, are the responsible and convicted perpetrators of the aforementioned crime.

Thirdly, that the aggravating circumstances applicable to all three accused individuals in the commission of the murder are premeditation, cruelty, recidivism, and the special circumstance specified in Article 123 of the 1850 Penal Code. No exemption or mitigating circumstances are worthy of consideration.

Fourthly, regarding Mariano Peñaflor y Benoligo's guilt for attempted murder, the aggravating circumstances of recidivism, including the special circumstance mentioned in Article 123, concur, without any mitigating circumstances present.

Fifthly, it has been sufficiently proven that Manuel Ceñido had no involvement in the events of this case.

Therefore, based on the aforementioned:

I hereby condemn Rufino Boncao y Bonilla, Mariano Peñaflor y Benoligo, and Simón Panday as perpetrators of the crime of aggravated murder, without any mitigating circumstances, to the penalty of death by garrote vil. They are also jointly ordered to pay compensation of 200 pesos to the heirs of Marcos Untalán and individually responsible for one-fourth of the legal costs.

I hereby absolve and acquit Manuel Ceñido de la Cruz, as he has been found innocent of any participation in the crime.

> In the event that Mariano Peñaflor y Benoligo obtains a pardon from the death penalty, I sentence him to two years of imprisonment for the charge of attempted murder.
>
> The machetes numbered 2, 4, and 5 are declared forfeit due to their prohibited use and will be destroyed. Machetes numbers 1 and 3 will be returned to their owner, Rosauro Ungpinco, while the crowbar, clothes, and hat will be returned to the heirs of Marcos Untalán.
>
> This sentence, whether appealed or not, will be sent for consultations to the Superior Criminal Court of the Real Audiencia for this territory. The original document will be submitted through the Illustrious President of the said Court after notifying and summoning the relevant parties within the specified time frame. This serves as the definitive judgment, ordered and signed by myself, as attested by the undersigned.
>
> Joaquín María Llácer y Martín.
> Clerk: José Moreno.
> [In the City of Agaña, on December 27, 1886]"

Garrote, a method of execution developed in Spain and its colonies, was considered a swift and supposedly more humane way to cause death without bloodshed. According to Spanish legal practice at the time, executions were required to be carried out in the province where the crime was committed. However, there is only one recorded instance of a garrote execution taking place in the Mariana Islands, which occurred in 1863.

Death sentences were commuted more frequently than one might expect. In the trial of the murderers of Marcos Untalán, once the case was reviewed in the High Court of Manila, the ultimate verdict commuted the death penalty to a ten-year prison term. Furthermore, the compensation awarded to the heirs of the victim was reduced to 100 pesos.[30] The final

[30] NAP, Expedientes Gubernativos. SDS-14747,241.

whereabouts of the four sentenced men would necessitate further investigation, considering the sentence itself was far from concluding the saga of the murder: Rufino Boncao remained in Guam to serve his newly imposed ten-year prison sentence. But on January 20, 1891, he executed a daring escape from Agaña's penitentiary. Having such a dangerous criminal on the run prompted the then-Governor Vara de Rey to issue a "most urgent circular order," warning all district officers and village mayors of the imminent danger. A reward of 4 pesos was offered to anyone providing information on the escaped convict Rufino Boncao, "42 years old, short stature, shaven head", and those found aiding or sheltering him would face the penalties prescribed by the existing code.[31]

As for the surviving family of Marcos Untalán, after the initial sentence and the final compensation of 100 pesos was granted, the time had come to embark on a new chapter of their lives. Most of them resettled in Yap for a while, at the then-newly established colony of Santa Cristina de Yap, where anyone with professional skills, knowledge of Western practices and Spanish administration was welcomed. Many decades later, back in Guam, Filomena "Menang" Untalan would still reminisce about her youth in Yap to her grandson, Joseph Palomo. It appeared as if earlier, painful recollections of a tragic morning in To'to had been shrouded by the soothing passage of time, replaced by happier memories, such as those from Yap.

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CHamoru Employees of the Pre-War Guam Agricultural Experiment Station

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Introduction

The United States acquired the island of Guam, as well as Puerto Rico and the Philippines, through the Treaty of Paris of 1898, which ended the Spanish-American War. Guam, which has an area of around 225 square miles, had a resident population of 9,676 in 1901, with CHamorus accounting for all but a small number (Carano & Sanchez, 1964). CHamorus, whose ancestors had lived on Guam for centuries, owed allegiance to the United States but would not be granted U.S. citizenship until the passage of the Guam Organic Act of 1950. In the pre-World War II (pre-War) era, a series of twenty-four U.S. Naval officers governed the island, having complete executive, legislative, and judicial authority (Carano & Sanchez, 1964).

Pre-War Guam was an agricultural society, and nearly all families maintained a farm (referred to locally as a "ranch"). However, from the beginning of American rule, the Naval Government lamented what they considered the primitive and inefficient nature of local agricultural practices. The common farming implements were the machete and a type of hoe known as the fosiño, with the carabao being the primary draft animal. Plows were used little except for rice production (Oakley, 1944; L. Thompson, 1947). Spanish officials required the people to live in a village, resulting in regular commutes to ranches, and this pattern had become part of the CHamoru way of life. There was a "lack of specialization and … lack of concern for earning money in favor of subsistence farming" (Underwood, 1987, pp. 71–72). Modernization of Guam's agriculture was a top priority so that the island would have a steady food supply not only

to meet the needs of local residents but also the needs of Navy personnel (Hattori, 2014; Santos, 2018).

The Naval Government sought the assistance of the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), and from 1909 to 1932 the department operated the Guam Agricultural Experiment Station (GAES). During the pre-War era, the USDA and the Post Office were the primary representatives of the federal government on the island outside of the Navy structure (Bradley, 1930; Smith, 1918). Elyssa Juline Santos (2018) wrote a thesis entitled *"Practicing Economy": Chamorro Agency and U.S. Colonial Agricultural Projects, 1898-1941*, which includes an examination of the station's role in the pre-War administration of the island. This current study focuses on an area not covered by Santos by providing an overview of CHamoru employees of the GAES and their contribution to the station and its successor.

Establishment of the Station

Lt. Vincedon L. Cottman wrote a report for the Secretary of the Navy in early 1899 with recommendations for Guam, including the establishment of schools that would "teach as far as applicable to a primitive people the arts and sciences which would be beneficial and instructive to them and enable them to raise better crops, build better homes or boats, or raise more stock" (Beers, 1944, p. 15). He also suggested the establishment of "a government experimental agricultural station and stock farm in one" (p. 14). Secretary of Agriculture James A. Wilson believed that the USDA had an important role to play in America's colonial endeavors, though Guam was not a priority at that time. He recommended in 1899 the establishment of experiment stations in "Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands, so that they may be enabled to supply the United States with tropical products, our importation of which amount to over two hundred million dollars annually" (Wilson, 1899, p. x). In 1900, Congress authorized the department to establish experiment stations in Hawaii and Puerto Rico,

though agricultural research in the Philippines operated under the island's colonial government (Overfield, 1990).

After a major typhoon struck Guam in November 1900, the slow recovery of agriculture led Governor Seaton Schroeder to bring the matter of an experiment station up with Wilson while in Washington, and in Governor George L. Dyer's annual report of 1904, he expressed his hope that the Navy "may be able to excite the interest of the Secretary of Agriculture" in establishing a station on the island (Beers, 1944; Dyer, 1904, p. 106). Though Wilson proposed the establishment of a station in Guam in his report for 1904, the station was not funded (Wilson, 1904). The following year, the Naval Government decided that the need for an experiment station was so great that it began its own (True, 1908). The station was led by Hermann L. V. Costenoble, a German botanist who lived on the island ("Four O'Clock," 1932). Costenoble began to "give the natives a practical example in the use of labor-saving tools and modern methods of cultivation and to stimulate them to increase the variety of their food products," and he also provided instruction to 29 students (Dyer, 1910, pp. 165–166). While pleased with the work of the station, the Naval Government felt that much more could be accomplished at a station run by the USDA. Alfred C. True, director of the USDA's Office of Experiment Station (OES), was confident of the benefits of such a station, noting in his annual report for 1907 that "with the introduction of other crops, some of which would require short seasons for their production, the repetition of former experiences could be avoided to a considerable degree" (True, 1908, pp. 405–406).

With the encouragement of the Secretary of the Navy, Wilson once again inserted a line for the station in his proposed budget for fiscal year 1909 (True, 1908). Congress approved Wilson's request, and Walter E. Evans, chief of the OES's Division of Insular Stations, went to Guam in the summer of 1908 to set up the station. He placed Costenoble in charge on an interim basis, and Costenoble arranged for the lease with an option to buy a tract of land from a local resident named Juan Torres (True, 1909, 1910). The USDA appointed John B. Thompson, who had previously worked with the Philippine Bureau of Agriculture, to lead the station and

purchased the 32-acre tract from Torres soon afterward (J. B. Thompson, 1911; True, 1910). An adjoining tract of 130 acres was added in the 1912 fiscal year, and an additional tract of 1,200 acres located in Cotot was purchased for use primarily as a stock farm in the 1914 fiscal year (J. B. Thompson, 1913, 1915).[1]

There were eleven permanent employees serving over the life of the station, including station directors Thompson (1909-1914), Andrew C. Hartenbower (1914-1917), and Charles W. Edwards (1917-1932) (Edwards, 1918, 1933; J. B. Thompson, 1915). The longest serving was Peter Nelson, a New York native who had lived on Guam for nearly a decade before his appointment as station agent in 1911 (Briggs, 1918a; J. B. Thompson, 1912). He was among the community of American permanent residents on Guam that numbered just 14 in 1908 (Carano & Sanchez, 1964). Nelson had married a CHamoru woman and was thus more integrated into CHamoru culture than the other American staff members (U. S. Census Bureau, 1920a). Prior to his permanent appointment, he was a station foreman working for $4 a day (Zappone, 1912).

Early lists of station expenditures show that there were also dozens of CHamorus working primarily as laborers making 64 cents a day but also as carpenters, masons, teamsters, and more (Zappone, 1911, 1912, 1913). The early laborers played a crucial role in getting the station going since the land had not been used for agriculture in some time and "had reverted to almost a tropical jungle" (True, 1910, pp. 94–95). Only then could the station begin the work outlined by True (1909) as follows: "the introduction and breeding of crops of various kinds, forage plant production, improved methods of tillage, soil conservation and improvement, introduction of livestock, and animal breeding" (p. 31). Laborers continued to play an important behind-the-scenes role in the station throughout its existence (Coolidge, 1928; Harding, 1922).

[1] Cotot was a name formerly used for Cotal, located southeast of Piti in the middle of Guam (Santos, 2018; U. S. Board on Geographic Names, 1955).

Anonymous Plant Collector

The first mention of a CHamoru employee performing scientific work for the station occurred in Thompson's annual report for 1913. Although William E. Safford (1905), a USDA scientist and former lieutenant governor on Guam, had written a 416-page volume entitled *Useful Plants of Guam* in 1905, Thompson felt that more efforts at botanical collection were needed. For this he requested that the Philippine Bureau of Science send "a native collector from the Philippines" (J. B. Thompson, 1914, p. 20). That plan did not work out, but the Bureau of Science did send Richard C. McGregor, who "with a native laborer from this station as helper collected specimens of the flora of Guam during a month of his vacation period" in November of 1911 (J. B. Thompson, 1914, p. 20). McGregor trained this CHamoru employee to continue the efforts after he left, which resulted in the collection of 484 specimens in addition to the 232 collected by McGregor (Cox, 1913). Unfortunately, the name of this collector was not given in the annual reports of the station or of the Bureau of Science, but he would have been one of the laborers in the station expenditure reports mentioned above.

An interesting possibility is Jose Salas, who was among the four laborers making the highest daily wage (80 cents) that fiscal year (Zappone, 1913). He (or someone by the same name) was one of two CHamorus who earned scholarships in 1912 to study in the Philippines. The other scholarship winner was Joaquin C. Guerrero, who would become the first permanent CHamoru employee of the GAES. Governor Robert E. Coontz had corresponded with the director of the Philippine Bureau of Forestry regarding forestry on Guam, and the Naval Government sent the two scholars to study Forestry at the University of the Philippines (UP) ("Guam Students," 1912; UP, 1914).

First Permanent CHamoru Employee

Guerrero was born on October 29, 1892. After completing eight years in public schools, which was all that was available on Guam at the

time, he himself became a school teacher in 1908 (J. Guerrero, 1918; Underwood, 1987).[2] Guerrero and Salas enrolled in the School of Forestry's Ranger Course, which led to a certificate rather than degree (Villamor, 1916). The UP catalog stated that "students who have not had the equivalent of the first two years' work in a public high school may take a four years' course in forestry, the first two years being identical with the course in agriculture" (UP, 1912, p. 156). Accordingly, Guerrero and Salas took four years to complete the program.

The experience in America's largest overseas colony must have influenced the way Guerrero and Salas viewed the Naval Government of Guam. While Guam had no elected legislative body, an elected Philippine Assembly held lower-house legislative authority since 1907, and by 1916, Filipinos held complete legislative authority and were in charge of most government bureaus (Kramer, 2006). In the School of Forestry, the faculty not only included prominent American botanists such as Edwin B. Copeland and Fred W. Foxworthy but also Mauricio J. Oteyza, a Filipino who had a bachelor's from Kansas State Agricultural College and a Masters of Forestry from Yale (UP, 1914). Oteyza's academic credentials exceeded those of all the Americans with whom Guerrero would work in the GAES. However, even highly educated Filipino scientists were often treated as a "native assistant" by their American counterparts in the Philippines during this time (Uichanco, 1958, p. 458).

Guerrero and Salas graduated in 1916, and Guerrero joined the GAES as a laborer making $2 a day (Evans, 1919; Sherfesee, 1916). He soon became the assistant of Glen Briggs, who joined the station in 1917 to replace Hartenbower as agronomist and horticulturalist. Like Hartenbower, Briggs was a graduate of Oklahoma A&M College. In a letter to his alma mater's newspaper, he described Guerrero as "a very bright fellow" who impressed Briggs with his "great knack for remembering all scientific names and using them along with other book terms" (Briggs, 1917, p. 3). He admitted that "the larger percent of the crops, such as

[2] Underwood (1987) notes of the pre-War era that "teachers themselves were typically eighth grade graduates with summer normal school training" (p. 164).

tobacco, rice, bananas, cocoanuts, pineapples, coffee, etc., are all new to me, but there is a most excellent library that helps out wonderfully." Having Guerrero as an assistant undoubtedly allowed work to continue as he was getting up to speed.

In another letter home, Briggs (1918b) gave his observations on the Naval Government, noting that "everything is practically handled by the [Naval] Government, or under its direct supervision. Is an absolute monarchy run by the navy and not by the people" (p.2). Briggs also found a certain arrogance in many Navy officers stationed on the island. When the Secretary of the Navy ordered strict prohibition of alcohol on Guam, Briggs (1918c) wrote, "It will nearly kill some of the officers here, and I imagine, as they are the 'It', they will find some way of getting it into the island, law or no law" (p. 4). If Briggs found this to be the case in his interactions with the officers, CHamorus like Guerrero must have experienced this condescending attitude to an even greater extent.

In May 1918, the station sent Guerrero for special training in plant propagation in the Philippines and in Hawaii from renowned horticulturalist James E. Higgins, and on July 1, 1918, Guerrero officially became the station's first permanent CHamoru employee, with the title of Assistant in Horticulture and a salary of $900 a year (Briggs, 1919; Evans, 1918; "Field Notes," 1918). In the station's annual report for 1918, Briggs (1919) noted that "Mr. Guerrero has the personal supervision of much of the work in horticulture, which has become more extensive with the addition of the Moritz property" (p. 46).

CHamoru Students at Oklahoma A&M

A severe blow to the island's food supply and production of copra (dried coconut meat) occurred when a major typhoon struck Guam on July 6, 1918 (Edwards, 1921). To assist with the rebuilding of the island, Congress provided funding for the station to hire an extension agent. Undoubtedly through the recommendation of Briggs and perhaps Hartenbower, the man selected for the task was William J. Green, who, like Briggs, was a 1916 graduate of Oklahoma A&M. At the time, Green worked

with the Extension Division of A&M as Assistant Boys' Club Agent ("Bill Green," 1918). Boys' and Girls' Clubs were a major focus of Green's efforts on Guam as well because "the children are more eager to learn than the older folks, and they are more willing to put into practice the things they learn" (W. J. Green, 1921, pp. 70–71).

Like Briggs, Green's wife Gladys commented on the sense of entitlement shown by Americans connected with the Navy, while also acknowledging that she was able to participate in that privileged lifestyle. In a letter that seemed to be poking fun at Navy wives, she told her friends back home that she was able to "be quite a 'lady'" in Guam, having both a house boy doing the cooking and cleaning and a maid to take care of their son, who was born on the island (G. Green, 1920, p. 2). She noted that "it is the custom here, in fact, it is almost necessary, that the American women take a rest in the hottest part of the day."

On August 31, 1919, William wrote to Philip H. Hayes of Oklahoma A&M that he and Gladys were "having the time of our lives," and he also told Hayes to expect to see "Tubby Briggs" in Stillwater with four CHamorus who would study at Oklahoma A&M for varying lengths of time (B. Green, 1919, p. 4). Juan R. Rosario was a supervisor of a Boys' Club, and Jose L. G. Rios was his assistant. They were both also teachers. Green asked that Hayes "give them some dope on how the extension work is run back there." The expenses of these two, as well as of Ramon M. Sablan and Antonio I. Cruz, were paid by the Naval Government with the expectation that "they will have received training that will fit them for positions as club supervisors in connection with their teaching work" (W. J. Green, 1921, p. 77). Cruz, who would later work at the GAES, and Sablan first enrolled in high school-level courses before taking regular college courses (Student Association, 1920). Another student from Guam, Antonio A. Shimizu, accompanied them but paid his own way. Briggs and the students left Guam on September 8, 1919, and arrived in Stillwater on October 14 ("Five Native," 1919).

With the exception of Shimizu, these students were born on American soil, yet they were all considered part of the college's foreign student population ("Foreign Students," 1923; U. S. Census Bureau,

1920b). This ambiguous status, which was enshrined in several "insular cases" decided by the U.S. Supreme Court,[3] was also reflected in letters from the students that were published in the *Guam News Letter*. Cruz (1921) wrote to the new governor that he hoped the governor, who was "strange to our island," would "look upon our people in the same manner as you do your own" (p. 8). Sablan (1921) addressed a letter to "my dear countrymen," noting that he had "experienced how bitter and discouraging it was to leave our home and our dear ones behind, heading toward a distant country to be confronted by all its embarrassments and its foreign atmosphere" (p. 5).

Increased Responsibilities for CHamorus

Briggs returned to Guam in February 1920, but he left for the States again in January 1921 and officially resigned on June 6, 1921 (Briggs, 1921; Edwards, 1923; J. Guerrero, 1923). By that time he likely knew that his position would not be funded for the following fiscal year (Harding, 1921). He served as an associate agronomist at Oklahoma A&M while working on a master's degree (Bailey & Bailey, 1930a). The following year, he completed a master's thesis based on his research in Guam. In the acknowledgement section, he mentioned various entities that had assisted him, but he mentioned only Guerrero by name (Briggs, 1922). Green seems to have wanted to stay in Guam longer, but his time was also cut short by the elimination of the position (Edwards, 1924).

The station's report for 1921 listed Guerrero as Assistant in Agronomy and Horticulture. Speaking of himself in the third-person in his section of the report, he stated in a matter-of-fact manner that after Briggs's departure he:

[3] The Supreme Court ruled in 1901 that "whilst in an international sense Porto Rico was not a foreign country, since it was subject to the sovereignty of and was owned by the United States, it was foreign to the United States in a domestic sense, because the island had not been incorporated into the United States" (*Downes v. Bidwell*, 1901). This was one of several "insular cases" that applied also to Guam, and these cases continue to affect the status of the island (Chargualaf, 2021).

> assumed direct charge of the agronomic and horticultural work of the station. In addition to his other duties, he served as a member of the Agana fair committee, having direct charge of the agronomic and horticultural exhibits and acting as judge of the agricultural products at the fair. (J. Guerrero, 1923, p. 8)

By using the word "direct" in both sentences, Guerrero may have been indicating that he saw himself as capable of continuing the work of Briggs, even if he was paid less than half of what Briggs made (Harding, 1921). Toward the end of the decade, Guerrero's training in forestry came in useful, as the station assisted the Naval Government with reforestation efforts to replenish the island's dwindling supply of timber (J. Guerrero, 1931, 1933).

Edwards was able to add another CHamoru to the station staff as Assistant in Poultry Husbandry in 1921. Francisco B. Leon Guerrero, who was born on March 6, 1898, served as a teacher making 35 cents a day and then school principal before joining the station as a daily worker earning $1.50 a day in 1918 or 1919 (Leon Guerrero, 1921; Nelson, 1965; True, 1921). While he had little formal training in agriculture, he was "an ambitious student making good use of every opportunity," and he had "become very proficient in poultry management and it is expected to turn over most of the details to him" (Evans, 1921). Leon Guerrero described himself as a "machete scientist," which Michael Lujan Bevacqua (2020) interprets as his way of showing "how he felt that farming and being connected to the land was its own form of intelligence and power." He was a vocal opponent of Naval rule, as demonstrated in 1924 by his refusal to stand in the presence of the Naval governor, who was on a visit to the station. For this, he "was sentenced to 15 days of hard labor" (Quinata & Palomo, 2022). Leon Guerrero also received an initial salary of $900, but he and Guerrero were both promoted to the civil service classification of "Minor Scientific Helper" in 1924, which included a fifty percent pay raise (Gladmon, 1924a, 1924b).

After Green's departure, the station staff took on aspects of extension work as possible. Peter Nelson supervised the club work, and the island government funded "a former supervisor of the Sumay Boys' and Girls' Clubs" to assist him (Edwards, 1924, p. 18). The clubs were discontinued in October 1923 so that the assistant could focus his efforts on school gardens, but they were reinstated on a smaller scale a few of years later (Edwards, 1926a; Shapley, 1926). Antonio Cruz returned from Oklahoma A&M in October 1922 and was under contract to teach for five years (Althouse, 1923). He held the position of School Garden Supervisor for a year and would likely have collaborated more with the experiment station staff than the other A&M students (Evans, 1929; "Schools Observe," 1925). The Naval Government allowed Cruz to end his contract early, and he began studies at the University of Hawaii (UH) in the fall of 1926 ("Guam Teacher," 1926).

In addition to the Department of Education, the station staff also collaborated regularly with other departments of the Naval Government. Beginning in 1925, the station had the assistance of a full-time CHamoru extension agent employed by the Department of Industries. Frank Taitano held this position until his death in 1937 (J. T. Alexander, 1938; Edwards, 1928). This department also operated a farm in Barrigada "to demonstrate improved methods of agriculture and truck gardening" (Smith, 1917, p. 4). The GAES conducted experiments on the Barrigada farm, as well as the Police Department's farm at Libugon, which used prison labor to "suppl[y] the local American colony with fresh vegetables and fruits practically throughout the whole year" (Bradley, 1930, p. 23; Santos, 2018). The Police Department employed a Chief Forester to help combat deforestation, and the station collaborated with this person at various times (Edwards, 1931a). Jose L. G. Bitanga held this position from 1922 to at least 1930 (Althouse, 1923; Bradley, 1930). The Police Department also had an Insular Patrolman, typically a U.S. Marine, stationed in each village, and they were called upon to cooperate with the GAES from time to time (Edwards, 1928; Root, 1932). Such collaborations with the Police Department may have been useful for the work of the station, but Santos (2018) notes that it also could have decreased the

people's willingness to cooperate because of concerns about government surveillance of their ranches.

During this era of American agriculture, experiment stations and extension services on the mainland recognized the importance of "progressive" farmers who would keep "apace of the times" (Pearson, 1921, p. 411). *The Guam Recorder* described Taitano as "an active, progressive, educated Chamorro farmer" who could help farmers become more efficient and profitable ("More Let's Keep," 1925, p. 262). Like American GAES employees, Guerrero and Leon Guerrero also made a distinction between the typical CHamoru farmer and the "progressive" farmers who adopted methods advocated by the station and allowed the station to conduct experiments on their property (J. Guerrero, 1923, p. 13; Leon Guerrero, 1931, p. 8). A major commercial entity that allowed experiments on its property was Atkins, Kroll & Co., which owned a large coconut plantation and also engaged in other agricultural pursuits on the land (Ballendorf, 1984; Briggs, 1921; Santos, 2018).

Further Expansion of the Station Staff

The four-member station staff expanded again in 1925 after Congress provided funding for an entomologist to combat the coconut scale insect, which threatened Guam's only major export industry (Edwards, 1926b). The one selected for this position was S. R. Vandenberg. Unlike other USDA personnel sent to the island, he had some first-hand familiarity with Guam, having served there as a Marine officer a few years before (Bailey & Bailey, 1930b; "Faculty," 1920). When Vandenberg went on leave for two and a half months in 1928, his "work was continued by a native helper under the supervision of the director" (Edwards, 1930, p. 6). Judging from the annual report for that year, the work went smoothly during that time, but neither Edwards nor Vandenberg provided the name of this CHamoru employee.

Edwards (1930, 1931b) continued to appeal for the restoration of the Extension position, and the station finally received funding to add an Assistant in Extension for the 1930 fiscal year. Edwards did not have to

look far to find the ideal candidate for the position. Cruz, who was born on November 2, 1904, was able to transfer 32 credits from Oklahoma A&M, allowing him to start in the sophomore class (Cruz, 1929; UH, 1926). He worked part-time for the Hawaii Experiment Station, and on a trip home during the summer of 1928, he worked for the Guam station ("University Student," 1928). Cruz graduated in 1929 with a degree in Vocational Education with an emphasis in Agriculture, and his GAES appointment began on September 1, 1929 (Cruz, 1931; UH, 1929). He stayed a while longer in Hawaii studying extension work before reporting to the station on October 20, 1929 (Cruz, 1931).

The station now had its largest number of permanent employees, with the three CHamoru employees comprising half the staff. Cruz had the civil service classification of Assistant Scientific Aid and an annual salary of $1,620 (Gladmon, 1929). Guerrero and Leon Guerrero would soon be classified as Junior Scientific Aids with salaries of $1,560 and $1,440 respectively (Gladmon, 1932a, 1932b). Salaries of the American members of the staff were as follows: $5,000 for Edwards, $3,700 for Vandenberg, and $2,600 for Nelson (*Agricultural Department*, 1932). Although station salaries were set in Washington, it is worth noting that racially discriminatory wages were the norm in Guam during Naval rule. When Laura Thompson (1947) was on the island in the late 1930s, an "educated Guamanian" informed her of "an Oriental standard of wages in Guam. Skilled white laborers get $4.00 a day, natives get $2.50" (p. 148). When Naval rule was restored after the Japanese occupation, wages for CHamorus were routinely a fourth of the wages earned by workers doing the same job who were brought in from Hawaii or the mainland (Cogan, 2008).

For adult demonstration work, Cruz worked with Taitano, district commissioners, and in some cases the insular patrol (Cruz, 1931). For the restarted Boys' and Girls' Club work, he cooperated with the local schools. Total school enrollment increased from 1,894 in 1920 to 3,683 in 1930, and the Naval Government remained very concerned with the state of agricultural education (Underwood, 1987). Governor Willis W. Bradley made "an urgent request" for "an educator thoroughly trained in

agriculture and mechanical work" to fill the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Wilfred L. Newton, a fresh graduate of Mississippi A&M College, was selected for the position ("Superintendent," 1930, p. 153). Newton started in November 1930, and in August 1932 he began personal supervision of school gardens (Root, 1931, 1932). However, the Naval Government eliminated the position in 1933 (Reid, 1941).

Closing of the Station

In December 1931, Walter Evans and Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Renick W. Dunlap appeared before a subcommittee of the U. S. House Committee on Appropriations to discuss appropriations for the 1933 fiscal year (*Agricultural Department*, 1932). The USDA budget proposal showed a reduction in every USDA agency, reflecting the federal government's decrease in revenue due to the depression, and one proposal was the closing of the GAES. The chair of the subcommittee, James P. Buchanan, expressed an interest in keeping the station open and asked about the minimum funding required. Dunlap provided a scenario that would keep Edwards, Vandenberg, Nelson, and Cruz, but eliminate the position of Guerrero and Leon Guerrero. When the budget passed, there was no funding at all for the station, and the station closed on June 30, 1932 (Edwards, 1933). The station apparently did not have a lot of advanced notice because Leon Guerrero later recalled "the chaotic condition we were in at the time … prior to the closing" (Leon Guerrero, 1937).

Nelson moved to California before taking a position with the Virgin Islands Experiment Station, working as assistant to former GAES colleague Glen Briggs (Agnew, 1935; "Oldtime Guamite," 1934). Edwards transferred to the Iberia Livestock Experimental Farm in Louisiana, and Vandenberg later worked in Puerto Rico for the USDA's Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine ("Investigations," 1936; "Personalities," 1932). Leon Guerrero continued to be involved in agriculture, and he also was a prominent member of the Guam Congress, which served as an advisory board for the governor. In November 1936, he and Balthazar J.

Bordallo went to Washington, where they spoke at length at a Senate hearing regarding citizenship for the people of Guam (*Citizenship*, 1937). He also met briefly with President Franklin D. Roosevelt. When asked in the hearing about his occupation, Leon Guerrero simply responded that he was a farmer, and during the trip, he helped to facilitate the introduction of "twenty-two varieties of trees and ornamentals" into Guam (J. T. Alexander, 1938, p. 19; *Citizenship*, 1937). He also became a licensed attorney at some point (Nelson, 1965).

Root Agricultural School and School Farm

The USDA transferred the station's property to the Naval Government, which established an agricultural school and school farm on the property in Piti (Blauch & Reid, 1939). An agricultural school begun in 1924 was deemed a failure by Governor Bradley, who described it as "little better than a third rate school garden" ("Guam Agricultural School," 1924, p. 12; as quoted in Underwood, 1987, p. 131). Cruz and Guerrero both worked at the new institution, which was named for former Governor Edmund S. Root.[4] The annual *Educational Directory*, published by the U.S. Office of Education, listed Cruz as "In charge of vocational training" for Guam for 1933 to 1939 and as "Supervisor, agricultural school" from 1940 (U. S. Office of Education, 1933, p. 8, 1940, p. 8). He was also referred to as "School Farm Supervisor" in *The Guam Recorder* ("Guam Institute," 1934, p. 31). Guerrero listed his occupation as "Teacher" in the 1940 census, but a later entry in *Who's Who in the West* indicated that he also may have had the title of "Superintendent" of the School Farm ("Guerrero, Joaquin," 1956, p. 253; U. S. Census Bureau, 1940). The school's curriculum covered the following subjects: "poultry husbandry, practical elementary botany, swine husbandry, gardening, fruit orcharding, elementary agronomy, elementary entomology, English, mathematics, and practical or field

[4] Governor Bradley (1930) started the policy of renaming schools "in order that the names might have some real meaning and perpetuate the names of men who have been prominent in the history or development of the island" (p.18). The majority of these "prominent" men were former Naval governors.

enterprises" (Reid, 1941, p. 335). Laura Thompson (1947) reported that 80 students had graduated from the two-year program by 1938, and she was careful to note that they were taught by "two qualified instructors" (p. 227). The school farm covered many of the duties of the GAES (J. T. Alexander, 1938).

In July 1935, Guerrero wrote an article for *The Guam Recorder* entitled "My Ideal – The Farmer" by which he tried to persuade his fellow CHamorus to change their attitudes towards farming (J. C. Guerrero, 1935). To the objection that farming was hard work, he highlighted the health benefits of hard work and the availability of farm machinery to lighten the burden. He encouraged living on farms by highlighting the improved road system, "the moderate prices of automobiles," the mail service, and the availability of telephones for emergencies. He also noted that "a prosperous farmer may enjoy the comforts of electric lights, electric refrigeration, or concerts from the various cities of the world over the radio" (J. C. Guerrero, 1935, p. 94). It is only in the context of this letter that Santos (2018) mentions Guerrero, cautioning that his work with the colonial government should not be viewed "as simply wholesale appropriation of the colonizer's culture" (p. 124).[5]

Guerrero's appeal came six years after another government scholarship recipient wrote a multi-part article for *The Guam Recorder* entitled "A Plea for Better Health Conditions." The author was Ramon Sablan, now a Junior Assistant Health Officer who had recently returned from special studies in bacteriology at Oklahoma A&M ("Guamanian," 1928; Hattori, 1999). Sablan (1929) urged the people of Guam to cooperate with government health officials instead of continuing their "lack of cooperation, due to our superstitions, ignorance, plus certain influences" (p. 50). The Naval Government would have been pleased to have well-educated CHamorus provide such endorsements to their health and agricultural policies. However, the Naval Government was also disappointed that the small number of students it sent to study out of

[5] Santos (2018) mentioned Leon Guerrero only in the context of his trip to Washington and Cruz only in the context of an article written for *The Guam Recorder* in 1930.

Guam "have as a rule returned and demanded high salaries on the basis of their Government-paid education, whereas others who went to college and earned their own way have returned and taken their places in the scheme of things much more satisfactorily" (Blauch & Reid, 1939, p. 194).

For most of the pre-War period, the Naval Government's agricultural endeavors fell under the Department of Industries. In 1935 a separate Department of Agriculture was established, and the Root Agricultural School and School Farm were moved from the Department of Education to the new department (Blauch & Reid, 1939). Oversight of Boys' and Girls' Clubs was transferred to the Department of Agriculture three years later (J. T. Alexander, 1938). Though the first department head was a Navy officer, the department was led from 1937 to 1939 by USDA entomologist Richard G. Oakley (Oakley, 1944). According to Laura Thompson, this was the only instance in the pre-War era that a department was not headed by a naval officer (L. Thompson, 1947). It is unlikely that Cruz was ever considered for the position, but he had the needed academic qualifications and practical experience.[6]

Oakley came to Guam the year after a major entomological survey of the island led by Otto H. Swezey and Robert L. Usinger of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Guam was now a stop on Pan-American Airways trans-Pacific route, and there was concern in Hawaii about invasive insect species that could destroy crops in the territory (Swezey, 1942). The house on the campus of the Root Agricultural School served as the base of operation for the entomologists, and in the resulting two-volume set *Insects of Guam*, the two had special appreciation for Cruz for his work in facilitating their work (Swezey, 1942; Usinger, 1946).

Efforts to Reestablish the Station

Governor George A. Alexander (1933) reported that "it was with much trepidation and regret that the natives, as well as the

[6] Oakley graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Agriculture from the University of Arkansas just a year before Cruz graduated from Hawaii ("Oakley, Richard G.," 1959).

Administration, viewed the closing of [the GAES]; but now after practically a year, it is felt that as much good can be accomplished by the use of the property as an Agricultural School" (p. 4). However, it was soon evident that the Guam Department of Agriculture was insufficiently staffed to adequately serve the local population, which had risen to over 21,000 by 1938 (J. T. Alexander, 1938). When Leon Guerrero appeared before a Senate subcommittee in 1937, Senator Ernest W. Gibson asked him about priority items for federal funding on Guam. The second item Leon Guerrero listed, after expansion of the road network, was "the [re-]establishment of the experiment station for the benefit of the farmers of Guam directly and for the benefit of all other tropical and subtropical sections of this country in particular and other places in general" (*Citizenship*, 1937, p. 105). He also stated that "such has been assured us by the President of the United States in our conference with him," though Roosevelt did not follow through with that promise. The following year, Governor James T. Alexander (1938) noted that the activities of the school farm were "necessarily conducted on a small scale and because of this limitation there is an urgent need for the reestablishment of the Guam Station by the U. S. Department of Agriculture to continue efforts terminated in 1932" (p. 18).

After the death of Taitano, the Naval Government tried "to employ a graduate student from a mainland University" to lead extension efforts, but this was unsuccessful "no doubt due to the limited salary offered" (J. T. Alexander, 1938, p. 20). Efforts to have a USDA employee assigned to the island for that purpose also failed. The success of the Root Agricultural School was limited as well, since "the majority [of graduates] have not shown a genuine interest in farming" (Blauch & Reid, 1939, p. 191). After a major typhoon struck the island in late 1940, several students left, leaving the school with only 13 students. The Naval Government decided to close the school but keep the school farm open (McMillin, 1941).

Governor George J. McMillin (1941) highlighted in the last pre-War annual report the importance of extension work because of the continued "natural reluctance of the people of Guam to come to the Farm" (p. 16). He implemented the second reorganization of extension work in three years.

In the new model, an extension agent was assigned to one of four extension districts on the island, but the enforcement duties of these agents, such as serving as deputy game wardens, may have led to more reluctance on the part of farmers (J. T. Alexander, 1938; McMillin, 1941; Santos, 2018). McMillin also planned to move the courses that had been taught in the Root Agricultural School to the George Washington High School the following school year. On the eve of World War II, the Naval Government still grappled with the issue of agricultural self-sufficiency, and the practice of living in towns and commuting to family ranches remained common, though the Naval Government had tried in vain for decades to end it (L. Thompson, 1947).

World War II and Beyond

Soon after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Guam was also under attack. McMillin surrendered on December 10, 1941, and the three former station staff members and their fellow CHamorus would be under brutal Japanese occupation for two and a half years (Carano & Sanchez, 1964). American efforts to retake Guam also brought great destruction to the island. Most homes were destroyed, as was the Root Agricultural School and School Farm (Hopkins, 1947). The war marked the end of Guam as an agricultural society, though CHamorus continued to cherish their ties to the land (Underwood, 1987). Cruz noted in late 1946 that the military had "taken much of Guam's tillable land [which had] created great difficulties for the families who formerly farmed" ("This Is Mr. Cruz," 1946, p. 6). The amount taken was three-fourths of CHamoru-owned farmlands, in addition to other CHamoru-owned properties, but not all of that land was used for direct military purposes (Hattori, 1995). Some was used for military recreation, and some seized farmlands were not used at all. Land confiscations and the increase in non-farm job opportunities had long-term and devastating effects on the traditional CHamoru way of life (Hattori, 1995, 2001; Underwood, 1987).

After the war, agricultural functions of the government fell first under a Department of Internal Affairs and then a Department of

Agriculture and Fisheries, which included a demonstration farm (Navy Department, 1948). Guerrero served an administrative role in the departments ("Guerrero, Joaquin," 1956). Cruz worked for the Foreign Economic Administration before joining the University of Hawaii Extension Service in 1946. Two years later, he began over a decade of service with the Trust Territory of the Pacific (Cruz, 1957; "Cruz to Head," 1961; Richard, 1957). Leon Guerrero went to Washington again and "contribut[ed] greatly to the contents of the Organic Act" of 1950, which provided citizenship to the people of Guam and ended Naval rule (120 Cong. Rec. 16864, 1974).

When the civilian government began, Guerrero served as the first CHamoru head of the Department of Agriculture until retiring in 1954 (Carano & Sanchez, 1964; "Guerrero, Joaquin," 1956). Leon Guerrero was elected to the first and third Guam Legislatures, serving as speaker for the latter (Carano & Sanchez, 1964). In an interview with Leon Guerrero, Joan Nelson (1965) found him to be "more in the idealistic than the practical category, as an experimenter in the soil, as a debator of principles concerning the political life of the people of Guam" (p. 9). Cruz died on April 21, 1970 ("A. I. Cruz," 1970). He was followed by Leon Guerrero on March 8, 1974 (120 Cong. Rec. 16864, 1974) and Guerrero on January 15, 1977 ("Joint," 1977).

Conclusion

This article has provided an overview of the CHamoru employees of the GAES, which was established in 1908 and closed in 1932. When the station opened, the USDA and the Naval Government were optimistic that a transformation of agriculture would ensue that would help the island become more self-sufficient, though that transformation was not realized in the pre-War era (L. Thompson, 1947). The resistance encountered was perhaps an example of how "the navy government itself was appropriated and absorbed into the Chamorro cultural landscape" (Hattori, 2014, p. 28). Though the station worked closely with the Naval Government, the GAES did provide some CHamorus with a unique government employment

opportunity outside of the naval establishment. Dozens of CHamorus performed crucial behind-the-scenes work for the station. Guerrero and Leon Guerrero spent over a decade with the USDA, and Cruz and Guerrero also played key roles in the station's successor, the Root Agricultural School and School Farm. It is hoped that further studies will expand on this overview and dig deeper into the careers of Cruz and Guerrero, as well as Leon Guerrero's time with the USDA.

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Four Studies on the University of Guam English Placement Test

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Abstract

The article reviews four empirical studies conducted on the University of Guam English Placement Test. The focus of the review ranges from updating the cloze test component and examining its relationship with writing proficiency, to applying an argument-based approach to investigate validity from the perspectives of raters. The intent of the article is to provide summaries of past studies, highlight their findings, and acknowledge their limitations, with the hope of serving as a reference for future researchers and assessment users.

Keywords: writing studies, writing assessment, assessment validity, college placement, college readiness

My academic journey has revolved around the University of Guam English Placement Test, now known as the English Preparedness Test. I have conducted four empirical studies of this assessment, with each study yielding unique discoveries and contributing to the subsequent and cumulative investigation.

The first study was undertaken during a graduate course titled "Second Language Testing and Evaluation" in 2013. This course's primary objective was to update an outdated portion of the assessment, specifically one of the cloze forms, *also known as fill-in-the-blank tests,* which had served as a measure of the University of Guam English Placement Test. Building upon the initial study, the second study, part of my master's thesis study in the academic year 2014-2015, involved constructing another cloze test and establishing concurrent validity between the cloze test performance and writing proficiency (Lee, 2015). In the academic year 2018-2019, I was involved in a project with the Guam Department of Education as a co-principal investigator, working alongside Dr. Sharleen Santos-Bamba, who served as the principal

investigator. The project aimed to develop standard-based English assessments for high school students and achieve vertical alignment with the University of Guam English Placement Test. My role in this project included contributing to the research design and leading the development and validation of the cloze part of the test. In 2020, as part of my doctoral dissertation, I expanded upon my prior research on the University of Guam English Placement Test. At this point, the cloze forms were no longer part of the assessment. Instead, my research focused on developing a validity claim of the University of Guam English Preparedness Test practices (Lee, 2021).

In this article, I share these four empirical studies on the University of Guam English Placement Test. The goal is to provide concise summaries of previous studies' data and findings while acknowledging and reflecting on their limitations. This documentation aims to serve as a point of reference for future researchers and users of the assessment.

Brief and Relevant Background of the University of Guam English Preparedness Test

The University of Guam English Preparedness Test has undergone changes in its purpose and function throughout the years. Initially introduced as the English Placement Test in the 1990s by Dr. Daniel Robertson, a former English Professor at the University of Guam, the test served as an assessment tool to place incoming students into appropriate composition courses: EN085 and lab, EN100, and EN110 (Lee, 2021). The assessment consisted of two components: a 40-minute timed essay and a 30-minute timed one-word open cloze test; essay scores primarily determined course placements while the cloze test served as a supplemental measure.

However, the cloze test forms remained unchanged for almost two decades, and the content of some forms was considered outdated, lacking alignment with contemporary knowledge and local contextFor these reasons, Dr. Sharleen Santos-Bamba, the former Director of Composition, initiated the update by suggesting the update be a project for students in her 2013 graduate seminar course (Lee, 2021). The second update on the cloze form was done as part of my master's thesis study in 2014-2015,

which contributed to the development of a new cloze form that has become a part of the University of Guam English Placement Test (Lee, 2015). As the University of Guam English Placement Test continued to change, the composition program in 2018-19 combined two developmental courses, EN085 and EN100, into a single four-credit course, EN109, addressing the financial aid challenges of the students, and in the academic year 2019-2020, the composition program implemented another change: instead of placing students into different composition courses, all incoming students were directly placed into the freshmen-level composition class (Lee, 2021). This decision shifted the purpose of the assessment from a placement test to a diagnostic assessment of college preparedness according to Professor Terry Perez (personal communication, April 5, 2020), the current University of Guam English Preparedness Test coordinator.

This change in the University of Guam English Placement Test's purpose aligns with contemporary trends in Writing Studies, where the focus has shifted towards understanding validity as a contextualized decision, emphasizing fairness and ethics (Neal, 2011; Elliot, 2016; Poe & Cogan, 2016; Slomp, 2016a, 2016b). As the field moves away from rigid technical interpretations of validity, the University of Guam English Placement Test's transformation reflects an awareness of the importance of considering the individual students' needs and experiences.

In recent years, the discussions surrounding writing assessment have highlighted the need to address ethical concerns and social implications (Cushman, 2016; Poe & Inoue, 2016). The University of Guam English Placement Test has also undergone a transition, aligning with the broader context of fairness and ethics, by transforming from a placement tool to a diagnostic assessment. This change reflects the commitment to evaluate students with respect to their diverse backgrounds and unique circumstances.

Moreover, the evolution of writing assessment practices has led to a recognition that validity is not just about statistical measures but also about the meaningful application of assessments in specific contexts (Moss, 2016; Pruchnic et al., 2018). In response to this understanding, the University of Guam English Placement or Preparedness Test has

embraced a more nuanced approach, aiming to support students' academic success rather than merely placing them in courses.

This assessment's transition also resonates with discussions about the challenges of open admissions and underprepared students in writing placement testing (Brothen & Wambach, 2004; Gabbard & Mupinga, 2013; Payne & Lyman, 1996; Webb-Sunderhaus, 2010). By providing support based on diagnostic information, the University of Guam English Placement Test seeks to address these challenges effectively, reflecting the commitment of the university to offer equitable student learning experience.

In the upcoming sections, I will provide brief summaries of the previous empirical studies conducted on the University of Guam English Placement Test, along with reflections on their limitations. The aim is to offer insights as a reference for future researchers and users of the assessment, potentially contributing to the ongoing improvement of writing assessment practices.

Study on Cloze Form D - 2013-2014

During the academic year 2013-2014, a study on the University of Guam English Placement Test was initiated by three graduate students. As one of the test developers and co-principal investigators, I was responsible for constructing Form D while the other two students developed different forms. Under the guidance of Dr. Sharleen Santos-Bamba, the professor who also held the position of the Director of Composition at that time, the primary goal was to update the University of Guam English Placement Test's cloze forms. The study conducted initial sampling in public high schools, University of Guam classes, and other community settings.

The demographic data for Form D's initial sampling indicated a diverse group of participants. Among them, 41% were female and 59% were male. In terms of ethnicity, 61% were Pacific Islanders, 33% were Asian, 3% were Caucasian, and 3% were African American. The majority of participants (85%) reported English as their first language, while 15% identified English as not their first language. The education background varied, with 13% having some graduate work, 0% holding a 4-year

degree, 3% having a 2-year degree, 10% attending some college, and 46% being high school students. The diverse demographic representation in the initial sampling of Form D offers a reflection of the local population, contributing to the assessment's relevance and contextual appropriateness.

The methodology adopted a systematic approach, drawing inspiration from the process used in creating the original forms A, B, and C. This is because these forms had been in use for almost 20 years, demonstrating their reliability. To achieve this, after text construction, the development of cloze items focused on embedding adequate contextual information within the sentences. The answer key was derived from the most common responses provided by test takers during each sampling.

Following the initial sampling, Form D was piloted during the University of Guam English Placement Test on multiple occasions: Apr. 19, 2014, May 17, 2014, June 4, 2014, July 10 and 11, 2014, and Aug. 9, 2014 (Lee, 2015). After each pilot, the responses were analyzed, and the test and answer key were updated accordingly. This iterative process aimed to mirror the successful development of the original forms, ensuring that Form D underwent refinements and improvements to uphold its reliability and relevance. By adopting this approach, the study sought to maintain the test's effectiveness and build upon the foundation laid by the previous forms.

The findings of the study emphasized the importance of maintaining an appropriate difficulty level for the text to ensure its suitability for the target population (Lee, 2015). However, one of the limitations of this study was that it relied only on answers provided by the participants, which focused solely on updating the cloze test forms. This approach overlooked other potential measures of language proficiency, calling for the need to explore more concrete validation systems in future research.

Study on Cloze Form E - 2014-2015

Transitioning from the Form D study, the Form E study addressed the previous limitations by exploring more than one measure of writing

proficiency. During the academic year 2014-2015, as part of my master's thesis research, I constructed a new cloze test, Form E, to replace the last outdated form of the University of Guam English Placement Test's cloze assessment (Lee, 2015). This effort was to contribute to continued improvement of the University of Guam English Placement Test, while my research sought to investigate the correlation between cloze test performance and overall writing proficiency.

The initial samplings included 56 adults and 117 high school students from three public schools on the island (Lee, 2015). For the adult participants, the study collected data from composition classes at the University of Guam as well as other community settings. Among the adult participants, 52% were female and 48% were male. In terms of ethnicity, 56% were Asian, 36% were Pacific Islanders, 4% were African American, 2% were Caucasian, and 2% were mixed. The majority of adult participants (68%) reported English as their first language, while 32% identified English is not their first language. The education background varied, with 7% were college graduates, 30% were current EN100 students, and 63% were current EN085 students.

For the high school students, the study collected data from three public schools in collaboration with school administrators (Lee, 2015). Among the 117 high school students who took part, 61% were female, and 39% were male. In terms of ethnicity, 64% were Pacific Islander, 28% were Asian, and 8% were of mixed ethnicity; 78% reported English as their first language, while 22% reported English is not their first language. After conducting the initial data analysis and making necessary revisions, the test was piloted on 169 incoming University of Guam students on two occasions, December 6, 2014, and January 3, 2015, as part of their English placement test.

The study aimed to find correlations between the cloze test performance and writing proficiency by assuming, among the 56 adults, their current placements as college graduates, EN100 developmental class students, and EN085 development class students, reflecting their writing proficiency (Lee, 2015). Meanwhile, for high school participants, their writing proficiency was assessed by collecting and grading writing samples, categorized as “proficient,” “intermediate,” and “not proficient,” using a modified version of the

University of Guam English Placement Test rubric. For the University of Guam English Placement Test pilots, the study assumed the students' placements, determined by the University of Guam English Placement Test committee based on their essay scores, as their writing proficiency.

The content of Form E focused on a common animal in the Pacific region, ensuring its relevance to the population (Lee, 2015). It was written at a 9.3 Flesch-Kincaid grade level; it employed a rational deletion method for cloze items, accepting only a few acceptable answers during scoring. The initial sampling results indicated a weak correlation between the cloze test scores and writing proficiency, as measured by the course placements of adult participants and the graded writing samples of high school students. However, after the test was revised and piloted twice with incoming University of Guam students, the subsequent results showed a moderate positive correlation between the cloze test scores and writing proficiency.

Through my master's thesis research, I aimed to make a meaningful contribution to the University of Guam English Placement Test by introducing a new cloze test form and investigating its concurrent validity with writing placement/proficiency (Lee, 2015). This investigation directly related to their current placement practice at that time. The study included a diverse group of adult participants and high school students, providing a good representation of the University of Guam population and offering insights into the effectiveness of the cloze test as a component of the University of Guam English Placement Test.

In retrospect, the study's oversight was interpreting the moderate positive correlation between the cloze test scores and writing proficiency as indicative of causation. However, correlation does not imply causation, and other factors may have contributed to the observed relationship.

Guam Department of Education Project - 2018-2019

In the 2018-2019 study, I was involved as a consultant researcher and co-principal investigator in an assessment development project initiated by the Guam Department of Education. Our team, comprising various members, was selected to undertake the project, which aimed to

develop a standard-based English Language Arts test for 11th and 12th grades, aligned with the Common Core State Standards. The test was intended to be ready for use within Guam Department of Education and aligned with the University of Guam English Placement Test, emphasizing vertical alignment of English language proficiency from high school to higher education levels. The participants consisted of students in first-year writing classes at the University of Guam.

During the test development process for the 2018-2019 study, I took an identical approach to the one I had used in my master's thesis research. This approach involved crafting text, coordinating the development of the cloze part of the test, conducting samplings, collecting and analyzing data, and generating and revising the answer key. One notable difference in the approach for the 2018-2019 study was the decision to allow a broader range of acceptable answers for the cloze items, which was a reflection of insights gained from my previous work. In contrast to the previous practice of accepting only commonly provided answers, this study considered responses that made sense both syntactically and semantically. This portion of the study resulted in the successful creation of a cloze form that was included in the deliverables.

Reflecting on the Past Studies

The past three studies described above did contribute to the improvement of the cloze test component in the University of Guam English Placement Test. Each study had its specific objectives, ranging from updating the cloze forms, exploring correlations with writing proficiency, to developing a standardized English Language Arts test aligned with the University of Guam English Placement Test.

In the 2013-2014 study, Cloze Form D, while the approach ensured reliability in constructing the cloze test, one limitation was the reliance on the assessment tool itself for validation. This focus on updating the cloze forms overlooked other potential measures of language proficiency, calling for the need to explore more concrete validation systems in future research.

In the 2014-2015 study, Cloze Form E, the primary aim was to establish correlations between cloze test performance and writing

proficiency. To address the limitations of the previous study, this research incorporated multiple measures of writing proficiency, including the cloze test scores, course placements, and graded writing samples. By considering a broader range of indicators, the study aimed to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between these measures.

This study also revealed certain limitations. Interpreting the moderate positive correlation as indicative of causation proved challenging, emphasizing the need for cautious interpretations. Additionally, the practice of accepting only commonly used answers as the answer key for the cloze test was identified as another constraint, potentially overlooking other valid responses.

In the 2013-2014 and the 2014-2015 studies, a systematic approach was used to create the assessment and answer key. After constructing the text, cloze items were crafted considering sufficient contextual information within the sentences. The answer key was then developed based on the most common responses from test takers during each sampling. However, relying solely on the most common answers as the answer key might not guarantee a high-quality assessment, as it does not consider the full spectrum of possible responses. Language is dynamic and ever-evolving, and a more comprehensive approach to validation should be considered to ensure the assessment remains valid and effective over time. Taking into account a broader range of answers and acknowledging language variations can strengthen the assessment's reliability and relevance, accommodating the ever-changing nature of language.

The 2018-2019 study successfully achieved vertical alignment by developing a standardized English Language Arts test aligned with the University of Guam English Placement Test. This project aimed to create a ready-to-use test that ensures consistency in language arts proficiency from high school to higher education.

As I continued to advance my academic journey, reflections from the past studies, including the approach taken in the 2014-2015 study, played a crucial role in shaping my research perspective. I recognized the limitations of my earlier focus on viewing writing proficiency as a technical matter, relying heavily on establishing concurrent validity

between the cloze test performance and writing proficiency. I have come to understand that while concurrent validity provides some insights into the relationship between the two measures, it does not fully encompass the complexity of writing proficiency, which cannot be entirely expressed through concrete numerical decisions (Moss, 2016; Neal, 2011; Pruchnic et al., 2018). These realizations guided my subsequent dissertation study, where I aimed to explore a different approach to assessment validation.

Study on the University of Guam English Preparedness Test Practices - 2020-2021

My dissertation, *Developing a Validity Argument Case for Locally Developed University English Preparedness Testing From an Ethical Perspective*, is an exploratory sequential mixed methods case study explored the raters' perspectives on the scoring procedures, college writing preparedness, and fair and ethical practices used in the assessment (Lee, 2021). Using an argument-based approach to validity, the study aimed to investigate the alignment between raters' claims and their actual testing practices. It adopted an argument-based approach to validity by Kane (1992; 2013). This study addresses two main research questions (Lee, 2021). In Phase 1, the study explores how the raters of the English Preparedness Test describe their specific scoring procedures, the preparedness of college writing, and their approach to fair and ethical practices. In this phase, survey responses from participants, who were raters of the University of Guam English Preparedness Test, were gathered to understand their descriptions of scoring procedures, college writing preparedness, and fair and ethical practices. The survey data were then coded, categorized, and analyzed to explore the raters' perspectives. Phase 2 investigates the extent to which the raters' scoring procedures, scoring criteria, and plans for fair and ethical practices align with their proposed testing practice. The actual, graded English Preparedness Test results, comprising 443 student essays, from Fall 2020, were collected and examined alongside the raters' comments and justifications for determining college writing preparedness or underpreparedness. This phase focused on cross-tabulation, competitive and comparative analyses

to assess the alignment between the raters' claims and their actual practices in scoring procedures, college writing preparedness, and fair and ethical practices.

In terms of scoring procedures, all the participants of the survey reported utilizing a holistic method for the assessment (Lee, 2021). When examining the actual practice, it was found that 52.37% of the essays were graded holistically, with the majority of them being determined as "Prepared." This suggests that holistic scoring was primarily utilized for essays demonstrating competence in writing, mostly aligning with the raters' claims of employing this approach.

An analysis on scoring criteria came from a comparison between the survey results and the comments provided by raters for the graded essays (Lee, 2021). According to the survey responses, they placed emphasis on specific criteria, with 22.73% mentioning the importance of a clear thesis/topic, 36.36% emphasizing strong support of main ideas, 9.09% highlighting organization, development, and focus, and another 9.09% mentioning sentence structure and boundaries. When examining the actual comments made by the raters for the 443 student essays, the comments predominantly addressed organization, development, and focus, followed by support and thesis/topic. When combining the survey and comment data, the most frequently mentioned criteria were thesis/topic, support, and organization, development, and focus, which are considered macro-level writing concerns.

Beyond the primary areas identified in the survey and comments, raters also brought up other topics during the grading process (Lee, 2021). They referred to their Day One Assessment when they felt that the essays were not sufficient to determine college writing preparedness. Additionally, some comments were related to academic integrity, meaning possible plagiarism, which may have been affected by the transition to online testing due to COVID-19 in Fall 2020. The raters also discussed certain writing issues that were not explicitly mentioned in the rubric or survey responses, such as point of view switching, clichés, and the writers' awareness of their audience and expectations. These additional aspects reflected the raters' holistic approach to evaluating writing proficiency, demonstrating a nuanced understanding of the complexity of writing assessment beyond the predefined criteria.

The third angle of the study, fair and ethical practices, focused on plans for unintentionally advantaged and disadvantaged populations (Lee, 2021). As the essays did not include demographic information, participants hypothetically responded to this part of the survey, and the hypothetical scenarios were categorized, such as, considerations for ESL populations, home cultures and situations, and testing conditions. Since the raters did not have access to test takers' backgrounds, I sought evidence supporting the hypothetical plans from the survey in the raters' comments.

The survey responses indicated that raters consider factors such as ESL populations, focusing on the writer's potentials, home cultures and situations, and testing conditions when grading essays in terms of fair and ethical testing practice (Lee, 2021). Evidence supporting the consideration of ESL populations and focusing on writers' potentials could be observed in their focus on “macro-level concerns” and their practice of deferring the preparedness decision to the Day One assessment. This assessment's implementation of an equal amount of asynchronous testing window aligns with the consideration for home cultures and situations, although this was due to COVID-19 during Fall 2020. However, specific evidence regarding the flexibility toward writers' approaches to the prompt, as indicated in the survey responses, was not clearly evident from the comments, likely due to the limited scope of data collection during one instance of the assessment.

Discussions

The findings of the study demonstrate that the participants consistently implemented the assessment, as evident in their aligned survey responses regarding scoring procedures, criteria, and plans (Lee, 2021). Notably, out of the 443 essays graded, only 15 essays required third readers due to initial scoring disagreements among raters. This indication of interrater reliability reflects internal consistency and reliability in the assessment process (Kane, 2013; Slomp, 2016b).

The raters' tendency to justify lower scores in the comments suggests a cautious and conscientious approach in evaluating student

writing (Lee, 2021). This practice of providing justifications aligns with the literature on fair and ethical testing practices, as it enhances the transparency and accountability of the assessment process (Kelly-Riley & Whithaus, 2019).

The study also revealed evidence supporting the participants' hypothetical plans for fair and equitable testing practice, including a focus on macro-level writing concerns and recognizing students' potentials (Lee, 2021). This highlights the value of human raters in writing assessment, indirectly addressing concerns regarding automated essay scoring (Perelman, 2012, 2013). Human raters' ability to consider multiple aspects of writing proficiency and exercise professional judgment contributes to the assessment's overall integrity.

Moreover, the study reinforces the notion that validity is a contextualized decision, better made by the assessment users themselves, acknowledging the complexity and multifaceted nature of writing proficiency assessment (Moss, 2016; Neal, 2011; Pruchnic et al., 2018). The participants' consideration of the assessment's influences and consequences reflects an indication of ethical testing practice, wherein fairness, equity, and social considerations are taken into account in the assessment process (Kelly-Riley & Whithaus, 2019). Overall, the study emphasizes the significance of developing assessments that align with the specific needs and context of the educational institution, ultimately contributing to fair, valid, and ethical testing practices.

Reflections

Over the course of my work in assessment research, my approach to test development and validation has evolved. In the past, I focused primarily on technical aspects and statistical correlations, which aligned with prevailing practices in assessment research.

During my academic journey and assessment research experience, I drew insights from the 2013-2014, 2014-2015, and 2018-2019 studies. These experiences prompted a reevaluation of my approach in my dissertation. Unlike previous studies that heavily relied on technical aspects, I made a conscious shift towards prioritizing contextual factors and the needs of assessment users in this study.

Despite the progress made in the dissertation, certain limitations need to be acknowledged. First, my past involvement in the development of the University of Guam English Placement Test may have introduced biases and influenced the study design (Lee, 2021). While efforts were made to maintain objectivity, it remains essential to recognize the potential impact of my prior knowledge and experiences.

Another limitation is related to the data collection process, which was limited to a single semester's administration of the assessment. This restricted scope may not fully capture the broader variations in assessment practices over time (Lee, 2021). Additionally, the unexpected changes brought by the COVID-19 pandemic, such as the transition to online testing and grading, may have influenced the assessment environment and potentially affected the study outcomes (Slomp, 2016a).

Furthermore, the study primarily focused on the perspectives and practices of the raters, without direct input from the test-takers themselves (Lee, 2021). This limited perspective may not encompass the full range of experiences and perceptions of those being assessed, hindering a comprehensive understanding of the assessment's impact (Kelly-Riley & Whithaus, 2019). To address this limitation, future research could consider incorporating the test-takers' perspectives to gain a more holistic view of the assessment process.

Lastly, while the study explored ethical testing practices through the raters' responses and grading patterns, it represents only one aspect of ethical considerations in assessment (Lee, 2021). The broader implications of fairness and ethical testing practices in the larger educational context were not exhaustively examined (Cushman, 2016; Elliot, 2016). Future research may explore deeper into the ethical dimensions of assessment, considering various stakeholders' perspectives to ensure a comprehensive assessment of fairness and equity (Poe & Cogan, 2016; Poe & Inoue, 2016).

Recommendations

This dissertation study has yielded several directions for future research in writing assessment (Lee, 2021). One recommendation is

exploring other stakeholders of the assessment, in addition to the raters, is recommended to gain a more profound understanding of the assessment process (Slomp, 2016a). Another recommendation is predetermining transferable writing constructs that inform college writing preparedness and underpreparedness can provide a defined research angle (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006, as cited in Slomp, 2016b; Driscoll & Wells, 2012, as cited in Slomp, 2016b; Slomp, 2012, as cited in Slomp, 2016b). Lastly, there is a need to expand the understanding of the assessment's ethical and social impact and consequences, considering factors that could inadvertently undermine faculty-led placement processes and issues related to academic integrity during asynchronous testing (Broad, 2016; Elliot, 2016; Poe & Cogan, 2016; Miller et al., 2017). These directions hold potential for advancing the validity and fairness of locally-developed assessments, such as the University of Guam English Preparedness Test (Lee, 2021).

Conclusions

This article presented an overview of four empirical studies on the University of Guam English Placement Test, offering concise summaries of the data and findings as well as their limitations. Each study focused on a unique facet of the assessment, contributing valuable insights towards an understanding of its development, implementation, and impact.

The first two studies updated previous research and examined the relationship between cloze test performance, writing proficiency, and placements, thereby laying groundwork for further assessment investigation. The third study, part of a larger project not fully discussed in this article, demonstrated a vertical alignment between high school and higher educationcloze. This alignment underscores the importance of consistency in assessment throughout different stages of education. The fourth study executed an argument-based validity inquiry, focusing on raters' views on scoring procedures, readiness for college writing, and ethical assessment practices. This investigation provided insights into local assessment evaluation based on context, drawing attention to important considerations for ethical and fair assessments.

Each of these studies has its limitations, which have been acknowledged. The recognition of these limitations provides a more comprehensive and realistic perspective on the topic, offering directions for future research.

The purpose of this article has been to offer a concise and useful summary of prior research on the University of Guam English Preparedness Test, with the hope that it will serve as a reference for future researchers and users of the assessment. Continuous reevaluation and updating of the assessment in response to changing contexts in teaching, learning, and assessment are crucial, and it is my hope that this work contributes to those ongoing efforts.

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Placental Politics: CHamoru Women, White Womanhood, and Indigeneity under U.S. Colonialism

Reviewed by LEIANA SAN AGUSTIN NAHOLOWA'A

Placental Politics: CHamoru Women, White Womanhood, and Indigeneity under U.S. Colonialism, by Christine Taitano DeLisle. University of North Carolina Press, 2021. ISBN: 978-1-4696-5270-2, 297 pages (paperback).

Cracking Open Women's History in Twentieth-Century Guåhan

"Where were you born?" I emerged in the "Old GMH," when Guam Memorial Hospital was situated on the cliff above Hilton Hotel, a site now nurtured by CHamoru cultural practitioners and artists for the benefit of the local community. This area is Tomhom (Tumon), but my official documents underscore Tamuning, or Oka Tamuning, or *Tamuneng* in the reclamation of Indigenous place names. While reading Christine Taitano DeLisle's *Placental Politics: CHamoru Women, White Womanhood, and Indigeneity under U.S. Colonialism in Guam*, I experienced a kind of loneliness when reflecting about this coastal and now touristy area of the island that is my birthplace because I have no ancestral connections to the land that I know of. I might feel more grounded if I was born in Dédidu (Dededo) where I grew up. Millennia of CHamoru people before the advent of hospitals were born at home in i Tåno' Låguas yan Gåni (Islas Marianas) with the support of ná'fafañågu, or midwives, more commonly known as pattera, from the Spanish word partera. After the home birth of a child, the pattera held "the obligation of planting the ga'chong i patgon [placenta] in order to bind children to their proper places of belonging and kinship and protect them from harm" (39). In this contemporary literary space that surrounds Guåhan history, *Placental Politics* begins with the work of pattera and takes readers back to other birthplaces that predate GMH – the Susana Hospital, in Hagåtña, the birthplace of CHamoru modernity – and other historical places that many today can only vaguely recollect in stories from their elders.

Structurally, the book reminds me of a husked ripe niyok. The thick outer husk comprises the sections that surround its four chapters:

preface, introduction, conclusion, glossary, notes, bibliography, and index. DeLisle's journey in this project began with her work for the Political Status Education Coordinating Commission (PSECC) in the Government of Guam (GovGuam) where she researched and wrote for the Hale'-ta Series, an iconic collection of books. Citing Anne Perez Hattori, DeLisle writes how Indigenous CHamoru perspectives of history and storytelling, "including the Hale'-ta series, has for the most part 'perpetuated the Western model of history as a patriarchal, nation-state story of progress and development'" (xiii). Navigating within this masculine-dominated culture that perpetuated the exclusion of the feminine in CHamoru history, whether written by white or Indigenous CHamoru authors, DeLisle focuses on "Following the Historical Footnotes of CHamoru Women's Embodied Land Work" as detailed in her introduction, which seeks to foreground women's voices, experiences, and mobilities. The bibliography contains a manuscript collections list of archives across seven states, Washington DC and Guåhan; oral history collections; oral history interviews of twelve CHamoru people; government documents and reports; films, videos, and CDs, along with primary and secondary sources. The vastness of her bibliography corresponds with the density of precious references and perspectives in this work, and DeLisle has left students and researchers with a road map for further exploration.

Inside the outer husk of the text is the niyok itself – the first two chapters are one half of a brown coconut shell with white meat, and the last two chapters are the other coconut half. Chapters one and four are primarily focused on the experiences of CHamoru women and provide a decolonial framework for how all narratives in the book should be viewed. White women, primarily Navy wives, are the literal center of the book in the middle chapters two and three. Viewing the book in this way is a reminder of racial slurs against black, Indigenous and people of color (BIPOC) through terms such as "oreo" or "coconut" where a person is denigrated for being BIPOC on the outside and white on the inside, the most disapproving accusation of a person that one could give that questions their roots and identity. *Placental Politics* discusses these issues around colorism and how CHamoru people from privileged and elite families living in the Hagåtña, which had been the cosmopolitan center

since the Spanish colonial period, had mirrored whiteness and claimed space in U.S. centers of power.

An alternate view of the book's structure can be seen in the way the first three chapters are filled with short vignettes of CHamoru women and CHamoru women's voices, a reminder of the way that textual material can be scarce in the field of women's history and collectively insightful when brought together. The desire to know more about the CHamoru women of early twentieth-century Guåhan is well-met in the "New CHamoru Womanhood" of the fourth chapter as *Placental Politics* crescendos into a kind of glorious richness on the life of Agueda Johnston. Johnston was a prominent educator and well-known figure in Guåhan's history, and this book helps readers to know her better. I am reminded of Cecilia C. Bamba in Laura Souder's *Daughters of the Island*, published thirty-four years before *Placental Politics*. Both Johnston and Bamba's voices and experiences are captured extensively by the authors: DeLisle's analysis of the unpublished manuscript that Johnston referred to as her "Chamorrita Notes" and Souder's interviews with Bamba. Numerous recent books, journal articles, dissertations, theses, and creative projects by Indigenous CHamoru women scholars, writers, and artists have captured this New CHamoru Womanhood[1]. Delisle writes:

> In tracing the historical development of CHamoru women's embodied land work and what I call an Indigenous feminist "placental politics"—women enacting and employing ancient knowledge and sacred practices, like the burying of the ga'chong i patgon—I am specifically marking the idea of distinctly Native and gendered forms of being modern. Thus, my work challenges assimilationist assumptions about Native women as simply rooted and static, and racialist discourses of modernity and indigeneity as mutually exclusive categories. (6)

[1] Some recent works include Sharleen Santos-Bamba and Anne Hattori's "The Mother's Tongue: Language, Women, and the Chamorros of Guam," Kisha Borja-Quichocho-Calvo's *Returning to Fo'na, Returning Home: Rematriating Education for CHamorus in Guåhan*, and Kiana Brown's "Where My People At?": Reclamations of Belonging in Three Black + CHamoru Narratives."

In the note at the end of this passage above, she discusses how "CHamoru resistance to Spanish liberal reform at the end of the nineteenth century provides a glimpse into an even earlier episode of CHamoru political modernization before American rule." The present, past, and future of CHamoru modernity with its Indigenous embodiment of time and space are invoked in this book, especially in terms of how the U.S. exacerbated and deepened the colonial trauma under Spain and how CHamoru women have worked to improve conditions for the well-being of their family and community.

In the first chapter "I Checho' i Pattera: Gendering Inafa'maolek in a CHamoru Lay of the Land," DeLisle analyzes the ways in which the lives of the lay midwives became regulated when Governor Seaton Schroeder required certification and licensing in 1900, the year after the U.S. takeover. The chapter includes a heartbreaking and haunting photograph (Figure 1.1) of a group of lay pattera taken in 1902. A 1910 annual report of the Naval Surgeon General describes this older generation of women as "a most incompetent lot, age and ignorance being apparently the requirements," and in 1914, Elisabeth Leonhardt, the Chief Navy Nurse, described them as "dirty old women who were native Sairy [sic] Gamps" (40). Sairey Gamp is a drunken midwife in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, the Charles Dickens' novel written in the same picaresque style as Guåhan's beloved Juan Mala stories. The elder women wore long calico skirts[2] similar to what artist Jacques Arago captures in illustrations from his travels with Louis de Freycinet. Their solemn faces, some fearful and pained, are captured in the photograph as they have been corralled and seated on outdoor steps of a building. The trepidation on their faces contrasts greatly with the smiling face of the Tan Ana Rios Zamora on the book's front cover. Their mobility ensured that children were born at home and the burying of the placenta ensured the child's well-being for the rest of their life. Th 1902 photograph of lay pattera is juxtaposed above a 1917 photograph (Figure 1.2) of CHamoru nurses in the white modern American nursing uniform of its time and further reinforces how the older women's practices were seen as a departure point for the Americans in what must be eliminated. The new generation of "certified nurse-trained midwives" created a "third space" that was not occupied by the lay pattera

[2] Laura Thomspon describes the skirts as calico skirts in *Guam and Its People*, 1947.

before them or white nurses and doctors who trained them (39-40). In examining interviews of surviving pattera she conducted in the mid-to-late 1990s and multiple documents from archives, DeLisle discusses the ways that emerging midwives respected the older generation and the legacy of CHamoru amot and healing practices while becoming proficient in "tropical medicine" under the training of American nurses and doctors.

There is a legacy in the Pacific of white women researchers writing about Indigenous people – Margaret Mead in Samoa and Laura Thompson in Guåhan – and so it is a bit surreal to see a flipping of the colonial script by DeLisle, an Indigenous CHamoru woman, as she in turn writes about the lives of white American women. In the second chapter "White Woman, Small Matters: Susan Dyer's Tour-of-Duty Feminism in Guåhan," DeLisle more extensively writes about the life of Susan Dyer and other white women within what she coins as a "tour-of-duty feminism" during her husband George Dyer's term as Naval Governor from 1904-1905. Susan Dyer's life is familiar to modern CHamoru women, life partners, and other dependents today who raise their families in the U.S. military. When not accompanying her husband on imperialistic pursuits, "Susan wrote about the emotional and physical hardships of being separated, raising three young children alone, and living a modest lifestyle on his modest paycheck. But Susan also had some sense of what was in store for her and what was expected of her as a wife of a career officer" (84). Drawing on Susan Dyer's letters, media publications, and other archival research, DeLisle looks at the ways that CHamoru people operated in spaces with white people and observes the deepening of friendships between CHamoru and white women that began to be explored in the previous chapter.

Spanish colonization caused the elite CHamoru woman to be more assimilable with the newly arrived American colonial regime, and she writes about how elite CHamoru mestisu families in Hagåtña, known as the "Shoe Gang" and "native 400" (102), participated in and eventually took over in the coordinating of social and civic events. The elite CHamoru community looked to the Americans, as they had to the Spanish centers of power they usurped, and it was this gaze that they were trained to embody that perhaps endeared them to the new colonial regime. In return, the CHamoru elite received access to social spaces, participation in civic

matters, and even shopping trips on US Naval ships to various ports in Asia. A photograph that includes Ava Martinez, Pedro Duarte, Amelia Martinez, Maria Duarte, Magdalena Calvo, and Concepcion Calvo (Figure 2.3) highlights the elite CHamoru women's more-Victorian style of dress and shows how fashion can be a marker of difference in class identity, especially when seen alongside the calico skirts of the lay pattera in chapter one. James Perez Viernes' *Negotiating Manhood* discusses class differences in prewar Guåhan with terms such as "'gi Hagåtña'" (at/from Hagåtña) and 'gi sengsong' (at/from the village)" (125). The mobilities of pattera nurse-midwives and mixed-blood CHamoru women as they traversed in and out of Hagåtña relates to the "third space" DeLisle focuses on in this book.

What little we know of elite CHamoru society during the Spanish era can be imagined through the archival piecing together of the early American naval era. Writing in the 17th century to Father Johann Eberhard Nidhard, Queen Mariana of Austria's confessor, Father Diego Luis de San Vitores appealed for funding for Catholic mission in Guåhan, "Any woman, of any social position, if she heard a child was dying without baptism, would cry out for someone to act quickly" (Garcia 143). In her campaign to build a new hospital, Dyer expressed similar sentiments when raising money as seen in the "one-page circular titled 'The Cry of the Little People,' which Dyer distributed to friends in the United States, she discussed the overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions in Guåhan, a 'little spot of land, so lonely in the great waste of waters'" (107). In this second chapter, the reader meets the woman who the Susana Hospital is named after, just as this archipelago of islands are named after another woman in history. Dyer was a military wife, struggling with childcare and finances on her own while her husband was stationed far away, and eventually took her place by his side in the US Naval rule of the island, just as Mariana of Austria's own exercise of power directly related to her proximity to the men who ruled.

In the third chapter "Flagging the Desire to Photograph: Helen Paul's 'Eye/Land/People,'" DeLisle focuses intensely on navy wife Helen Paul's time in Guåhan and her legacy in creating the blueprint for the Guam flag and highlights alternate oral histories that point to Francisco Feja "Tun Kiko" as the original artist of the flag design itself. The older Susan Dyer,

living in Guåhan ten years before Paul's arrival, embodied a kind of social and domesticating presence in imperialistic projects alongside her Naval governor husband. Helen Paul held a degree in architecture from MIT, and like many military dependents, her career might have become thwarted with the required periodic uprooting and settling from military base to military base, despite having found ways to apply her skills and abilities. In her time in Guåhan, Paul designed stages, painted postcards, and stepped into roles alongside other navy wives in her charity and community work. With her college degree, she taught in the teacher-training program at the Normal School, and she mentored future education icons such as Agueda Johnston, Jose L. G. Rios, Simon A. Sanchez, and Maria A. Ulloa.

While the second chapter is grounded in the letters and correspondences between Dyer and her cousin Susie and Dyer and CHamoru women in Guåhan, this chapter is filled with analyses of Paul's photographs. DeLisle explores Paul's use of the picturesque and conducts an extensive visual analyses of selected photographs from the Helen Paul Collection 1917-1919 in the Micronesian Area Research Center archives, and notes the contradictions in how these "candid and spontaneous snapshots of nature and Native peoples that ostensibly captured in a seemingly transparent way a natural beauty or quaint feature of their subjects but which betrayed the disavowed workings of colonial rule and agitations against it" (117). Without this astute analysis, it would be easy to be overcome with nostalgia over these precious images of a time long ago, but the perspective from which they are taken have purposely left out the agitations and resistance of Indigenous CHamoru people at the time to the colonial U.S. presence.

After exploring the lives of white American women, DeLisle sits with Agueda Johnston in the fourth chapter "Giniha yan Pinilan Guåhan: Agueda Johnston and New CHamoru Womanhood." She examines the fullness of the new CHamoru womanhood introduced in the previous three chapters by focusing on the transition of "Tan Agueda" from student to teacher. This journey includes the professional development of pattera and nurse-midwives, the traversing of spaces of white women special laborers and spouses set forth by Susan Dyer, and the mentorship with her teacher Helen Paul. DeLisle explores her life's work and experiences

as godmothering where Tan Agueda was "an important interlocutor and intermediary, whose direction and giniha [the guiding, steering, and directing of] in modern education and other ostensibly American spheres would extend a longer story of CHamoru cultural survival through a new colonial order" (157). Her lifespan covers the time from this early U.S. colonial period into the further militarization and commercial development of Guåhan after the war. Tan Agueda's story enters into the latter half of the twentieth century when the novelty of American fashion and beauty have taken root, and more land has become cultivated by bulldozers into sites of militourism.

Through her unpublished memoirs called the "Chamorrita Notes," DeLisle lets Tan Agueda speak for herself, and the literature and writing part of me found so much delight, both snickering and in contemplation, at her encounters with a "poetry fad" in the community where "the 'poets' would poke fun at or ridicule people, at parties or gatherings. The poems would be typed or hand written and thrown into people's windows or doors. . . . Then I received one which was very personal. I thought then that perhaps this might be the time to put a stop to it" (182). While her marriage to the American marine William Gautier Johnston might have displeased the CHamoru community, there was no question that her job as an educator, her family's businesses, and the social status they enjoyed among the military elite gave Tan Agueda access and privilege that few enjoyed. In describing her mother's best friend Marian Johnston, Tan Agueda's daughter, in his novel *Mariquita – Revisited*, the late Chris Perez Howard writes, "Being the daughter of such prominent citizens created a few problems for Marian, but it also opened a few doors. She was the most socially minded of her friends, in part because of her parents' acceptance into the military's inner social circle" (14). These military ties would fray in the hiding of George Tweed which Tan Agueda had helped during the war, and though his story needs no further airtime than it already has had, DeLisle illustrates the tensions between them and what Tan Agueda and others had suffered at the hands of the Japanese military.

Mobilities is the core theme throughout all the women's experiences – whether the traveling pattera, the education of nurse-midwives, the arrival of special laborer navy wives from far-flung states, and the upward ascent of Tan Agueda – and to be born in Guåhan typically requires the

birthing parent to travel to a medical facility, and that the child becomes mobile as well in their return home. Changing birthing practices created a disconnection to land and ties to land continue to be threatened today. DeLisle concludes her book with an outer husk that points to the work of contemporary CHamoru women who challenge militarization and are at the forefront in community activism and organizing in groups like Fuetsan Famalao'an and Prutehi Litekyan, as well as in the legislature, public forums, and gatherings around sacred burial sites. DeLisle's *Placental Politics* is a reflection of what is available in the archives and oral histories when it comes to the lives of CHamoru women and the people they interacted with; her book is a destination for where following the footnotes of CHamoru women in history have taken us.

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War at the Margins: Indigenous Experiences in World War II

Reviewed by AARON S. WILSON

War at the Margins: Indigenous Experiences in World War II, by Lin Poyer. University of Hawai`i Press, 2022. ISBN: 9780824891824, 319 pages, (paperback).

Scholars of World War II have increasingly emphasized the everyday experiences of people trying to live their lives with a semblance of normality amid war. In *War at the Margins: Indigenous Experiences in World War II*, Lin Poyer reminds us of the need to search out and listen to previously unheard voices among indigenous communities in whose homelands belligerent powers fought. An accomplished scholar and teacher, Lin Poyer provides readers with a well-written and researched study on indigenous experiences during the conflict and its continued impact on their communities afterward.

The topic is a logical extension of Poyer's previous studies. After receiving a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan in 1983, Dr. Poyer conducted field research in Micronesia, as well as in Madagascar and Navajo tribal lands. Currently an Emeritus Professor in Cultural Anthropology at the University of Wyoming, Poyer's major works include *The Ngatik Massacre: History and Identity on a Micronesian Atoll* (1993), *The Typhoon of War: Micronesian Experiences of the Pacific War* (2001) and *Memories of War: Micronesians in the Pacific War* (2008), which she coauthored with Suzanne Falgout and Laurence M. Carucci. As an anthropologist, her body of work primarily focuses on Micronesian culture and identity. *War at the Margins* draws on the extensive work that she has done on Pacific Islanders in World War II and extends it to indigenous cultures around the world.

Poyer's carefully constructed thesis allows her to examine a large topic with surgical precision without overwhelming the reader or generalizing lived indigenous experiences. She writes that her objective is to "describe military activity at the 'edges' of states, the sparsely inhabited areas where self-governing mostly tribal communities lived under loose

engagement with central authorities. Using different examples from different regions, I show how military activity altered their relationships with national and colonial governments and majority populations and how it opened the paths eventually taken by Indigenous Rights activists in following generations."[1] Undertaking a study of the global indigenous experience in World War II raises challenging questions. Which Native groups should the study include? Does one include only those that witnessed the fighting directly or those that contributed to the war effort in other ways? More importantly, how does one engage the subject without resorting to generalizations? Poyer's thesis takes a pragmatic approach to these difficult questions.

Readers will no doubt approach the book with a list of indigenous communities that they consider essential to a study on Native peoples in World War II. Given the number of potential communities that she could include, there are some that may walk away disappointed; however, one cannot reasonably expect the author to cover every possibility. Poyer also does not seek to exhaustively cover every group, nuance, or event in World War II. Rather, she selects campaigns and other events salient to the two primary goals of understanding changes in relationships between the indigenous community and the colonizer and of identifying paths to greater self-determination following the war. She selects different communities as case studies, including the Karen, Chin, Sámi, Māori, Aboriginal Australians, Ainu, Naga, Kachin, and Taiwanese Aborigines. There is one observation to be made in reference to her approach to First Nations in the United States and Canada. It is not uncommon in the book to encounter discussions of these groups under the subsections "Canada" and "United States.". This opens the work to criticisms of overgeneralization. Given the scope of the territory covered by these two countries, the number of different nations, and the size of the indigenous populations, she faced an almost impossible task. Her inadequate response is to select the Inuit and Navajo as representative. This is the only weakness of the text, and it is one of style than substance. Much has been written on the various experiences of Native Americans in North America in World War II that can provide readers with additional information

[1] Lin Poyer, *War at the Margins: Indigenous Experiences in World War II* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2022), 2.

regarding the World War II Era. Her focus is on the margins of the larger conflict.

Poyer begins with a local focus on indigenous groups and their homelands and ends with broad post-World War II global issues. Chapter 2 covers indigenous relationships with belligerent states. She examines the recruitment and exclusion of Native peoples into military and support roles. Racist recruitment policies also receive attention, as well as the drive for Native peoples to enlist in the war effort. Poyer follows this in Chapter 3 with an examination of the conflict in indigenous lands, its impact on communities, and their importance in the fighting. Here, the author does a great job explaining the contributions and value of Native peoples in World War II. Monuments usually celebrate frontline soldiers' sacrifices, but support services were essential to the effectiveness of armies. The author describes the contributions of Nagas, Sámi herders, New Guinean porters, and others to the Allied and Axis armies. Later, she illustrates how these peoples continue to provide a vital support role to the historical memories of these states by caring for monuments, relics, and cemeteries in Chapter 13.

Next, Poyer shifts to the battlefield, public perceptions, and stereotypes. She explores Native service members' contributions before moving into a balanced analysis between indigenous communities and foreign soldiers. Here, the reader discovers relationships that are at times exploitative and violent, and at others cooperative and intimate. Stereotypes and public perceptions also shaped indigenous and non-indigenous encounters. Military planners readily evoked haunting images of headhunters to intimidate the enemy, while journalists and politicians simultaneously offered images of the patriotic soldier to rally support and to attract recruits.

Poyer next explores the lasting physical and economic impacts on Native communities and homelands. As warring states fought in indigenous lands, they wrought devastation not only to each other but to the inhabitants. Indigenous economies also changed. Wartime industries attracted workers from Native communities, and army bases opened new opportunities to trade and earn money. New trade goods flowed into Native homelands changing tastes. Young men working for the military risked their lives as their jobs brought them to the front lines. Finally,

warring armies constructed infrastructure as front lines shifted. The Imperial Japanese Navy and U.S. Navy built bases that were abandoned after the conflict leaving them for Micronesians and Melanesians to reuse. In the case of the United States, bases that started small, like those in Guam and American Samoa gained greater importance following the war. Today, the U.S. Navy, Army and Airforce continues occupying areas throughout the Pacific, enlarging military installations at the expense of the environment, local communities, and property rights.

Poyer finishes by looking at how World War II continued impacting indigenous communities around the world. She does not neglect this important aspect of indigenous experiences in the war. European losses, indigenous experience, imperial defeats, and the Japanese surrender shook the Pacific Rim political system to its core. For example, Ainu communities in the Sakhalin Islands either relocated to Hokkaido or became Soviet citizens, while Japanese holdings in the Northern Mariana Islands became Trust Territories of the United States. Chapter 13 offers an interesting look at the conflicting and varied meanings of World War II for indigenous communities, especially when acting as hosts for war memorials and cemeteries. For Palauans, there exists the feeling that the conflict had nothing to do with their interests, yet it was a transformative event that happened in their homelands. Solomon Islanders valued their services to the Allied armies, yet their sacrifices went largely unnoticed by the British and Americans until recently. Even then, construction of war memorials was not always given proper consideration, such as the American statue of Sir Jacob Souza that cast him in the light of the "loyal native."[2]

Regarding research, the book is a solid resource on indigenous communities during and after World War II. Poyer develops a study that builds on a well-constructed central thesis using her extensive scholarship in Micronesia as well as reliable secondary sources in indigenous studies and World War II scholarship. She does not seek to introduce new sources to the field, so much as to utilize her previous research and existing work outside of her field to address a topic that has received limited attention comparative to the body of literature on events like D-Day, Pearl Harbor, Guadalcanal, and Hiroshima.

[2] Poyer, 185.

There are some areas where the author leaves the reader wanting more. For example, Poyer addresses nuclear testing in the Pacific but does not go into much detail. Elaboration on the contemporary status and struggles of people like the Marshall Islanders would add to the work. Given renewed tensions in the Pacific Rim, military matériel contamination, growing North Korean nuclear capabilities, and challenges related to climate change, it is an issue with potential consequences for the region and the indigenous communities living there. It is also one that feeds into some Pacific communities' struggle for self-determination. Readers would benefit from the author's expertise. It must be stressed that this is not a failing on Poyer's part or intended to suggest that she neglects topics. It is a thought-provoking work that touches on salient issues created by World War II. As she noted at the beginning, an exhaustive examination of indigenous communities during and after World War II would be encyclopedic in scope.

War on the Margins is a solid work that covers an often-overlooked subject. The thesis is well-constructed, backed by good evidence, and validated with a well-written narrative. She selects indigenous communities that experienced the conflict within their homelands in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific Ocean, as well as those that provided workers, guides, and soldiers. She does not overextend her work by trying to cover every community. Instead, she keeps the work focused by using groups that were representative of the shared experiences during the conflict and for which there exists ample research material. The author achieves her goal, validates her thesis, and-perhaps most importantly-provokes thought that leaves the reader wanting to know more on the topic.

The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era

Reviewed by SEAN SCANLON

The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era, by Mark Atwood Lawrence. Princeton University Press, 2021. ISBN: 9780691126401, 408 pages (hardcover).

By the late 1960s, the American war in Vietnam became the dominant foreign policy issue for U.S. officials and ever-larger portions of the American public. But as Mark Atwood Lawrence describes in his excellent new book *The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era*, escalating U.S. military involvement in South Vietnam occurred in the midst of a significant shift in U.S. policy toward the decolonized world. When the decade began, newly inaugurated President John F. Kennedy and many of his advisers were eager to use American power and resources to promote economic and political change in Latin America, southern Africa, and Southeast Asia, regions they labeled as part of the "developing" or "Third World." But these hopes were never fully realized while Kennedy was in office, and U.S. policy underwent a gradual but significant change under his replacement, Lyndon B. Johnson. As U.S. military operations in Vietnam expanded, the President and other U.S. officials became much more willing to work with authoritarian leaders if their actions served U.S. interests and much less tolerant of dissent or criticism of the United States by Third-World leaders. This shift continued under Richard Nixon and shaped U.S. foreign policy for the rest of the Cold War and into the 21st century.

Lawrence, a historian of U.S. foreign relations at the University of Texas at Austin and currently the director of the Johnson Presidential Library and Museum, has written several books on the international dimensions of the Vietnam War.[1] Drawing on extensive research in

[1] See Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005) and *The Vietnam War: A Concise International History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

numerous archives, especially U.S. published and archival collections, Lawrence argues that the war played a key role in curtailing American liberals' aspirations to transform the U.S. relationship with the Third World and integrate emerging nations into an anticommunist and American-led international order. When U.S. troop levels reached more than 500,000 in 1968 and combat operations became ever-more intense and destructive, the war placed a heavy burden on American military and economic resources. As casualties on all sides mounted and the U.S. seemed no closer to achieving its objectives, criticism of the war (and by extension American foreign policy in the Third World) grew at home and abroad. But instead of calling the Vietnam War the only factor behind the shift toward supporting authoritarian regimes, Lawrence posits that the war acted as an accelerant alongside several other factors, including changes in American leadership, political turmoil in the U.S., and polarization in the Third World.[2]

The first three chapters of *The End of Ambition* provide an overview of the Kennedy and Johnson foreign policies, laying out the changes and continuities in personnel and policy during each administration. In the process, Lawrence shows how individuals occupying senior government positions altered the substance of U.S. foreign policy. Though both men were liberal Democrats who campaigned on the same ticket in the 1960 presidential election, they held different views on many key issues, including foreign policy. Kennedy emphasized foreign policy above all else as president, was genuinely interested in the Third World, and surrounded himself with advisers who held a range of views on how the United States should deal with those countries. Upon assuming office in January 1961, Kennedy and many of his senior advisers wanted to use American power and resources to support emerging nations around the world. But this rhetoric seldom translated into actual policy. As Lawrence writes, the Kennedy administration "conceived of no consistent or coherent approach to the Third World generally or to specific challenges that arose on its watch" and left Kennedy's successor with "a muddled set of policies that offered no blueprint for the future."[3]

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[2] Lawrence, *The End of Ambition: The United States and the Third World in the Vietnam Era* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021), 5-6.
[3] Lawrence, *The End of Ambition*, 17.

Unlike Kennedy, Johnson was much more interested in domestic affairs than foreign policy, and surrounded himself with advisers who shared his views. He was also determined to transform the United States through major civil rights reforms and a host of government programs under the Great Society, priorities that mattered more to the President than most foreign policy concerns. As a result, U.S. policy underwent a gradual but distinct shift as Johnson and his advisers "chose again and again to lower American ambitions in the Third World, to reduce risk of setbacks, and to shore up Washington's control of global affairs by establishing or bolstering regimes that promised to cooperate with the United States."[4] Crucially, this trend did not end when Lyndon Johnson left office; on the contrary, it became the basis for his successor's much-touted "Nixon Doctrine."

The next five chapters are case studies of four individual countries (Brazil, India, Iran, and Indonesia) and one region (southern Africa) in which Lawrence explores how the shift from enthusiastic (if often frustrated) engagement with the Third World under Kennedy toward a less-ambitious policy in the Third World under Johnson played out in specific places. Events in each locale played out in different ways based on specific circumstances. In Brazil (Chapter 4), the U.S. came to enthusiastically support the country's military regime, despite its increasingly anti-democratic conduct and proximity to U.S. shores. In India (Chapter 5), the U.S. relationship with New Delhi deteriorated quickly as Indian leaders' criticisms of the U.S. war in Vietnam increased after 1965.

On the other hand, the U.S. relationship with Iran under the shah only grew closer during the second half of the 1960s (Chapter 6). Unlike Brazil, the Johnson administration had fewer qualms about supporting a distant authoritarian regime under a leader who enthusiastically touted his country as a regional surrogate for the U.S. in the strategically vital Persian Gulf; throughout the 1960s Johnson developed a warm personal relationship with the shah, whom he respected as a fellow proponent of state-led reform.[5] In Indonesia (Chapter 7), U.S. officials worried that the country was drifting toward communist China, but those fears gradually

[4] Lawrence, *The End of Ambition*, 80.
[5] Lawrence, *The End of Ambition*, 178.

disappeared as a brutal military regime consolidated power (with U.S. assistance) after 1965.

Southern Africa (Chapter 8) had long been a low priority for U.S. national security, but tensions between black African independence movements, current and former European colonial powers, and white settler regimes became enmeshed with rising racial tensions at home in the United States. As Johnson's civil rights agenda became increasingly controversial at home in the late 1960s, U.S. policy in the region became enmeshed in American domestic politics like none of the other countries discussed in *The End of Ambition*. Faced with an expanding and increasingly controversial war in Vietnam, U.S. officials mostly followed the lead of European allies and NATO members like Great Britain and did not take strong actions against white-controlled governments in Rhodesia and South Africa. For all their individual variations, one theme unites all five case studies: despite tough rhetoric and threats to reduce or cut off American economic and military aid, local factors played a greater role in shaping events than did American pressure.

Perhaps unsurprisingly given his focus on U.S. policymakers and use of U.S. government sources, Lawrence writes that the U.S. decision to temper its ambitions in the Third World was driven by a rational calculation of U.S. interests in a specific historical moment, and not by malevolence on the part of American officials.[6] While this language risks coming across as overly sympathetic, Lawrence is quick to note that, while these policies might have served U.S. interests in the short-term, they all had negative long-term consequences. The author's emphasis on American actors and reliance on U.S. government sources also means that the voices and perspectives of Brazilian, Indian, Indonesia, Iranian, and African leaders and observers are largely absent. But this is a limitation, not a flaw, as Lawrence's efforts to illuminate U.S. officials' positions and perspectives compliment studies that de-center the United States in the history of the Cold War.[7] *The End of Ambition* will be invaluable to scholars

[6] Lawrence, *The End of Ambition*, 4 and 307.

[7] See, for instance, Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and *The Cold War: A World History* (New York: Basic Books, 2017); Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *The Cold War's Killing Fields: Rethinking the Long Peace* (New York:

of Pacific history who want to understand how domestic and bureaucratic forces shaped U.S. foreign policy in the region during the 1960s.

HarperCollins Publishers, 2018); and Lorenz M. Luthi, *Cold Wars: Asia, the Middle East, Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Origins of Moral-Political Philosophy in Early China: Contestation of Humaneness, Justice, and Personal Freedom

Reviewed by BRETT A. FULKERSON-SMITH

Origins of Moral-Political Philosophy in Early China: Contestation of Humaneness, Justice, and Personal Freedom, by Tao Jiang. Oxford University Press, 2021. ISBN: 9780197603499, 514 pages (e-publication accessed via VitalSource).

The Hundred Schools of Thought is the name given to philosophers and their disciples that flourished between 770 and 221 BCE. Marked by great intellectual advancements, this era was nevertheless shot through with suffering and chaos, for it was during the Spring and Autumn (770-475 BCE) and the Warring States (475-221 BCE) periods that the Chinese people experienced the collapse of their social and political worlds. The myriad attempts to restore social order and meaning to life, as well as their relationship to competing and complementing visions during this period, daunt every student of Chinese philosophy. Tao Jiang's book excellently frames the development of the moral-political philosophy of this period, offering a refreshingly original interpretive thread.

Jiang's main contention is that "the origins of Chinese moral-political philosophy can be fruitfully understood as the contestation of humaneness, justice, and personal freedom in the early Chinese effort to negotiate the relationships among the personal, the familial, and the political domains, under drastically different conceptions of Heaven and its evolving relationship with the humans" (45). Jiang makes his case across three parts and seven chapters. Part I, consisting of Chapter 1, focuses on Confucius and his teachings in the fifth century BCE. Here the focus is on Confucius' struggle with the tension between humaneness and justice that sets the stage for subsequent developments in classical Chinese moral-political philosophy. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 constitute Part II, "Humaneness versus Justice: Grappling with the Familial-Political Relationship under a Naturalizing Heaven." Detailed analyses of Mozi,

Mencius, Laozi, and the early *fajia* thinkers show that "the concerns for humaneness and justice diverged, accompanied by shifting evaluations of the norms operative in the private and the public domains, as well as the increasing bureaucratization of the state" (45). In Part III, consisting of Chapters 4, 5, and 6, Jiang examines, respectively, personal freedom in Zhuangzi, humane justice in Xunzi, and statist impartiality in Han Feizi. The book concludes with a reflection on "a path not taken," namely "a Zhuangist-*Fajia* synthesis" (474).

Before turning to an overview of these chapters, I first want to discuss two methodological points made in the Introduction that inform them. What Jiang describes as "the disciplinary chasm or mountain between Sinology and philosophy within the Western academy concerning the interpretation of early Chinese texts" frames the first (2). Most scholars of classical Chinese philosophy acknowledge the Sinological consensus that most of these texts had more than one author. The resulting textual ambiguities present serious challenges to philosophers, whose assumptions regarding single authorship help to ground interpretations that explain away or otherwise elide internal tensions. Jiang proposes a strategy of philosophical interpretation that seeks to avoid an over-reliance on what Foucault called "the author function" (16). On the one hand, Jiang distinguishes between historical author and textual author. "A historical author is a person who has left behind traces in historical records, in addition to the text traditionally attributed to him, which support the claim of authorship (the ambiguity and complexity of the concept notwithstanding), whereas a textual author is the personality who has been credited as the author of a classic in a tradition". On the other hand, he distinguishes between "inherited texts"—historically influential texts—and "original texts," "that emerged at a particular historical juncture" (21). These distinctions come together in a methodological commitment to incorporate "relevant Sinological discussions on the historicity of the classical texts, various controversies concerning their authorships, and the new materials made available through recently excavated manuscripts, in order to properly contextualize the philosophical analysis of the inherited texts" (25).

Jiang less clearly states his second methodological point, framed as it is in terms of the contemporary discussions of the nature, or even

existence, of Chinese philosophy. If his first point concerns *how* he treats those texts on which he focuses in this book, then it is reasonable to assume that his second methodological point concerns his process for identifying *what* texts he focuses on. Towards this end, Jiang points out—at the conclusion of the section—that "the scholarly object of Chinese philosophy is precisely the conceptual resources available in inherited Chinese classics that can be rigorously critiqued and appropriated, through fruitfully dissecting and constructing the textual author and the textual intent within various interpretative contexts, for contemporary philosophical discourses and explorations" (33). This point seems to justify, for example, Jiang's use of excavated bamboo-slip texts and other sources in his subsequent discussions regarding inherited texts like the *Analects* (see Chapter 1, §5).

Among other interesting and important scholarly debates, in Chapter 1, Jiang challenges the prevailing bias of *ren* as humaneness. He does so with two arguments. The so-called semantic argument highlights passages in the *Analects* that present conceptual and semantic difficulties when *ren* is interpreted as humaneness. These difficulties disappear when *ren* is interpreted as justice. The most significant of these passages are *Analects* 3.22, 14.16, and 14.17, wherein Confucius evaluates Guan Zhong.

In the former, Confucius criticizes Guan Zhong as someone who did not understand ritual, since he violated the sacrosanct honor code that bound a vassal to his master. "If we restrict the meaning of ren to the agent/recipient-relative virtue of humaneness, Guan Zhong was not a person of *ren* since he did not demonstrate sufficient devotion and loyalty to his former master" (87). But, in *Analects* 14.16 and 14.17, Confucius lays out the several reasons why Guan Zhong is, in fact, *ren*. Jiang resolves this apparent contradiction by interpreting *ren* in these passages, not in terms of agent/recipient-relative humanness, but in terms of agent/recipient-neutral justice, the "exercise of impartial judgment on the merits of persons and states of affairs, especially in lieu of articulated and publicized standards and codes, irrespective of their relations to us" (35).

What Jiang calls the philosophical argument attempts to establish a conceptual connection within the *Analects* between *ren* and justice. I reconstruct his argument as follows:

1. "Reversibility lies at the heart of any conception of justice" (92).

2. "*Shu*, commonly translated as reciprocity, is often dubbed the negative Golden Rule (or Silver Rule), in contrast with the famous Golden Rule in the biblical tradition with a positive formulation" (89).
3. At least in *Analects* 12.2, "the Golden Rule is clearly understood as constitutive of *ren*" (88).
4. Therefore, "the constitution of the Golden Rule in some of Confucius's iterations of *ren* points to the dimension of justice in the consummate virtue of *ren*" (92).

Whereas the arguments of §4 represent Jiang's application of the hermeneutical principle to resist the temptation to explain away apparent tensions within an inherited text like the *Analects* through Sinological maneuvers, §5 represents his application of his second methodological principle. Here we find him examining excavated bamboo-slip texts like the Guodian corpus. Not only do these texts offer support for many of Jiang's interpretative claims regarding the multivalence of *ren* in Confucius' thought, "they have provided us with fresh materials for our study of the period between Confucius and Mencius and a better understanding of the conceptual resources that might have been at the disposal of Mencius, especially with respect to the discourse on human nature, its relationship with Heaven, and the relationships among moral virtues" (110). Jiang undertakes this study in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 brings this "Great Divergence" in classical Chinese moral-political thought, as Jiang terms it, into sharp relief. As he points out, the Mohists came primarily from the lower strata of society, worried especially about basic human needs (133). It is perhaps primarily for this reason that they prioritized and further developed Confucius' teaching of the Golden Rule into a kind of "universal state consequentialism," seeking to maximize wealth, order, and population through impartial care and objective evaluative criteria.

As is well-known, Mencius accuses the Mohists of being unfilial (*Mencius* 3B/9). What Jiang shows is that what informs this accusation may be Mencius's understanding of the naturalistic idea of *xing* (human nature or inclination) articulated in the Guodian Confucian texts, a result of which is the belief that being human is irreducibly familial and political at the same time. *Contra* Confucius, the familial has inherent value and is

not merely instrumental to the political. This suggests an important limit to the universalist arguments put forward by Mohists and others. To be sure, "if we allow the political to overwhelm the familial, we run the risk of losing our humanity, as Mencius's objection to the Mohist ideal of impartial care points to" (178).

Jiang's careful examination here of the Shun narrative in the *Mencius* is reminiscent of the semantic arguments in Chapter 1. The narrative challenges the normative interpretation of Mencius as one who sees a smooth transition from the personal to the familial, on the one hand, and from the familial to the political, on the other. For Jiang, the narrative makes more sense when Mencius is conceived not merely as an extensionist, but sometimes more radically, embracing the necessity to sacrifice the political for the good of the familial (176).

According to Jiang, Chapter 3 shows how "Laozi pushed the [Great Divergence] further by completely rejecting humaneness in the political domain and embracing a vision of justice that naturally operates in the world without human intervention" (229). Jiang attributes this development to two conceptual innovations on the part of Laozi. First, Laozi naturalizes justice and impartiality as the operative principles in the Dao-generated cosmos (§3).

With reference to two excavated bamboo-slip texts—*Tai yi sheng shui* from Guodian and *Heng xian* from Shanghai Museum—Jiang situates the *Laozi* in the context of a "naturalistic turn" underway in the late fourth century BCE (198). Laozi's innovation is to conceive of the Dao, not merely as a way or path, but as the origin of the world and the source of order. Unlike the anthropomorphized Heaven, favored by Confucians and Mohists—whose universal justice was distributive and retributive—the Dao metes out a purely distributive justice for all.

In addition to a naturalized cosmology whose operative principle is distributive justice, Laozi puts forth a critique of the mainstream moral-political project that is metaethical (second-order) (§4). At issue here is the distinction between *wuwei* and *youwei*. While many contemporary scholars of Chinese philosophy follow Edward Slingerland and understand the former as the virtue of perfect alignment between a person's inner and outer states, resulting in effortless or non-deliberative action, Jiang offers a novel interpretation of "*wuwei* as an exercise in metaethics that is

formulated to scrutinize the nature of morals by examining the roles of conscious awareness, effort, and motivation in moral actions" (212).

As Jiang notes—based on his analysis of Chapters 2, 18, 19, 33, 38, and 65 of the *Daodejing*—this exercise is genealogical (§4.2):

1. Virtues are either superior or inferior.
2. The cultivation and practice of inferior virtues require great focus and effort (*youwei*) while superior virtues do not require any focus or effort at all (*wuwei*).
3. The cultivation of familial virtues like *ren*, *li*, *yi*, and *zhi* and their application into the political realm require great focus and effort.
4. Therefore, virtues like *ren*, *li*, *yi*, and *zhi* are inferior virtues.
5. But justice should be articulated in terms of superior virtues, namely those that do not require any focus or effort at all (*wuwei*).
6. Virtues like "fairness (*gong*), accommodation (*rong*), and illumination (*ming*)" are *wuwei* (222).
7. Therefore, justice should be articulated in terms of *gong*, *rong*, and *ming*.

Here, we can see that Laozi agrees with the Mohists that justice is best conceived of as universal impartiality. The difference is that the Mohists believe that achieving universal justice requires human agency, whereas Laozi believes this is the prerogative of Heaven alone. As such, he, like Mencius, is acutely aware of the challenges of universalist justice in the human world. As Jiang summarizes:

> Ideally for Laozi, justice should be left to Heaven as any human effort at justice would be too heavy-handed, on the one hand, while forcing humans to forsake naturally endowed human inclinations, on the other. Humans should aim at preserving our natural inclinations within a familial, kinship, or small local communal environment. This means that the Laoists were actually trying to preserve the most natural expressions of humaneness, i.e., in a familial, kinship, and small local communal context (*xiao ci*), without such expressions being appropriated or even hijacked by the pretense of universal(ized) humaneness in the hands of the Confucians for the latter's moral-political project. (224)

Part II concludes with an examination of early *fajia* thinkers Shen Buhai (c. 400–c. 337 BCE), Shang Yang (c. 390–338 BCE), and Shen Dao (c. 350–c. 275 BCE), respectively. In doing so, Jiang makes two important points. First, while common to translate *fajia* as Legalism, *fa* has a broader connotation; in addition to law, the term can refer to method, standard, regulation, model, etc. Keeping this extension in mind allows readers to more fully appreciate the myriad powerful and effective, bureaucratic tools (and not merely laws) these thinkers developed to manage and regulate the state.

Second, Jiang makes the case that this bureaucratic turn can be understood as the logical conclusion of Mohism, if not also Laoism. On the one hand, "with these *fajia* thinkers, we see that impartiality, first formulated and defended by the Mohists, became the most important institutional norm that eclipsed personal virtues like filiality or even humaneness and righteousness." On the other hand, "these *fajia* thinkers advocated implementing the Mohist impartiality in the state bureaucracy such that the state apparatus could function by itself without constant intervention from the ruler" (232). To achieve the latter, Shen Dao embraced a broadly Laoist cosmology, modeling the state after the natural system of Heaven.

In Chapter 5, Jiang introduces the third concept enumerated in the book's subtitle, namely personal freedom. The *contest* between it, humaneness, and justice is the subject of a later chapter. Here, the focus is on Zhuangzi's conception of personal freedom as an alternative to "the suffocating and crushing relationality of the lifeworld whose governing norms, characterized as humaneness and justice in this book, were debated by the mainstream philosophers at the time, including the Confucians, the Mohists, the Laoists, and the *fajia* thinkers" (335).

As Jiang emphasizes, there are two spaces of personal freedom schematized in the *Zhuangzi* (§5). *Fangwai* refers to the oft-noted-and-celebrated roaming at the margins of the lifeworld, *beyond* the boundaries of morality, society, and politics. Whether normative and non-physical, or more place-based, this kind of roaming serves as a repudiation of social-political-moral norms. *Fangnei* refers to the freedom to roam *within and between* the constraints and boundaries of the ritualized lifeworld. The

story of Cook Ding in the "Yangsheng Zhu" Chapter of the *Zhuangzi* is illustrative of this type of roaming.

Of special note is Jiang's work to connect the details of Zhuangzi's "lone project" with thinkers treated earlier in the text. In §3, therefore, we find an informative comparison between Mencius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi regarding how best to conceive of the heartmind and its connection to the lifeworld, *contra* Confucius. And in §5, Jiang draws a favorable comparison between Zhuangzi's and Laozi's conceptions of the proto-Daoist sage-ruler.

Xunzi is the focus of Chapter 6, whose deliberations were conducted not only during the late Warring States period but within a broadly Laoist cosmology. What Jiang shows is that, unable to appeal to either a Heaven indifferent to human affairs or a chaotic and conflictual human nature, Xunzi's efforts to establish peace would require a conception of justice that synthesized the Confucian, Mohist, Laoist, and early *fajia* considerations. Central to Xunzi's conception of justice is ritual.

According to Jiang, ritual is a "deserts-based distributive system" of material goods, professions, and official ranks (391). What is important is that rituals are established by sage-kings. Sage-kings cultivated an empty, unified, and still heartmind through what for Xunzi came to refer to a celebrated quality, unique to humans: "deliberate effort" (*wei*). It is this cultivated heartmind that allows them to bring about "the right order in the human world, both within each moral agent and in the sociopolitical world" (356).

Jiang points to *Xunzi* 17.253–254 to show that what makes Xunzi's conception of justice *humane* is his reconceptualization of *jian*. "Xunzi regarded *qi* [uniformity] as a key component of *jian* in Mohist thought, but he removed the former from the latter, taking away the implication of uniformity or undifferentiation in *jian* while keeping its universality. This means that Xunzi embraced the Mohist universalism but rejected what he perceived to be the Mohist advocacy of uniformity" (396).

If Xunzi is among the most-ardent defenders of Confucianism in the late Warring States period, then Han Feizi counts among those opposed to such a ritual-centered moral-political order that embodied justice *and* humaneness. In Chapter 6, Jiang frames his account of Han Feizi's statist political order in terms of the latter's comprehensive repudiation of

Confucius' model. This model relies on two assumptions, which Han Feizi ably challenges.

First, contrary to the Confucian view that "the moral character, or virtue, of the ruler…was foundational to the polity under his rule" (410), Han Feizi makes two points. Not only are sages scarce, but they also appear mostly unable to rouse and influence people, as—Han Feizi points out with relish—Confucius's own case underscores. Rather, political authority is structural, deriving from political order alone (414).

Second, instead of a seamless transition between the familial and the political domains assumed in the Confucian model, Han Feizi shows great tension. Following early thinkers like the Mohists, Mencius, Laozi, and the early *fajia* thinkers, "Han Feizi highlighted the ways familial ties and interests could subvert the interest of the state" (415). Jiang underscores that these kinds of threats are structural in nature and cannot be solved through the education or the moral cultivation of deviant family members. A structural problem deserves a structural solution.

As regards its character (§3.1), Han Feizi's statist political order included standardized legal codes, as well as criteria of the selection and evaluation of officials. These standards "should be clear, publicly promulgated, and executed impartially, uniformly, and reliably" (428). As regards its instruments (§3.2), Han Feizi relied on the "two handles" of reward and punishment

> to realign people's desires with the interest of the state. Furthermore, he promoted the idea of *xingming*, articulated by earlier *fajia* thinkers, as the instrument to appoint and evaluate officials in regulating the bureaucracy. Finally, he embraced the idea of *shi*, positional power, as the foundation of a monarch's political authority. (432)

Jiang spends the remainder of the chapter (§3.3) articulating the several ways that Han Feizi's thought can be profitably understood as a development of the Mohist political philosophy, especially as it appears to operate on a version of state consequentialism that pushes a statist vision of justice and impartiality to its logical conclusion.

Jiang returns to Zhuangzi in the conclusion of the book. Recall, according to Jiang, Zhuangzi was an outlier in early Chinese philosophy, the only scholar (treated in the book) to take seriously the idea of personal

freedom during the Warring States period. Framed in terms of Isaiah Berlin's famous essay, "Two Concepts of Freedom," Jiang wonders how to make the *Zhuangzi* more relevant to the modern discourse on political and social freedom (475)? The answer is "a paradigm shift, away from the axiomatic premise of self-cultivation and epistemic superiority of a cultivated sage, an assumption that is shared by almost all traditional Chinese thinkers, including Zhuangzi" (471).

My concern is not so much with the answer—which blends Zhuangzi's conception of personal freedom with the *fajia* valorization of the ordinary person—but with the question itself. Why should readers be interested in Zhuangzi and his conception of personal freedom at all, and especially in the context of Berlin's two conceptions of freedom?

Berlin's distinction between negative and positive freedoms has set the parameters for discussions of freedom for more than six decades. And freedom is arguably the most important concept in contemporary political philosophy. So, it is no wonder that Jiang seeks to situate Zhuangzi's conception of personal freedom in terms of Berlin's influential distinction.

When he does, we see that, while both Zhuangzi and Berlin underscore negative freedoms, there are crucial differences. For one, the question of negative freedom is, for Zhuangzi, a spiritual problem that requires personal cultivation; for Berlin, it is a social and political problem that requires the collective effort of a political community (472). When integrated with the *fajia* political system, Jiang asserts that Zhuangist negative freedom is an alternative worth considering.

But why? Jiang does not offer much critical analysis of Zhuangzi's conception of personal freedom to recommend it, especially considering its "marginalization (and internalization) with little direct engagement with the mainstream moral-political discourse [of its time]" (473). Rather, the Acknowledgements provide the answer to this question. Here, Jiang notes that the book is the fruit of a project originally focused on Zhaungzi's philosophy. For him, Zhuangzi's project of personal freedom is "cogent and compelling" (xiii).

There is also a dearth of critical engagement with the scholarly literature referenced throughout the book. While Jiang's scholarship is remarkable—the book's bibliography is sixteen pages long—he uses his copious references to secondary literature mostly to frame and

contextualize the issues that are his focus. There is little, if any, direct confirmation, refutation, or correction of his interlocutors. In general, this critique also applies to Jiang's treatment of the positions and arguments put forward by the central figures he considers in this book.

As a result, I do not believe that researchers already familiar or engaged with the issues discussed in this book will find much to convince them to accept Jiang's thesis. But those just beginning their advanced study of early Chinese philosophy will find much of value in this book. Each chapter offers clear and comprehensive descriptions of contemporary and classic scholarship on the respective figures and issues. In addition, Jiang's overall narrative regarding the development of moral-political philosophy in early China is, if not compelling, tantalizingly suggestive.

For these reasons, I also recommend this book to instructors of undergraduate courses on, for example, Chinese or Asian philosophy: not to assign as required course reading—the book is too dense for that—but as a resource for informing class lectures, discussions, and assignments. The connections and interplays it suggests will no doubt help these students to not only make sense of this formidable period in the history of philosophy, but also excite a productive engagement with the figures and issues discussed in the book. Students in a capstone or advanced seminar who read Chapter 1 will learn some important lessons about the methodology of the history of philosophy, as well as of Sinology.

Jiang's labor over the past decade and a half earned him an honorable mention from the Joseph Levenson Prize committee earlier this year. This honor is well-deserved. The book is a valuable resource for those interested in exploring humaneness, justice, and freedom in early Chinese philosophy.

Artificial Intelligence & Generative AI for Beginners

Artificial Intelligence & Generative AI for Beginners, by David M. Patel. Independently published in July 2023. ISBN: 979-8850705527, 144 pages (paperback).

Reviewed by DAVID GUGIN

"As it has been said 'You are not going to be replaced by AI, you are going to be replaced by a human using AI.' Don't be that person!" (Patel 94).

I am not yet persuaded, nor is it likely that I ever will be, that the above quotation is 100% accurate. However, it does provide an entry point into David Patel's recent, timely guidebook to artificial intelligence (AI) and specifically generative artificial intelligence (GAI). I am also normally somewhat suspicious of self-publications (and this book contains more than a few typographical errors), but Patel is described on Amazon as an "author, educator, and self-taught technologist with more than 15 years of experience" in the AI industry. He holds an MS in Computer Science from Cornell University and appears to be a much in demand "author, speaker, and consultant" on all things GAI. He is therefore a strong proponent of GAI technology, though to his credit he does devote a certain amount of time to its disadvantages and indeed dangers (what he calls risks.) In fact, what I like most about the book is that it works at two levels. First of all, as the title indicates, Patel himself intends it as a how-to guide for anyone new to the field who is interested in learning about and utilizing various GAI models. But in doing so, the book also raises a whole host of questions. For both of those reasons, I would recommend it.

Part I "Artificial Intelligence for Beginners" does a good job on the basics of AI in general, starting off with an informative history of AI, from Alan Turing's seminal 1950 paper "Computing Machinery and Intelligence," which contained the famous Turing Test to determine a machine's ability to replicate intelligent (human) behavior, to the so-called "Deep Learning Revolution" of the early 2010s. Patel concludes Chapter 1 with a key distinction. Narrow or Weak AI ("weak" is not used

pejoratively in this case), is the far more common type of AI – for example, personal assistants like Siri and Alexa, capable of an impressive variety of tasks, but not capable of moving beyond their original programming, of learning new tasks on their own. Narrow AI is contrasted with the newer, still largely theoretical General or Strong or Artificial General Intelligence (AGI), a level of machine intelligence that according to Patel "can fully emulate a human being's intelligence," possessing "the capability to understand, learn, apply knowledge, and improve itself autonomously across a broad range of tasks" (16). In other words, AGI, unlike Narrow AI, will be able to move beyond its specific programming.

In the subsequent chapters 2-6 of Part I Patel introduces the five principal components of AI: Machine Learning, Natural Language Processing (NLP), Robotics, Computer Vision (image and object recognition), and Expert Systems. Chapter 3 then focuses on the role of data, both quantitative and qualitative, the information that AI uses to make decisions, and algorithms, "the rules that AI follows to process data and learn from it" (29). He writes that algorithms, like Machine Learning itself, can be divided into (1) supervised learning algorithms, where the model identifies patterns and makes predictions on data that has already been classified (labeled) manually; (2) unsupervised learning algorithms, where the model can work on its own, with unclassified (unlabeled) data; and (3) reinforcement learning algorithms, which operate through a system of rewards and penalties for various machines or software. In chapter 4 the author returns to a more in-depth discussion of Machine Learning as a prelude to his analysis of neural networks and deep learning in chapter 5. He concludes with a renewed emphasis in chapter 6 on NLP, Computer Vision, and Robotics, since for Patel this is "where AI truly shines, demonstrating its capacity to understand human language, interpret visual information, and interact with the physical world" (49). He provides an excellent overview of both tasks and applications of all three of these major AI fields, noting as well how rapidly their capabilities and usages are expanding.

As the title of the book indicates, Patel is targeting (though not exclusively) relative newcomers to the AI world, so for most readers (including me) Part I is probably the most opaque section of the book, especially given the unfamiliarity of much of the jargon. However, the

material is well-organized, and Patel uses repetition effectively to assist and reinforce understanding of the main concepts. Also when encountering unusual terminology the reader should be patient because Patel will often introduce a word and then develop its meaning and importance more fully later. For instance, he first mentions "backpropagation" on page 13 but does not fully define it until page 44. Still, a working grasp of the basics of AI is important to lay the groundwork for the rest of the book, and more broadly, it seems to me that at least an awareness of what AI is and how it works is pertinent for anyone in this day and age. In addition, knowing these basics strikes me as particularly necessary for those of us who are inclined to be skeptical of AI technology, even outright hostile to it. It is difficult to criticize, challenge, modify, regulate or devise effective policies (personal, professional, institutional, national, international) about what we do not understand.

That being said, Patel begins to get into the heart of the matter in Part II "Introduction to Generative AI." In chapter 7 he offers what he calls "the 10,000 feet overview," describing Generative AI (GAI) as "a type of artificial intelligence that uses machine learning models to produce outputs, such as texts, images, or music, that are new and unique." Thus GAI enables computers to produce creative content that looks like it was produced by humans. These AI systems "generate new data or content, rather than simply analyzing or processing existing data [so] in a sense generative AI is about teaching machines to become creators" (55). The distinction Patel makes here is between (1) discriminative models, which are great for classification tasks because they are taught to answer questions such as to what class does this data point belong? and (2) generative models, which can generate new data from existing data sets because they are taught to answer questions such as follows: Given this class, what would a new data point look like? In short, GAI is based on different types of generative algorithms that allow it to learn "the underlying patterns in data and [use] this data to generate new data" (56). Though Patel does not make the analogy, what emerges in GAI is a fundamental sense of the productive power (and dangers) of textual patterns and conventions, of genre itself.

Chapter 7 ends with a brief listing and description of the seven types of GAI and examples of each: text-to-text or T2T (GPT-4, Google Bard,

Jasper); text-to-audio or T2A (Google's Tacotron, Amazon's Polly); text-to-image or T2I (DALL-E from OpenAI or MidJourney); text-to-video or T2V (still in the developmental stage); text-to-music or T2M (Open AI's MuseNet); audio-to-text or A2T (Amazon's Alexa, Apple's Siri); and text-to-code or T2C (GitHub Copilot). Characteristically, in chapter 8, Patel proceeds to a much more detailed examination of all seven types, including their training and generation phases, functionality, and specific applications of each. He also provides several real-world case studies of companies that have utilized these various types of GAI to expand their businesses, maximize profits, and actually add employees to their workforce. It should be noted, however, that Patel does not provide real-world case studies where GAI reduced the total number of employees. In fairness though chapter 9, the last chapter of Part II, does focus on the present and future benefits and downsides of GAI. For that reason, I will be returning to it later in this review.

In many ways I found Part III "Practical Applications and Future Directions" the most interesting, eye-opening section of the book. Here he focuses on what he calls the "fun part" of GAI – its practical applications, which as he says is probably why most people bought the book in the first place (85). In chapter 10 he walks the reader through very specific explanations of the most commonly used GAI programs: the famous (infamous?) ChatGPT, as well as Google Bard, Adobe Firefly, MidJourney, GitHub CoPilot, GenCraft, and MusicLM. Each explanation begins with a history of the program, the technology behind it, applications and use cases, type, price, the access link, and step-by-step instructions of how to use. For instance, ChatGPT, the world's most popular AI chatbot, was introduced in December 2022 and in just a little over six months had acquired around 170 million users. It is based on a neural network called transformers, discussed previously by Patel in chapter 7. This allows ChatGPT "to learn the relationships between words and sentences in a text," and with further refinement using a technique known as reinforcement learning from human feedback (RLHF), the ChatGPT model is able to "learn from its own interactions with users and improve over time" (85-86). Chat GPT has a wide range of applications in education, entertainment, information retrieval, creative content, and

communication. For better or for worse, it initiated the mainstreaming of GAI, what Patel refers to as "the generative AI revolution."

Chapter 11 branches out to various fields and industries that are being transformed by GAI. I should mention too that "transform" is a word, along with "potential," that Patel uses throughout the book, always with some kind of positive connotation. But there are many people who at least right now would disagree with Patel, arguing instead that the transformative potential of GAI is not creative but destructive. Furthermore, one problem I have with the book is that Patel tends to rely heavily on modals and adverbs of possibility (could, might, may be, should be able to, eventually, potentially) and therefore he is unclear at times about what GAI is actually doing now vs. what it is capable of doing in the future. Nevertheless, and for example, according to Patel, in health care GAI-enabled molecular design can be used to develop new therapeutic drugs much more rapidly, to customize (personalize) treatment plans, and to read medical images (X-rays) faster and more accurately than the human eye. The GAI presence is also increasing quickly in entertainment, fashion and retail, architecture and design, the automotive industry (self-driving cars), agriculture and food production, education (GAI tutors), journalism and media, hiring and recruiting (ZipRecruiter), sales, law services (facial recognition), and personal sports coaching. As the above examples show, a main purpose of the book overall, and chapter 11 in particular, is to illustrate how "this technology can provide new solutions and opportunities [and to] give a glimpse of the possible applications and benefits of Generative AI" (113). What these examples also show is that GAI is not going away. The genie cannot be put back in the bottle. For Patel of course this is a good thing.

Whereas Part II ended with a chapter on the advantages as well as possible disadvantages of GAI, chapter 12 opens Part IV "Conclusion and Looking Forward" with further "ethical considerations." I will return to that topic shortly. Chapter 13, however, continues the "how to use GAI" theme with a variety of useful links and resources. Patel provides AI and GAI news websites, YouTube influencers and channels to follow, along with AI and GAI podcasts as well as other helpful websites for anyone interested in expanding and improving their GAI skill sets. In Part V "Appendix" he takes his argument to its logical conclusion and finishes

with how to build your own GAI system. Chapter 14 summarizes useful tools for GAI development, especially Python, "a high-level, interpreted programming language that has become the de facto language for AI and machine learning" (131). This is apparently the current go-to code for GAI programming. Chapter 15 then concludes with a tutorial on the actual construction of a GAI model: mastering the fundamental concepts, choosing the correct tools, collecting and preparing data, training the model, and testing and refining the model.

As stated earlier, Patel makes his living as a GAI consultant, so he is obviously an advocate of GAI propagation. There is nothing inherently wrong in this and he does spend some time on the potential problems, disadvantages, and dangers of the widespread emergence of GAI technology. In chapters 9 and 12 he discusses "downsides" as he articulates a vision of what directions GAI might take in the near and long-term future. Without using the actual phrase, he also provides a necessary reminder about avoiding the pitfalls of so-called "technological determinism" in any debate about any new or existing technology or delivery system. The point being that all these technologies and their platforms or applications were and are in themselves neutral, neither good nor bad, ethical or unethical, moral or immoral. What determines their use-value, their strengths and weaknesses, are users, i.e., people. Social media, for instance, can be used in all sorts of positive ways, but it can also be used (or abused) in all sorts of negative ways. The same is true of AI in general and GAI specifically. However, the idea that AI and GAI models can essentially think like and thus "replace" humans in a growing number and variety of tasks and situations is unnerving to many people, a legitimate emotional response that Patel (and other proponents) tend to dismiss too quickly.

One big strength of GAI is its ability to generate new content. The risk here is content manipulation, since "deepfake" technology can be used to "create realistic yet falsified images, videos or audio recordings, *potentially* leading to misinformation, identity theft, or fraud" (my emphasis 83). Safe to say, content manipulation is no longer a potential problem, but a very real and growing problem. In addition, all GAI models have to be trained, which means they are data dependent. But if they are trained on flawed or biased input data then their outputs will be flawed or

biased, which can be especially harmful in "sensitive areas like law enforcement or credit scoring, where biased AI models *could* reinforce societal biases" (my emphasis 83). Best to delete the "could" here, since evidence is emerging that on-line job recruiters like LinkedIn, Indeed, and ZipRecruiter are identifying best matches for employers based on AI algorithms that are skewed in favor of white males. Moreover, facial recognition software has already been shown to be unreliable (it has difficulty with darker skin tones) and racially biased against people of color, especially black males. Setup and maintenance costs for GAI are also high, often exorbitant, which undermines the alleged egalitarian or "democratization" value of the technology. If not everyone can afford it (and not everyone can), what emerges is an even more elitist, bifurcated world of those who have GAI access and those who do not, those who control GAI and those who are controlled by it.

Privacy is a major issue with GAI. Patel realizes that "it *might* also infringe on privacy when it uses real user data for personalization purposes [and] there are *potential* risks of data misuse or breach, which *could* compromise personal information (my emphasis 83). Based on my reading of the news and current events, we can delete "potentially" and substitute "will" for "might" and "could." Patel knows too that human over-reliance on GAI is a danger, which contradicts his quote that I began this review with. He correctly argues throughout the book that human oversight of GAI is vital, but at the same time he acknowledges that oversight is often missing. Furthermore, this over-reliance on GAI inevitably leads to what he euphemistically calls "job displacement," what the striking Writers Guild of America calls "job elimination." Patel is aware that "while AI can create new job opportunities, it can render certain roles obsolete, leading to employment concerns" (83). Making "certain roles obsolete" is an interesting phrase and "leading to employment concerns" is, I think, putting it a bit mildly. There will be significant social costs to unchecked, unregulated GAI proliferation.

As a corollary to "deepfake" content manipulation, Patel recognizes that GAI can be used maliciously. Ironically, although spam and phishing identification is now a very useful application of GAI technology, that same technology can also generate the spam and phishing attempts which it is then identifying. Even more concerning, it can automate "cyber attacks, or

produc[e] inappropriate or harmful content." The ever increasing availability of GAI models means they are becoming more and more accessible to more and more bad actors (84). A concurrent problem is that legal systems worldwide never anticipated the sudden appearance of GAI (though maybe they should have), so all sorts of legal issues are now emerging. Patel points out that with GAI it is "challenging to attribute created content to a particular individual or entity." This immediately raises copyright questions: "Who owns AI-generated art or music, for instance?" (84). A good question, one that Patel leaves to others to answer. Finally, a lack of transparency is a problem with GAI models, since it can be difficult to understand their decision-making processes, a serious problem "in fields where accountability and interpretability are crucial, like health care or the legal sector" (94). A serious problem in education I would add.

Patel is not an academic nor does he claim to be. But he does devote a section of chapter 11 to how GAI "holds the promise of making education more personalized, adaptive, and engaging, potentially transforming how students learn and educators teach" (107). It does appear that GAI could be very good at customizing educational content to the needs and proficiency levels of individual students. By creating "individual learning pathways" centered on adaptive content generation, adaptive assessment, and an adaptive testing approach, GAI could, if used properly, very well significantly improve student learning experiences. Because of its ability to so rapidly analyze performance and identify learning patterns, it can tailor instruction to a student's learning style, a student's unique context. It could optimize learning outcomes in a way that is not realistically possible for teachers, given the time and resource constraints they typically work under. Although Patel does not specifically say so, it seems to me that GAI would be especially helpful for special education teachers at all levels of instruction: pre-school, elementary, secondary, and post-secondary.

However, there are problems, which Patel does not directly address. As a professor of literature in the English Department here at the University of Guam I can say that the sudden appearance of GAI has caused quite a stir among faculty and administrators, Chat GPT being the main culprit. Plagiarism is I believe the most immediate issue. It has, of course,

been around forever, but GAI models like Chat GPT and Adobe Firefly have opened up a Pandora's box of possibilities for students (and to be honest, faculty and administrators) to create written and visual texts that in traditional definitions of plagiarism are not their own. Patel is always careful to refer to the benefits of GAI in "first draft writing" and the role of humans in reviewing and revising those first drafts into final drafts. But in my recent experience with student writing assignments, it is clear that those students who may be using Chat GPT are simply submitting the text it has produced for them, without making any changes. Historically, assigning and grading out-of-class writing assignments (essays and research papers) has been the principal means of evaluating student performance and success in most literature classrooms. GAI makes those kinds of writing assignments increasingly problematic. Some interesting, foundational pedagogical questions then arise. Do I want to spend most of my limited time "policing" GAI plagiarism? Do I want to teach less poems, stories, and novels in a particular class in order to focus on a multi-draft writing process that would probably reduce plagiarism but definitely be time-consuming? Or after over 20 years of reasonably successful university teaching do I want to re-think how I teach and what I grade? As appropriate, do I want to incorporate GAI into the overall learning experience, both for my students and for me? Again, for better or for worse, the landscape of higher education has changed dramatically.

I know my own personal answers to the above questions. I know what directions I intend to go in in the remainder of my teaching career. But my larger point in this review is that, if they have not already, it might me a good idea for all educators, including university faculty and administrators, to at a minimum familiarize themselves with GAI, what it is, what it is not, its strengths and weaknesses, its benefits and risks. Since we do tend to fear the unknown perhaps it would be helpful to learn more about a technology that is not going away, a technology that the current generation of students are comfortable with, a technology that all future generations of students will grow up with. Like most proponents of GAI, Patel usually just assumes that the problems with GAI will somehow eventually resolve themselves. I do not share that assumption. In my view, solving or addressing those problems will not necessarily be impossible, but it will be challenging. Still, we must start somewhere and a basic

understanding of GAI is the place to begin. Whether you just wish to learn more about GAI, or you want to use it, or you are ready to build your own GAI program, David Patel's *Artificial Intelligence & Generative AI for Beginners* is a book worth reading.

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Politics, Lies and Conspiracy Theories: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective

Reviewed by C. S. SCHREINER, University of Guam

Politics, Lies and Conspiracy Theories: A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective, by Marcel Danesi. Routledge, 2023. ISBN: 9781032393124, 116 pages (paperback).

In one of his later treatises memorable for its critique of education and stupidity in the attentional economy, Bernard Stiegler grieves the "disarmament of thought" and the "exhaustion of critical power" that ensued from the whimsical legacy of poststructuralist theory (86). That legacy was not one of educational reform or curricular innovation, but of original hermeneutic performances that were unrepeatable. The conservative mode of "performative politics" currently trending in Washington, DC, amounting to personal puffery and vainglory, was weirdly anticipated by the stylized public demonstrations of radical theorists in academia—and just as institutionally ineffectual. The fixation of Derrida and others on the undecidable or aporetic forces and conditions inherent in reading and interpretation denied traction and substance to their cultural progressivism. Instead of refining methods of critique and evaluation for students, instead of developing new criteria for exegesis and other forms of concrete practice, theorists became mired in artfully ambiguous anti-foundationalism when enrollment in the humanities was already in steep decline. Stiegler is "profoundly discouraged" (79) by the inability of such theorists to address concrete sociocultural and educational problems associated with diminished ("proletarianized") outcomes in literacy, civic awareness, and consumer protection from predatory algorithms. Intervention in these sectors of public life is handicapped and confounded, not helped by describing the destabilizing figural and semiotic dynamics of rhetoricity. Stiegler perceives a lamentable irony in the way the aporetic outcomes of poststructuralist theory, which was supposed to deconstruct status quo institutions, are replicated in the impasses and stalemates afflicting the operations of status quo political governing. The philosophers and the politicians can no

longer make firm distinctions based on logic or principle, but they can sure quarrel and spin their wheels in a bog of indecision.

Marcel Danesi, an emeritus professor at U. Toronto, seeks to avoid the self-kneecapping of poststructuralist theory by arguing that the operations of metaphor are not meaningless but meaningful. Metaphor does not subvert meaning but integrates threads of meaning into a persuasive narrative totality—such as QAnon, which started out as gossip on social media until millions joined up in a cultish herd phenomenon. Danesi argues, "The objective of metaphor study within linguistics is to understand how the human brain extracts elements from disparate information, organizing them into meaningful wholes" (10). These wholes can consist of meaningful nonsense that excites and mobilizes ignorant believers. The ominous metaphor of the "deep state" on which Trump blames his criminal charges might be an absurd nonentity to those endowed with critical acumen, something to spoof on late night television; but its mythic archetype, demonically personified, has become what Danesi describes as a "conspiratorial narrative of persecution that Trump is always spreading to protect himself from political opposition and even legal actions—persecutions from the political left" (39). Spread at rallies and through social media, the metaphor of the deep state has grown so powerful and significant to MAGA fanatics that they use it to exculpate Trump from all 93 alleged crimes. Danesi would explain the transference of meaning that occurs between the deep state and its personification as metaphorical mapping. "Trump has repeated this metaphor so many times, in public and in tweets, that it has become a Korzybskian linguistically-altered map" (39).

The discipline of linguistics is beholden to its own theorists, such as Alfred Korzybski, and presupposes, as does deconstruction, its own version of the linguistic turn initiated by Wittgenstein and Heidegger. In this regard the recent linguistic study of metaphor is an area of research that has been affiliated since 1980 with the popular writings of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, whose central idea is that "metaphorical meaning pervades language and thought" (11). But unlike the playful literary pretensions of poststructuralist theory, the scientific *disciplinary ethos* of linguistics projects a heuristic pertinence and applicability. This

ethos has a sobering effect on Marcel Danesi's prose, which is lucid and undistracted by stylistic considerations.

As adumbrated above, Marcel Danesi marshals cognitive linguistics to interpret and understand the widespread susceptibility of the masses to political lies, conspiracy theories, and viral streams of disinformation. In particular, the author leverages conceptual metaphor theory as a "decodification tool" (102) to explain the psycholinguistic intricacies of deception by political discourse relying on relatable metaphors that take on a life and power of astonishing scope in social media. Those conspiratorial metaphors are the lifeblood of the gullible MAGA devotees, all 80 million of them, and are all too familiar: the deep state; decadence, or cultural decline from 1950s' family values; worldwide Jewish cabal; perversion; miscegenation or racial contamination; invasion and border integrity; victimhood; injustice, etc.

"I don't mind being Nelson Mandela, because I'm doing it for a reason," Trump mythologized himself in New Hampshire. In a *Salon* article by Chauncey Devega, Jennifer Mercieca, author of *Demagogue for President: The Rhetorical Genius of Donald Trump* is quoted as follows: "Trump suffers for his followers, so his followers owe him. They owe him their loyalty, votes, and money…" The martyr metaphor expands, exudes a religious aura when Trump tells his MAGA audience, "I'm being prosecuted for you." He becomes a martyred *savior* with religious overtones; merges his persona as a dictator with the patronizing and patriarchal role of the *father who knows best*; and cynically solicits millions of dollars to support his cause as a *patriotic duty* as he personifies the *nation itself*.

While Jennifer Mercieca presents admirable research, the titular "Genius" is a poorly chosen word for a sociopathic clown and follows the popular but *ad hominem* misfocus on Trump and not the gullible millions who support him. Danesi's succinct study is dryly schematic like a study guide for college students, but he acknowledges the imperative to understand why so many millions are duped by political mendacity. Each chapter sandwiches content between a Prologue and Epilogue. His seven chapter titles are sequenced as follows: (1) Lies and Conspiracy Theories; (2) Deconstructing Political Lies; (3) Da Vinci Code Effects; (4) Fake News and Pseudo-Events; (5) Mythic Lies; (6) Channels of Spread; (7) The

Cognitive Linguistic Perspective. MAGA fanatics are subjugated, he argues, by powerful and pervasive metaphors whose conspiratorial aura beguile, engage, and even flatter common sense, such as Dan Brown's clandestine intrigues in *The Da Vinci Code* published in 2003. Danesi argues that the "Da Vinci Code effects" (34) associated with this blandly written blockbuster provided the archetypal preconditions for the cabal metaphors of the QAnon "big tent conspiracy theory" (50). Enabled by the internet, millions of people became sofa-bound sleuths; encouraged by the talking heads of Fox News, they preoccupied themselves by chasing clues down rabbit holes and connecting them via gossip and calumny, demonstrating "an ingrained tendency to perceive meaningful connections between unrelated things." This cognitive compulsion to make specious connections, Danesi explains, is called *apophenia*, a diagnostic term formulated in 1958 by the psychiatrist Klaus Conrad (35).

Engulfed and spellbound by conspiratorial metaphors issuing from what Guy Debord called the *integrated spectacle,* the Mobius-like continuum of film, television, and social media, citizens offer little resistance, critically unprepared as they are by the schools where they were supposed to learn critical thinking. Danesi doesn't go there, criticize educators and their institutions. His sphere of professional competence is cognitive linguistics. Yet it seems inarguable that the educational system has failed voters by failing to inculcate the critical thinking, rhetorical acumen, and civic awareness that would decode and disarm powerful and pervasive cabals and their metaphors. The only reason this educational focus sounds infeasible if not wildly ambitious is because of drastically diminished expectations for student learning outcomes. Rhetorical analysis can be taught; I have taught it, along with critical thinking and exegesis, for many years to teachers, writers, and philosophers.

In any case, somehow MAGA diehards misperceive pleonastic bombast and narcissistic arrogance as business savvy and wisdom; for them, the choreographed television show "Apprentice" was real. The MAGA diehards (over 100 million of them) are not charmed, persuaded, or duped (gulled) by subtle reasoning and argument that supports its claims with evidence. Trump *does not argue*, an incapacity which is his secret motive for skipping debates, and not because he is above the fray. Trump does not argue because genuine argument is well-informed and

civilized. As Walter Sinnott-Armstrong explains, "reasons and arguments express respect, improve understanding, induce humility, undermine overconfidence, engender abstraction that reduces polarization, and enable cooperation and compromise." Trump does not argue; he confabulates; projects an attitude of defiance; boasts and insults; he agitates strong feelings of dissatisfaction and resentment.

This is why, beyond logic and rational debate, the subtle psychosocial and cognitive influence of metaphoric captivation, via imagery and spoken utterance, is the primary focus of Danesi and his colleagues. "The reason why metaphors are powerful tools of persuasion is that they structure thought by mapping processes, making it easy to focus on certain things and ignore others (96). In short, they enable discursive bubbles or siloes that protect shibboleths and exclude otherness. The flexibility of metaphoric suggestion invoked by themes like "moral perversion" or "liberal decadence" makes it possible to "map" or thematically cluster a variety of logically incommensurate issues (perversion, children, pizza, Hilary Clinton) without evidential proof.

Something else we need to grasp that is *not* decodified or clarified by Marcel Danesi is why millions of MAGA fanatics are *enjoying* their own submission to deception and demagoguery while 'Rome burns.' David French, a columnist for the *NY Times*, made the uncommon (and seemingly unappreciated) observation, based on his personal experience, that it is not the political content of rallies but their festive aura, rageful intensity, and sense of communal belonging that makes the carnival atmosphere of conservative nihilist politics (or nihilistic political gatherings) today sustainable and robust. Misery loves company, to be sure. And those who are most angrily bamboozled find fun in their troubled but growing multitude. In this context, Danesi cites an aphorism by George Orwell: "Let's all get together and have a good hate" (44).

Danesi's concise study, admirably systematic and accessible, is an urgently necessary project to expose the linguistic roots of today's sociopolitical coercion and dupery, and thereby bring self-awareness to regressive tendencies in society that raise the specter of barbarism and violent polarization on a global scale. The tragically ironic obstacle to such noble efforts is that reflection on linguistic practice is fiercely resisted by the average citizen, as it is by students. When students are given a literary

or philosophic passage for exegesis, they rarely focus on its linguistic properties, stylistic nuances, and rhetorical strategies, unless specifically prompted to do so. Paul De Man famously described this phenomenon as a "resistance to reading" and even a "resistance to theory." Danesi's project of metaphorical understanding--based solely on linguistic concepts and theory—while urgent, should not be mistaken as a how-to guide for protecting susceptible citizens from political dupery, *and* from their own ignorance and servility as uncritical "followers" of fascist leaders and their preferred cabals about stolen elections, perverted liberals, and so on.

It bears repeating that common citizens from both the left and right, like my college students, find it unnatural to reflect on the intricate operations of language and rhetorical figures such as metaphor to which they are vulnerable. To speak of metonymy or anastrophe, irony or mimesis in the undergraduate classroom seems an unwieldy abstraction. Indeed, very few citizens are blessed with insight into the linguistic nature of thought itself, of thinking. They dwell in language oblivious of their milieu like fish in their seas. Only flying fish are aware of the aqueous world in which they swim; the other fish do not know they are enveloped, immersed, submerged.

Ultimately Danesi's approach, while more methodologically concrete and narrowly defined than Derridean deconstruction or what Hans Blumenberg calls a metaphorology, seems academically formalistic, more descriptive than prescriptive. Cognitive linguistics provides us with a supple vocabulary for schematically characterizing populist dupery and digital captivation on a global scale. Does Danesi move us any closer, however, to an ontological understanding of the *gullibility* that remains the precondition for the populist insurgencies, uprisings, cabals, and personal and national embarrassments that continue to surge on screens and seem impossible to overlook or derisively dismiss. Is gullibility merely ignorance and passivity, or something more insipid and pathetic, like obedience—in short, servitude and compliance? Is it the stupefaction observed by Stiegler in *common sense*, which never gains a sure foothold in a technically enabled existence whose algorithms are beyond its comprehension? Years before Facebook programmed a generation to be followers and not leaders with its "follow" requests, Guy Debord

diagnosed the "mass psychology of submission" (27) when he wrote: "In this concrete experience of permanent submission lies the psychological origin of such general acceptance of *what is*; an acceptance which comes to find in it, *ipso facto*, a sufficient value (28). In other words, most people accept the status quo, the *given*, at face value, and hence have a *precritical* (or unenlightened) grasp of reality. As such, both Kant and Stiegler would deem them *immature*, stuck in a regressive pattern devoid of the power of critical judgment and selectivity that separately individuates each member of a group. Debord attributes such disindividuated immaturity to dependence on technology, so that, "At the technological level, *images chosen and constructed by someone else* have everywhere become *the individual's principal connection to the world he formerly observed for himself*" (27, emphasis added).

Some forward traction towards an understanding of widespread gullibility seems to be gained when Danesi adopts Baudrillard's concept of the *simulacrum*, wherein reality and fiction converge in a continuum of precritical experience which is not unlike Debord's *integrated spectacle.* Danesi argues that the brains of MAGA fanatics have been rewired by being steeped or immersed in a simulacrum of falsehoods and disinformation: "Conspiracy theories, big lies, fake news, disinformation campaigns, and pseudo-events produce a simulacrum of reality, distorting it in ways that affect the brain processes, likely rewiring the brain to accept falsehoods as a form of normalcy, indistinguishable from truth" (65). Since their experience is precritical, MAGA voters do not realize they inhabit this simulacrum of *real* and *unreal*, hence, as Danesi says, cannot distinguish falsehoods from truths.

If we accept Danesi's claims, it becomes apparent that MAGA gullibility would be an immersion and cognitive (re)wiring issue, not as much a behavioral flaw or weakness. It is not a question of foolishly or naively accepting fake facts over real ones, for in the simulacrum *they are the same*. Given his systematic pursuit of clarity, it proves worthwhile to read Danesi's exegesis of Baudrillard's four stages by which MAGA devotees becomes absorbed into the simulacrum of absolute credulity:

> First, there is the normal state of consciousness, inhering in a straightforward perception of reality and in a concrete awareness of the distinction between reality and fantasy.

> This is followed by a mental state that involves a perversion of reality produced by constant exposure to simulations and fictional portrayals; this is the stage in which alternative facts and conspiracy theories start to create doubt about reality. It then leads to the third stage, when perception breaks down, incapable of filtering between what real and what is false or just imaginary. The final stage is when the simulacrum becomes habitual, as people become more and more skeptical in accepting anything as true or even meaningful. (66)

This paragraph goes a long way to describing the absolute credulity or gullibility of MAGA fanatics as a sort of psychosis insofar as reality can no longer be distinguished from fiction. Anyone who watches television news coverage of Trump rallies will observe the exit interviews in which MAGA people appear spellbound and give utterly stupid responses to reasonable questions about their beliefs and their grasp of contemporary events. These MAGA fanatics are precisely the audience that can most benefit from Marcel Danesi's study, but least likely to ever read it, or any book outside the MAGA simulacrum that doesn't confirm their conspiratorial worldview. They inhabit digital spheres of influence that are self-confirming and impermeable. By now this digital niching behavior is common knowledge, but its linguistic roots are much less commonly understood, and Danesi bring us closer to fathoming them.

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Juanit

Reviewed by PAULETTE M. COULTER

*Juanit, b*y Chris Perez Howard. University of Guam Press, 2023. ISBN: 978-1-935198-75-8, 295 pages (paperback).

In the Preface to *Juanit*, his last book, Chris Perez Howard (1940-2023) indicates that in 1999 he set out to write a novel about "someone of mixed ancestry like [him]self" (p. 2), with a CHamoru mother and an American military father, that is, a mestizo, a person who was "always made aware that they were different" (ibid.).

The parents of Juanit, Juana Ulloa Lambert, met in 1951. They were Concepcion, "Connie," Santos Ulloa and Harold Lambert, a U. S. Navy enlistee. Lambert followed local traditional customs in asking Connie's parents' permission to court her and, eventually, to marry her. When Juanit was born, after an interruption of electrical power at the hospital, an older woman, a *suruhana* (CHamoru traditional healer), commented that the child was "going to have a hard life" (p. 6). In many ways, Juanit does have a hard life. In many ways, though, she also has a very full life, cataloged in the novel's 300 pages.

In her earliest life, Juanit was steeped in the love of her parents and her extended CHamoru family. Perez Howard notes that Connie has multiple brothers and sisters (p. 17) and also that Howard sometimes feels uncomfortable in his whiteness (p. 7, for example). By the early sixties, disruptions and discomforts begin in Juanit's young life. Her mother becomes seriously ill, is sometimes confined to the hospital, and passes. Although Lambert remains on Guam after his tour of duty ends, with the passing of his wife, he plans a return to the United States. While Juanit had been staying with her grandparents since her mother's death, her father intends to take her with him to California. While in California, Juanit learns of her grandparents' passing.

In California, Juanit initially stays with her mother's sister, Daling, and her family and seems well adjusted. She continues speaking CHamoru at home and English at school. She is a good student. Then for a while she lives only with her father until he decides to remarry and bring Juanit to

live with him and his new wife and her son. Her isolation from those she knows and loves increases, as does her loneliness.

Lambert is portrayed stereotypically as the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant that he is. Father and daughter share very few confidences. Her stepmother is even colder. Juanit finds "friendship" with someone who shares marijuana with her in the early years of high school, genuine friendship with a gay young man at her school, and an unfortunate introduction to sex when her step-brother visits her bedroom. When she goes to his room merely to talk to him, her stepmother sees her leaving and erupts. Juanit is sent back to live with her Aunt Daling and then returns to Guam.

A major portion of the novel covers a mere two years of Juana's life, her junior and senior years of high school (pp. 105-270). This is a turbulent time for Juanit: she continues her marijuana use, hangs out with a gang (but not a vicious village gang, as some in Guam were in the 1970s according to the author). She lives with her mother's brother and his wife, but disobeys their traditional rules for young women, runs away, takes risks she knows she should not.

Juanit's interactions with Tony develop in the gang. Initially Tony is the boyfriend of Tina, who also befriends Juanit. When Tina realizes Tony is more interested in Juanit, she attacks Juanit at school for taking away her boyfriend. Juanit's English teacher, Miss Neal, defends Juanit after witnessing the attack and attempts to prevent her expulsion from school, but rules are rules! After the fight, Tony and Juanit establish a relationship. As a result of the fight, Juanit runs away from her uncle's house, is rescued from a dangerous situation by a friend and the police, and chooses to move to the island's youth detention center. There the only official visitor she allows is Miss Neal, who helps her complete requirements for graduation. An unofficial visitor is Tony.

In the end, Juanit marries her sweetheart. Harold Lambert comes to Guam for his daughter's wedding, and Juanit finally tells him what actually transpired between her stepbrother and herself. Juanit eventually gives birth to a son who is born safely and is healthy. When Tony is drafted into the U.S. military and faces the threat of service in Vietnam, Juanit initially becomes depressed, but with help from her mother-in-law taking care of the baby, she begins attending the University of Guam. There she meets a

female professor who exposes her to more of the island's history and to decolonizing ideas, and she becomes interested in political activism.

The heart of the novel is Juanit's personal quest for identity. This may be an issue for all children of mixed parentage. For many young people on Guam, identity seems to be an issue, whether because of race, ethnicity, language, or merely being from somewhere else. Difference is treated on Guam as difference is treated in many places, with a powerful hint of "You don't belong" or "You are not one of us." Fortunately, the book contains an addendum with "Questions for Reflection and Discussion" (pp. 294-295). These questions cover the topics of displacement and disruption, relationships, culture and identity, sexual abuse and harassment, and bullying. They apply not only to people of mixed parentage. The last page of the book also identifies resources for local and national assistance in times of crisis.

The discussion questions are apt for anyone. Further, consider that some of Guam's schoolchildren literally get off a plane from somewhere in Korea, China, Japan, any of the Compact of Free Association states, or even from the U.S. through military assignment, and begin attending school on Guam because their parents want to keep a family together, to provide a better life for them, or to have them learn English in order to attend an American college or university. Some young people return from the U.S. mainland and enter or re-enter relationships with their extended family, learning daily that CHamoru families on the island may differ from those in the mainland.

Besides the compression and expansion of time devoted to portions of Juanit's life, a number of things seem disruptive in the novel. One is the spelling. The current orthography is used (probably because of the law); this was not the spelling system of the 1950s to the 1970s. The 2020's spelling system seems anachronistic.

At times, the book contains too much explanation, slowing the reader down. The vintage Golden Rule, "Show, don't Tell," remains pertinent. The book does best when the characters move the story forward, not the all-too-omniscient narrator. How can the narrator know so much about everyone?

Some readers may feel that the political activism and anti-colonialism occasionally become a bit heavy-handed. Again, this is handled better by the characters than by the narrator.

In Juanit, both character and book, Chris Perez Howard addresses the issue of cultural and personal identity, an issue of concern among young adults.

RIP, Mr. Perez Howard! (1940-2023)