

## Primary Sources from the Past: Family History, Are We Doing It?



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Brothers and sisters, Aloha.

I express gratitude to the Faculty Advisory Committee for the invitation to deliver the 2019 David O. McKay lecture. I participate today as the fifty-sixth lecturer. I feel honored to be included among the previous men and women who, as the program states, extended a degree of respect to the memory of the ninth president of the Church, David O. McKay. President McKay dedicated this campus. His words inspire the CCH/BYUH community to “build peace internationally” and to become “genuine gold.” Three history professors, before me, have also delivered this lecture: In 1969, Robert D. Craig presented “not the orthodox view of one Christian church emanating from Rome” but showed “that the early Christian churches were never really united but grew separately.”<sup>[1]</sup> In 1984, Kenneth W. Baldrige entitled his talk “And They Shall Cry From the Dust.” He focused his remarks on oral history and his projects to record “first-person accounts.”<sup>[2]</sup> Professor Baldrige’s recordings and transcriptions are available for use in the BYUH Archives. Lance D. Chase, the third history professor to deliver the McKay Lecture in 1988, spoke about “The Idea of a Mormon University.” He urged listeners to think about the mundane reality of university education and the ideal of divine learning.<sup>[3]</sup> All three historians have provided inspiration for my own remarks today.

Paul Veyne (born in 1930) wrote an excellent book about what historians do and do not do. He wrote “that historical criticism has only one function: to answer the question asked of it by the historian - I believe that this document teaches me this: may I trust it to do that?”<sup>[4]</sup> In English, Veyne’s book is entitled *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*. Students in my classes will remember my insistence on answering epistemological questions. How do we know about the past, outside of our own experience? We need to ask “how do we know?” For Veyne and for me today (and I hope Professors Craig, Baldrige and Chase) we rely on primary sources, judging reliability and analyzing information. Lani Britsch, a former BYUH Academic Vice-President and also a historian, said he trained to be skeptical but not cynical.

Many David O. McKay lecturers have told about personal memories and experiences about President McKay. I do not have personal memories of him. He died when I was three years old. So, how do I know about him? I rely on others. My parents talked about him. Primary teachers taught me about him. I read biographies about him. I studied the mural on the McKay building in front of the Flag Circle. We learn about the dead in the past with historical research. In every history class, we study primary sources. Sam Wineburg, a professor of Education and History at Stanford University, described how history teachers helped High School students study a document from the past. The teacher asked the whole class “what’s the first thing we do when we look at a document?” The class learned to chime in unison “Source!”<sup>[5]</sup> Repeat with me “Source!” as I introduce you to history and especially your family history by looking at primary sources. Professor Wineburg teaches us that, despite our smart phones, the best learning skills we can gain in life are not from machines but the experiences we have, the relationships we gain, the questions we ask.

Please look at the screen (names on left side). “What’s the first thing we do when we look at a document? “Source!” I will lead you to the sources soon, but for now examine the screen and names.

Children of Jacob and Margaretha (married 1854)  
13 children - 11 sons, 2 daughters

Jacob

Rosa (died 10 days after birth)

Samuel (died 8 days after birth)

Johannes

Christian

Gottfried (died at 20 years old)

Annie

Gottlieb

Rudolph

Edward

David

Adolph (died at four years old)

Joseph Benjamin

Jacob and Margaretha were married in 1854. The primary source for this fact is a marriage certificate. Over the next twenty-eight years, Margaretha gave birth to thirteen children (eleven sons and two daughters). As you can see on the list, Rosa, Samuel and Adolph died as infants or children. We know all the births and the early deaths from death certificates – primary sources. What else can we know about this family just from the information given?

The information derives from state records – not unusual in the 1800s.

Margaretha was a healthy, strong woman – she gave birth to thirteen children.

Ten of the thirteen children survived past infancy.

Anything else from the given information? What can primary sources about birth, marriages and deaths tell us about the past? Family reconstitution has been a significant historical project with many contributors, resulting in important insights into our ancestors' pasts. By looking at primary sources, we find both changes and continuities. For example – add to right side of screen:

Children of Christian and Elisabeth (married 1890)

12 children – 10 sons, 2 daughters

William Von Almen

Adeline Elizabeth

Minerva Josephine

Lyman Nephi

Alvin Christian

Lamont Edwin

Daniel Howard (died at 10 months old)

Golden Richard

Rulon Seymour

Palmer Leland

Dallas Alma

Reed Owen

Again, the family is large. In the first twenty-two years of their marriage, Christian and Elisabeth had twelve children (ten sons and two daughters). Daniel Howard died before reaching one. With the list of two families before you, what insight or analysis can you give? What do we learn about Jacob and Margaretha or from Christian and Elisabeth just by looking at the names of their children? They were the parents. They gave the children their names.

Maybe you noticed the difference in names given to the children. Christian and Elisabeth gave their children first names and middle names. What ethnic origin do you notice? Notice Margaretha's name and my pronunciation. Did you see Christian? If you guessed he was son in one list and father in the other, you were right. Born in Switzerland, Jacob and Margaretha spoke German as their first language. What do you think happened with Christian and Elisabeth as parents? What kind of names did they give their children? Why? Elisabeth spelled her name as Germans did with an "s." Her daughter Adeline spelled her middle name, Elizabeth, with a "z" like the King James English Bible does. The surface change of German to English/American names shows the deeper change of Jacob's and Margaretha's conversion. Did anyone notice the fourth child's name – Lyman Nephi? They and their children joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Jacob and his second son, Johannes, were baptized on May 30, 1875. Margaretha was baptized a month later on June 27, 1875. The other children were baptized over the next year. Christian immigrated first to the U.S.A. in 1877 and the family followed over the next seven years. Jacob and Margaretha arrived in the United States and moved to Paris, Idaho in 1884. Christian had helped the family with his American earnings and then at age 25 he returned to serve a mission in the Swiss-German mission. The Church History Library has the registers of LDS missionaries – an on-line database full of primary sources.[\[6\]](#) When Christian returned to Idaho, two von Almen sisters – Elisabeth and Marianna – traveled with him. Christian married Elisabeth in the Logan temple in 1890. Marianna married John Fluckiger, another Swiss born convert, as her parents in Switzerland wished. The von Almen parents in Switzerland wanted Elisabeth to marry Gottlieb Fluckiger, but she chose to marry Christian instead.[\[7\]](#) The two sisters were married on the same day in Logan.

Two photographs of the von Almen sisters demonstrate the immediacy of primary sources. I believe the picture of Elisabeth and Christian occurred in 1890 when they were married. Elisabeth was 22 years old. The photograph of Marianna took place after the birth of her second child, John Joseph, in March 1894. In the photograph, Marianna would have been about 29 years old. Undoubtedly, these two women are sisters.

The primary sources we examine, remind us that living people produced them. Even more so, in Family History – their features, their biology, their mannerisms reach down to us. They also connect to siblings – brothers and sisters – who we are more alike than anyone else.

Christian and Elisabeth gave both family names and American names to their children, William von Almen, Golden Richard, Dallas Owen. Palmer Leland, the tenth child, was nicknamed Tom. He had a garage in Paris, Idaho and died young at age 42. His grandson is the current BYUH Vice-President for Administration, Steve Tueller. Lamont Edwin Tueller, the sixth child, is my grandfather. I knew my grandfather. I have vivid memories of him. He passed away in 1976 in my tenth year of life. Steve never knew his Tueller grandfather, but through primary sources, documents, oral histories and artifacts, we both can draw our hearts closer to our ancestors. Many of the primary sources for this Tueller family history are available at FamilySearch.org. Other details derive from an edited volume of family memories compiled at Jacob Tueller reunions in 1955 and 1965. Angie Bush a third cousin reprinted the book, *Stories of Faith and Determination* in 2004.[\[8\]](#)

With primary sources I try to pay attention, read carefully and think about the surprises, the differences and the similarities. I like how Carla Nappi, a historian of science and China, explains her method in reading primary sources. She writes; "paying attention is a kind of world creation. It is a way of moving through the world and activating parts of our environment in the process, identifying and creating objects and locations, and – through the movement of our attention – relating them to each other as part of a coherent and ephemeral fabric."[\[9\]](#) She tries to move away from origins, causes, effects and consequences, telling a history of juxtaposition. She calls it "#hashtag (or juxtapositional) history." She looks for similarities, differences and relationships.

Primary sources include artifacts from the past. Most elements of the past have gone where “moth and rust doth corrupt.”<sup>[10]</sup> But those that survive can tell us about who produced it, why it was produced and why it survived. An artifact can be as simple as an everyday object, like this Bic pen in my pocket. The pen can tell us about the history of inks, plastics, markets and writing. Artifacts can also be much more singular and famous. For example, look at this 1627 drawing by Vicente Carducho with pencil, ink and watercolor. “What’s the first thing we do when we look at a document? “Source!” They exist as tangible objects, ink on paper, surviving the years.

The Prado Museum in Madrid, Spain owns this artefact because Carducho served as a painter in the court of King Philip IV. Carducho, a Florentine from Italy, immigrated to Spain with his older brother to paint. We have surviving evidence of his work, his art and even his published book. However, we remember him mostly because of his well-known rival, Diego de Velázquez.

In 1627, Carducho competed against other painters to receive a royal commission. Diego Velázquez won the competition. Carducho and Velázquez became rivals and even enemies. Carducho wrote a treatise in 1633 decrying the manner of painting “without rules, without theory, without learning and meditation.”<sup>[11]</sup> In the 1627 competition, both artists chose the same subject for their paintings, the 1609 Expulsion of the Moriscos under the king’s father, Philip III. The paintings from the 1627 competition were destroyed in the 1734 fire that also destroyed the royal palace in Madrid. The current royal palace was built on the same site. But the small drawing by Carducho survived.

Primary sources need not be government documents or even words on a page. Paintings, buildings and ruins are also sources to the past. In Carducho’s pencil drawing, we have a story about a rivalry, destruction in a fire and the subject of the drawing – the Expulsion of the Moriscos - that influenced both painters’ lives. By 1627, the expulsion, which began in 1609 and concluded in 1614 – had been declared a success (hence, the competition to remember the king’s father). Despite the triumphalism, an undercurrent of shame persisted as so many who had loved Spain had been expelled. The expulsion also created many enemies (like the Sallee rovers) and left depopulated and destitute significant regions of the peninsula. Philip IV had even allowed, with deliberate neglect, some Moriscos to return to noble lands and regain their home and properties.<sup>[12]</sup> Even in 1615, Miguel de Cervantes created a Morisco character in Book II of *Don Quixote*, named Ricote, who returned to Spain and unexpectedly met his neighbor Sancho Panza.<sup>[13]</sup>

Now that you know a bit of context, the provenance, the origins for the Carducho drawing and the 1627 competition, I would like to turn our attention to the primary source. The drawing easily identifies the port of Denia, in southeastern Spain. Carducho might have seen the paintings of Vicent Mestre, but he drew from his own experience. The drawing, clearly interests me, but I’d like ask you what you see, especially looking at the individuals’ faces? What emotions has Carducho chosen to capture in the pencil sketches? Close-up images of the Carducho drawing. How do we know?

There are histories of emotions, showing us that the expression, even the embodiment of emotions has changed. If a source tells us that Napoleon, two hundred years ago, “had a fit of rage” do we know what rage was for him?”<sup>[14]</sup> Are emotions universal, felt equally by all people in all times and places? Initially, I say “no” since as individuals we feel and react differently. I teach that the past is different but when reading a primary source or looking at a drawing from the past, I see it through my eyes, feel it through my body and think it through with my rationales. And, as for place, there is no better place than BYUH to learn that place, geographic origin and culture dispose us to feel differently. Certainly, there are cultural and linguistic differences in emotions that outsiders cannot feel. Hawaiian language and cultural depth reminds us that even the word “aloha” contains multitudes of meanings that just do not translate.

However, despite performances, displays and language differences, basic emotions - happiness, anger, disgust, fear, sadness and surprise – humanize us. How individuals expressed emotions and felt individually links to time and place, but thinking and feeling can cross time and place, allowing us to feel what others experienced to a degree, even if not perfect. I wonder what the Moriscos expelled from Spain felt. In turn, I wonder what the people who expelled them thought. What of those who just watched the expelled leave? When we think historically, we do not just ask, “what happened” but also “why did it happen?” which in this case comes down to human choices, mentalities and emotions. Fear, disgust, surprise, sadness, happiness anger – these too were part of the Expulsion of the Moriscos.

My third and final primary source is a manuscript, which I have been reading as part of a research project about the Spanish Empire in the Pacific. Wineburg – Source! “What’s the first thing we do when we look at a document? “Source!” Nicolás de Borja wrote the manuscript in 1807. Borja worked as the secretary to the Governor of Guam, Alejandro Parreño. Today Guam is a territory of the United States, eight hours by airplane west and south of Honolulu. From the 1521 voyage of Ferdinand Magellan until the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Marianas Islands were part of the Spanish Empire. The king appointed Parreño royal governor of the Marianas Islands from 1806 to 1812.[\[15\]](#) The document illustrates the challenges, joy, frustrations and insights that come to those who study the past.

How do we know about this document from more than two hundred years ago? I read a digital copy in FamilySearch.org. FamilySearch has uploaded 92,039 images from the University of Guam’s Micronesian Area Research Center (MARC) and its Spanish Documents Collection. These are the paper records that survived in Guam, despite the humidity, wars, earthquakes, typhoons and accidents. Previously known as the Genealogical Society of Utah, FamilySearch is the genealogy organization operated and owned by the Church. Many of you access the website to submit names for temple work, to index historical records and to extract names for Family History. Some may even use it to post photos of their ancestors or upload memories about their relatives. I also do those very same things, but FamilySearch also makes accessible millions of primary sources. I have accessed parish registers from 1609 to write about the Morisco Expulsion.[\[16\]](#) I spent weeks reading all the documents scanned from the San Pedro Makati parish in Manila for a study I wrote about world history and the Philippines.[\[17\]](#) Today, I will tell a story about a homicide investigation in 1807 on Guam, led by Governor Parreño and written down in easy cursive by Nicolás de Borja, the secretary.[\[18\]](#)

In mid-October 1807, the Governor and his clerk questioned 36-year old Francisco Quitaoji, the accused, about why he killed Elias Topasña. Quitaoji refused to answer some questions and so the Governor brought in an interpreter to ask the questions again in Chamorro. Borja, the secretary, was clearly frustrated and wrote in the document “the confessant says he has not understood what has been said to him, after four hours of listening to his confession.”[\[19\]](#) The interpreter, Manuel Tiburcio Garrido, also acted as Quitaoji’s defense attorney. Garrido served as a soldier in one of the two companies on Guam and by 1807 was the second assistant to the Governor.[\[20\]](#) Garrido, most likely born on Guam, spoke Chamorro, but he also had joined the Spanish army and served on Guam. Garrido spoke and read Spanish well enough to translate for the court proceedings.

I cannot answer the question about why Francisco Quitaoji killed Elias Topasña. Quitaoji admitted to stabbing Topasña just below the heart. Governor Parreño asked many questions: why and how Quitaoji had such a large knife, which he used to stab Topasña. When questioned, Francisco Quitaoji explained that he harvested *tuba*, which is the nectar from coconut blossom. Tuba is so sweet it almost immediately becomes alcoholic with the natural yeast in the air around the trees. Tuba nectar becomes palm wine with 4% alcohol in about two hours. I initially thought that Quitaoji and Topasña had a dispute about the palm wine – a drunken brawl. But the son of the *gobnadorcillo* of Agat, south of Agaña on Guam, where the murder occurred was also involved with the dispute. Quitaoji brought up the fact that the *gobnadorcillo*'s son called him from his house. When he came out, Topasña hit Quitaoji with clubs – *garroteado*. At that moment, Quitaoji took out his “tuba” knife and stabbed Topasña.

The Governor and his clerk interviewed nineteen witnesses. They asked Mariano Luxan and Vicente Muña questions about the knife, since both were identified as master knife-makers.<sup>[21]</sup> They also questioned Domingo Laguaña, a corn farmer, who found the knife behind the cellars of the small town of Fuuña, while searching with eleven others.<sup>[22]</sup> Xavier Quidagua took the knife that had a corn leaf sheath, knowing that Quitaoji was the owner.<sup>[23]</sup>

The specificity of the details and the eyewitnesses draw my attention. The witnesses answered carefully and with trepidation before the governor. Even with the frightening violence, details about daily life illuminate their choices. Quitaoji had a large, sharp knife (seemingly rare and thus notable) because he was a *tubero*, cutting coconut blossoms for the juice. Guam had master knife makers among the village of Agat. The village of Agat, which still exists, had a nearby village of Fuuña with cellars (diggings, the Spanish word in the document is *cavas*). In the document, Fuuña was a village. Today, such a village does not exist.<sup>[24]</sup> A 1752 map of Guam included an island named Fuña, off the coast of Agat, so maybe the corn bed and *pueblo* of Fuuña were close. Corn leaves became practical tools, serving as a sheath. Witnesses responded to questions about reputation. The victim, Elias Topasña was known as a *vilango* – a contemptible man.<sup>[25]</sup> Defense witnesses testified that the victim was making trouble – *alborotado*.<sup>[26]</sup> Other witnesses declared that everything Quitaoji said was *nulo y falso* – invalid and false.<sup>[27]</sup> Court procedures and witness testimonies as practiced throughout the Spanish Empire also followed into Guam.

I am especially interested in the Spanish/Chamorro translation. Quitaoji asked for and received a translator, the second assistant Manuel Tiburcio Garrido. The Governor was not surprised or even frustrated by the need of translation. Chamorro language did not lose out to imperial Spanish. Many of the surnames survive in later documents of Guam and some even into today. From one homicide case, we cannot predict world events; nevertheless, a micro-history points us to the context, the feel of life in the Spanish Empire. The abrupt conclusion of the trial also typifies the challenges of working with primary sources. Governor Parreño did not have the authority to execute Quitaoji. He sent the papers to the *Audiencia* (royal courts) in Manila with a recommendation to execute. He reasoned that this homicide was only the second in sixty-four years and that Quitaoji should be made an example of judicial power. Governor Parreño reported that people laughed at the punishments of banishment, shackles or lashings.<sup>[28]</sup> The papers left Umatac harbor on December 16, 1807. I have yet to find a reply or know what happened to Francisco Quitaoji, other than remaining incarcerated indefinitely. A murder investigation in Guam opens a window into the final years of Spanish imperial rule, but it does not conclude the story. I have to look for other conclusions.

Only the first primary source is from my personal family history. The first and third primary sources access FamilySearch.com. The second primary source, remember, was a drawing in the Prado Museum, and serves as a physical artifact – a way to write a history of a thing. For today’s purpose, we have dived deeply into primary sources, finding out about historical methods. What then should we do about it? “What’s the first thing we do when we look at a document? “Source!” Consider this hour spent together as a reminder to consider the sources. At a minimum, I remind us that we have an obligation to turn our hearts to the fathers, thoughtfully consider their lives and analyze their past choices. Malachi’s warning about the “great and dreadful day of the Lord” reminds me that remembering our ancestors prepares us to meet God. Not only do we take their names to the temple but also we can seek to know them and serve them.[\[29\]](#)

As you would expect, family history provides me with great joy. I benefit from knowing how my ancestors’ lives fit into the passage of time. As you saw with my primary source, we can learn much about them from past documents, bringing them together in both personal and analytical ways. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints provides the booklet *My Family: Stories That Bring Us Together*. We can use it to interview our living relatives and research into those who are deceased. I urge us to do more. Take a family history class from the Department of Religious Education. Enroll in a History class. I encourage students to write research papers that incorporate their family history into the wider world of historical research. Our library has access to scholarly journals like the *Journal of Family History*, which has been in publication since 1976. Family History brings together the individual/family stories with numerical analysis and average experiences of the past.

I highly recommend a 1965 book chapter by John Hajnal entitled “European Marriage Pattern in Perspective.” [\[30\]](#) In that chapter, he summarized primary source research by others into European family history of the previous 60 years. Hajnal taught statistics at Manchester University and later the London School of Economics. The Hajnal Line is named for him. He used primary research of others to show an overall pattern, using population histories from England, France, Germany and Italy. He described a unique pattern of marriage in Western Europe where there was a high age of marriage and a high proportion of people who never married. Researchers matched birth or baptismal records with the marriage records of bride and groom to determine their age of marriage.

For example, Étienne Gautier and Louis Henry focused their study on the parish registers of Crulai in Normandy, France, publishing their findings in 1958. By reconstituting families from the birth, marriage and death records, they could see how families continued through the generations. Between 1674 and 1742, they found that the mean age of first marriage for men was 26.6 years and 25.1 years for women.[\[31\]](#)

The average age of marriages do not tell me the marriages for my ancestors. Average age cannot tell us when a specific person married, but the average tells us about expected behavior. In FamilySearch I can confirm with my Swiss ancestors that they married at those comparatively higher ages of marriage. Willem Tüller from Saanen at age 28 married Annatje Elmsworth from Saanen, age 27, in 1559. As industrialization and factory work increased in Europe, especially for women, the average age of my ancestors dropped to the early twenties. Jacob and Margaretha, the first examples today, married at ages 23 and 18. Age of marriage will affect the number of children, on average, that a mother will have. Age of marriage might also influence the resources and wealth that the married couple starts their family. Indeed in 2004, Mary S. Hartman, wrote *The Household and the Making of History: A Subversive View of the Western Past*, proposing that the foundations of capitalism and the “spirit of entrepreneurship” began with the high age of first marriage among women in areas of Europe.

Tangible primary sources, as surviving artifacts from the past, help us answer epistemological questions – how do we know? We cannot just quote sources; we must analyze, use our imaginations and consider what others have thought. In the research journal, *The History Teacher*, Kevin Reilly urged students “to develop an ability to imagine and empathize with the foreign. Students should develop an awareness (even an appreciation) of cultural and human diversity. At the least, the student should not automatically assume that the foreign is similar or the exotic wrong. At best, this awareness will deepen the student’s sense of human possibilities and, thus, the student’s own humanity.”<sup>[32]</sup> As we learn about people and their choices in the past, we become more aware of our choices and ourselves. The stories we tell reflect the lives we live and the hopes we hope.

Look for the sources and find the stories, the narratives, within them. Stories told from the evidence of primary sources represent the past. We present the past again. Elie Wiesel, a telling author and survivor of Nazi Concentration Camps urged his listeners in 1974 with these words - “Let us tell tales – that is our primary obligation. . . Let us tell tales so as to remember how vulnerable man is when faced with overwhelming evil. Let us tell tales so as not to allow the executioner to have the last word.”<sup>[33]</sup>

We can do family history – we are doing it. You might be humming the primary song – “Family History – I am doing it, my family history. And the love I feel when I am doing it, is very sweet to me.”<sup>[34]</sup> Look for the primary sources. Read, examine, and analyze the sources carefully. Within the constraints of the past, imagine what your ancestors experienced. Tell tales and remember.

Thank you very much.

[1] Robert D. Craig, “The Rise of Christianity” *From This Place: Lectures in Honor of David O. McKay Delivered Annually at Brigham Young University – Hawaii Campus 1963-1992*, compiled and edited by Jesse S. Crisler and Jay Fox (Laie: Brigham Young University – Hawaii, 1998) 83.

[2] Kenneth W. Baldrige, “And They Shall Cry from the Dust” *From This Place*, 298.

[3] Lance D. Chase, “The Idea of a Mormon University” *From This Place*, 372.

[4] Paul Veyne, *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*, translated by Mina Moore-Rinvolutri, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1984) 12. The French edition, *Comment On Ecrit l’Histoire: Essai d’epistemologie* was published in 1971. Inga Clendinnen’s essay “Fierce and Unnatural Cruelty: Cortés and the Conquest of Mexico” *Representations* 33 (Winter 1991) page 67 lead me to Veyne’s book.

[5] Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History (When It’s Already on Your Phone)*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018) 128.

[6] Go Ye Into All the World: Early Mormon Missionaries 18301-930, <https://history.lds.org/missionary/?lang=eng>. Missionary Department Mission Registers, 1860-1959, volume 2, page 98, line 257.

[7] Stories, Mary Ann (Von Almen) Fluckiger (1865-1945) – [www.familysearch.org](http://www.familysearch.org).

[8] Angie Bush editor, *Stories of Faith and Determination*, 2004.

[9] Carla Nappi, “Paying Attention: Early Modern Science Beyond Genealogy” *Journal of Early Modern History* volume 21, no. 5 (2017) pages 459.

[10] Matthew 6:19

[11] Vincencio Carducho, *De las Excelencias de la Pintura or Diálogos de la pintura, su defensa, origen, essencia, definición, modos, y diferencias* (Madrid, Fr. Martínez, 1633) 89 and 89bis, as read at archive.org.

[12] See Trevor J. Dadson. *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos (Siglos XV-XVIII): Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada*. Madrid; Iberoamericana, 2007.

[13] Miguel de Cervantes, *El ingenioso hidalgo, Don Quijote de la Mancha*, Book II, Chapter LIV.

[14] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015) 41.

[15] Marjorie G. Driver, *The Spanish Governors of the Mariana Islands: Notes on Their Activities and the Saga of the Palacio, Their Residence and the Seat of Colonial Government in Agaña, Guam* (Guam: Richard F. Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, 2005) 68-70. A memorable event took place in 1811 while Parreño was governor. An Anglo-American ship, the *Derby*, had been seen on Tinian. The Governor sent ships and men to expel the intruders. In October 31, 1811, the Spanish force returned with seven Anglo-American prisoners and twenty-four Hawaiians, seventeen women and seven men. Parreño sent the prisoners to Manila and invited the Hawaiians to stay on Guam, where they received Christian baptism and integrated into life on Guam.

[16] James B. Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain* . (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2002) and “The Assimilating Morisco: Four Families in Valladolid prior to the Expulsion of 1610” *Mediterranean Studies*, volume 7 (March 1998) 167-177.

[17] James B. Tueller, “Layers of Time and Place: San Pedro Macati, MetroManila and the Philippines” in *World History Connected* volume 14, issue 3 (October 2017): <http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/>.

[18] Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607, Judicial Records of Guam Box 12, folder 1; Spanish Documents Collection, Richard Flores Taitano Micronesian Area Research Center, University of Guam – accessed via FamilySearch.com, Guam, Judicial, Land, Obituary, Census Records 1712-2000, 1807-1832.

[19] image 29 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.

[20] Pale Ric, “Chamorro Soldiers 1786” <http://paleric.blogspot.com/2014/10/chamorro-soldiers-1786.html>. Father Rick is a Capuchin Brother at the Friary in Agaña Heights, Guam.

[21] Image 7 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.

[22] Image 11 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.

[23] Image 12 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.

[24] The word also refers to the mother creator of Chamorro mythology. Celeste Perez, <https://www.guampedia.com/fuuna/>, last modified on June 18, 2018. Also see “Death by Tubero” <http://paleric.blogspot.com/2017/06/death-by-tubero.html>, June 15, 2017.

- [25] Image 50, 51 and 172 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607. For translation, I use the 1674 edition of the Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o Española* (Madrid, Melchior Sánchez, 1674) folio 201r. Digital copy at [www.cervantesvirtual.com](http://www.cervantesvirtual.com).
- [26] Image 174 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.
- [27] Image 99 of 427, witness Carlos Tayeñao, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.
- [28] Image 183 of 427, Criminal Investigation 16 October 1607.
- [29] From LDS.org web page “Family History Work Vital, Prophets and Apostles Say” quoting Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book Company, 1980) 239-240. The Church website replaced “Genealogy” with “family history.”
- [30] J. Hajnal, “European Marriage Pattern in Perspective.” *Population in History*. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley, editors, (London, 1965) 101-143.
- [31] Hajnal, 111.
- [32] Kevin Reilly, “What Is an Attainable Global Perspective for Undergraduates in History?” *History Teacher* 18, 4 (August 1985) 535.
- [33] Elie Wiesel in “Art and Culture after the Holocaust” *Auschwitz: Beginning of a New Era? Reflections of the Holocaust*, edited by Eva Fleischer, (New York, KTAV Publishing House Inc., 1977) 403.
- [34] Jeanne P. Lawler, “Family History – I Am Doing It” *Children’s Songbook* page 94, (1982) copyright IRI.