

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Name of Property

County and State

Section number _____ Page _____

Name of multiple property listing (if applicable)

SUPPLEMENTARY LISTING RECORD

NRIS Reference Number: 15000812

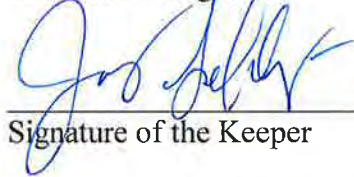
Date Listed: 11/19/2015

Property Name: Tui Manu'a Graves Monument

County: Manu'a

State: AS

This property is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in accordance with the attached nomination documentation subject to the following exceptions, exclusions, or amendments, notwithstanding the National Park Service certification included in the nomination documentation.



Signature of the Keeper

11-19-2015
Date of Action

Amended Items in Nomination:

Sections 3 & 8: Criteria

Section 3 was inadvertently certified by the SHPO as meeting all four Criteria for Evaluation. The SHPO confirms that certification is for Criteria A and B only.

Section 8 is hereby amended to add Criterion A. The site not only contains the graves of persons of transcendent importance, it also conveys significant symbolic information about the culture of the islands.

The American Samoa State Historic Preservation Office was notified of this amendment.

DISTRIBUTION:

National Register property file
Nominating Authority (without nomination attachment)
SHPO

OCT -9 2015

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

Nat. Register of Historic Places
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Tui Manu'a Graves Monument

Other names/site number: AS-11-27

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

2. Location

Street & number: The monument is 208 ft (63.4 m) west of the center of Ta'u Village Rd, at a point 1,225 ft (373 m) north of the intersection with the Ta'u Island Rd.

City or town: Ta'u Village State: Territory of American Samoa (AS) County: Manu'a (020)

Not For Publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D

<u>David J. Herdreich</u>	<u>9/25/15</u>
Signature of certifying official/Title: <u>Historic Pres. Officer</u> Date	
<u>American Samoa Historic Preservation Office.</u>	
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government	

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In my opinion, the property ___ meets ___ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official:

Date

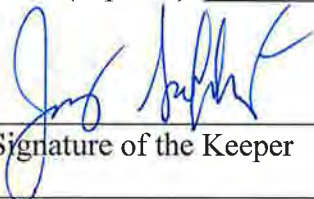
Title :

State or Federal agency/bureau
or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- entered in the National Register
 determined eligible for the National Register
 determined not eligible for the National Register
 removed from the National Register
 other (explain:)


Signature of the Keeper

11-19-2015
Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
Public – Local
Public – State
Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
District
Site

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Structure

Object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
_____	_____	buildings
_____	_____	sites
<u>1</u>	_____	structures
_____	_____	objects
_____	_____	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register _____

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Funerary

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

graves/burials

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7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

N/A

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: _Stone, Basalt_____

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

The Tui Manu'a Graves is a burial monument for four, possibly five, Tui Manu'a that is located in Ta'u Village, Ta'u Island, Manu'a County (020), U.S. Territory of American Samoa (AS), which is part of the Samoan Archipelago. Tui Manu'a is the highest chiefly title that existed in Manu'a and throughout Samoa. The structure is a raised, rectangular platform, 37.3 ft by 13.8 ft (513.17 sq. ft). The height is typically 3 ft, but it is a little taller at the north end and lower at the south. The platform is in two sections with the primary platform and a smaller rectangular extension at the south end. It is constructed of stacked, waterworn basalt boulders with a fill of basalt cobbles and pebbles together with pieces of coral; the fill in the smaller extension is sand. The platform contains four graves, and the small extension may contain a fifth burial. Three of the graves are marked by rectangular outlines of waterworn basalt boulders, while the fourth has a large marble tombstone. A marble column on a square block, the tombstone is the only marker with an inscription, and that inscription identifies the grave as that of Tui Manu'a Metelita. Also buried at the monument are Tui Manu'a Elisara, and probably Tui Manu'a Tauveve, but there are conflicting identifications of the name of the interred individuals in the other one or two burials. The monument was constructed by increments: the last burial dates to 1909 (Elisara), the burial before that to 1895 (Matelita), and the other 2-3 burials from unknown dates but prior to 1895 and most probably during the 19th century. The structure retains its historic integrity.

Narrative Description

See Continuation sheets.

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8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

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Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Ethnic heritage (Pacific Islanders, Polynesia)

Period of Significance

19th century into early 20th century

Significant Dates

Earliest dates unknown, later dates 1895 and 1909

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Tui Manu'a Elisara (aka, Elisala, Eliasara), Tui Manu'a Matelita (aka, Makerita, Margaret Young), Tui Manu'a Tauveve (aka, Taufefe), and one or two others of uncertain identity (Tui Manu'a Fagaese, Tui Manu'a Feagaimaali, or Tui Manu'a Tamaso).

Cultural Affiliation

American Samoan

Architect/Builder

People of Ta'u Village, Ta'u Island, Manu'a County

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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The significance of the burial monument that encompasses four or five graves of past Tui Manu'a, or "Kings of Manu'a," is based on four considerations. 1) The Tui Manu'a title is the most important social and political position in the local culture and history of Manu'a County. According to oral history and legend, the first Tui Manu'a was descended from the high god Tagaloa and was therefore a sacred personage who was surrounded by elaborate rules and customs of deference and reverence. 2) The importance of the Tui Manu'a extended beyond his home islands to the entire Samoan Archipelago and even to other island cultures in the central Pacific. He was divinely ordained by the creator god Tagaloa and therefore sacred. Whatever the actual power and authority may have been beyond Samoa, his ceremonial status and prestige in the central Pacific is firmly established in myths, legends, and history. 3) The importance of the Tui Manu'a title for anthropological, sociological, and historical understanding is notable. The burial monument of multiple Tui Manu'a is an extremely important symbol of the development of cultural complexity. 4) The importance of the last Tui Manu'a, Elisara, in American history is illustrated most clearly by the fact that he was the key signatory to the treaty giving the United States political hegemony over Manu'a, thereby ending independence of the Manu'a islands and cementing American colonial control in the central Pacific.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

See Continuation sheets

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9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography (Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form.)

See Continuation sheets

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 - Other State agency
 - Federal agency
 - Local government
 - University
 - Other
- Name of repository: _____

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property less than 1 acre (513.17 sq. ft) _____

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Use either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates (decimal degrees)

Datum if other than WGS84: _____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Latitude: 14° 13.680'S | Longitude: 169° 30.966'W |
| 2. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 3. Latitude: | Longitude: |
| 4. Latitude: | Longitude: |

Or

UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

- | | | |
|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Zone: 02 | Easting: 660104.00 m E | Northing: 8426548.00 m S |
| 2. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 3. Zone: | Easting: | Northing: |
| 4. Zone: | Easting : | Northing: |

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The boundary of the property is the footprint of the actual structure, which measures 37.3 ft north-south by 13.8 ft east-west (513.17 sq. ft). The east edge of the monument is 208 ft (63.4 m) due west of the center of Ta'u Village Rd, at a point 1,225 ft (373 m) north of the

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intersection with the Ta'u Island Rd. The west edge of the structure is 200 ft (61 m) due east of the current beach crest, putting the monument effectively halfway between the shoreline and the road.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The boundaries are defined by the structure itself and are thus the walls of the structure, as described in the Verbal Boundary Description, above.

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Jeffrey T. Clark, Ph.D., and Ms. Nolita Motu, BS
organization: Clark Consulting
street & number: 1909 E. Rose Creek Parkway S
city or town: Fargo state: ND zip code: 58104
e-mail Jeffrey.Clark@ndsu.edu
telephone: (701) 361-2229
date: September 25, 2015

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A USGS map or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

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USGS Quadrangle: The Manua Islands East, Scale 1:24,000. USGS 2001. (JGA 4245 IV SW-Series X866)

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Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

All Photographs:

Name of Property: Tui Manu'a Graves Monument

City or Vicinity: Ta'u village

County: Manu'a (020) State: Territory of American Samoa (AS)

Location of Original Digital Files: 1909 E. Rose Creek Parkway S., Fargo, ND 58104

Number of Photographs: 19

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0001.

Photographer: Jeffrey Clark

Date Photographed: April 1980

Description: Identified in 1980 as the ruins of the house of last Tui Manu'a, this may be the remains of the Chris Young house that was destroyed by a hurricane in 1926. (Figure 5 in text)
1 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0002.

Photographer: Jeffrey Clark

Date Photographed: April 1980

Description: Tui Manu'a grave, photographed in 1980 by Jeffrey Clark. Looking north. (Figure 6 in text)
2 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0003.

Photographer: Jeffrey Clark

Date Photographed: April 1980

Description: Tui Manu'a grave, photographed in 1980 by Jeffrey Clark. Looking toward southeast corner, from position just to the west and south of the monument. (Figure 7 in text)

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AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0004.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Looking due north. (Figure 10 in text)

4 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0005.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Looking due south. (Figure 11 in text)

5 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0006.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, east side. Looking due west. (Figure 12 in text)

6 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0007.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, west side. Looking east. (Figure 13 in text)

7 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0008.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, west side. Looking due east. (Figure 14 in text)

8 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0009.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Southwest corner of burial monument. Looking northeast (at 225° E of N). (Figure 15 in text)

9 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0010.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

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Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, from southwest corner. Looking south along west wall. (Figure 16 in text)

10 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0011.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Grave #1, Tui Manu'a Elisara, north end of platform. Looking east. Grave #2 (marble tombstone) on upper right.

(Figure 17 in text)

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AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0012.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Grave #1, north end of the platform, identified as the burial of Tui Manu'a Elisara. Looking west.

(Figure 18 in text)

12 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0013.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, north half; grave #1 on left (boulder outline), grave #2 on right (marble column of Margaret Young tombstone). Looking west. (Figure 19 in text)

13 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0014.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, grave #3. Note large boulders that form the alignment that marks the grave. Looking east. (Figure 20 in text)

14 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0015.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, close-up view of grave #3, immediately south of Margaret Young's tombstone. Looking west. (Figure 21 in text)

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AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0016.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

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Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, grave #4. Looking east.
(Figure 22 in text)
16 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0017.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Close-up of grave #4. Note large boulders in the grave boundary. Looking west. (Figure 23 in text)
17 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0018.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, looking north. From south to north, the extension of possible grave #5 (sand), grave #4, grave # 3, grave # 2 (tombstone). Looking north.
(Figure 24 in text)
18 of 19.

AS_Manu'a County_Tui Manu'a Graves_0019.

Photographer: Nolita Motu

Date Photographed: September 14, 2015

Description: Tui Manu'a Graves monument, south extension, with sand fill. Looking west.
(Figure 25 in text)
19 of 19.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

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Tui Manu'a Graves Monument, Ta'u Village, Ta'u Island, Manu'a County, American Samoa

Location / Geography

The term Manu'a refers to a set of three small islands – Ta'u, Ofu, and Olosega – that are the most easterly islands in the Samoan Archipelago. They, along with Tutuila and Aunu'u islands, constitute the United States territory of American Samoa. The western islands of Samoa – 'Upolu, Manono, Apolima, and Savai'i – form the Independent Nation of Samoa (formerly known as Western Samoa).

Tui Manu'a (aka, TuiManu'a, Tuimanu'a, Tuimanua, Tui Manua) is the highest chiefly title that existed in Manu'a and, at one time, all of Samoa. The term is often glossed as King of Manu'a. Tui Manu'a Graves refers to a single structure, a burial monument, that is located in Lumā sub-village of Ta'u Village on the island of Ta'u (Fig. 1), the Manu'a District, Manu'a County (020), United States Territory of American Samoa (AS). The structure is on the sandy coastal plain of Ta'u Village, at the north end of the west coast of Ta'u Island (Figs. 2, 3, 4).

The east edge of the monument is 208 ft (63.4 m) due west of the center of Ta'u Village Rd, at a point 1,225 ft (373 m) north of the intersection with the Ta'u Island Rd. The west edge of the structure is 200 ft (61 m) due east of the current beach crest, putting the monument effectively halfway between the shoreline and the road.

In Lumā, certain pieces of land have specific names. The grave site is locally known as *Loa o Tui Manu'a*, and it is on land known locally as *Lalopua* or *Nu'ualofa*. *Loa o Tui Manu'a* is bordered by *Malaetele* to the north, the coast area locally called *Avāavālooa* on the west, and private properties owned by descendants of Tui Manu'a Elisara (aka Elisala) on the south and east. The property boundary is confined to the actual footprint of the monument itself, which is 513.17 sq ft (47.67 sq m).

According to the ruling of the American Samoa High Court in 1927, *Lalopua* refers to the land, about an acre in extent, that has on it the graves monument of the Tui Manuas (ASMA 1927). Prior to the hurricane of 1926 there was also a house, stone and cement, on this land that was occupied by Chris Young (claimant to the Tui Manu'a title in 1924) prior to his removal to Tutuila (see "Significance" below) and another family member. The hurricane destroyed the house, which was left in ruin as the only other structure on *Lalopua* (Fig. 5). As verified in the court ruling, *Lalopua* belongs to the Taliutafa family, which is in the Anoalo clan or branch of the Tui Manu'a family, which in turn means that it is owned by the descendants of Tui Manu'a (ASMA 1927).

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Figure 1. Tui Manu'a Graves monument location on island of Ta'u, seen in Google Earth, 2015.

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Figure 2. USGS Ta'u. TuiManu'a grave. Topographic Map of The Manua Islands East, Scale 1:24,000. USGS 2001. (JGA 4245 IV SW-Series X866)

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Figure 3. Tui Manu'a Graves monument in Ta'u Village, overhead view, Google Earth, 2015. Ta'u Island Road in yellow, Ta'u Village Road in white.

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Figure 4. Tui Manu'a Graves, in Ta'u Village, viewed in Google Earth, 2015. Placemark at Matelita tombstone, which is the point for UTM and lat-long coordinates reported.

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Figure 5. Identified in 1980 as the ruins of the house of last Tui Manu'a, this may be the remains of the Chris Young house that was destroyed by a hurricane in 1926.

Site Description

The grave was recorded officially in 1980 by Clark as part of the first inventory of cultural resources in American Samoa for the then-fledgling American Samoa Historic Preservation Office (ASHPO). He assigned site number AS-11-27 to the burial monument and classified it as a “High Value” site that, in his assessment, clearly met the criteria for National Register consideration (Clark 1980:28). Such a nomination, however, was beyond the scope of that contracted project (contractor was the Bishop Museum, in Honolulu). Figures 6 and 7 are from slides taken by Clark in 1980 and are presented to show the monument as it looked 35 years ago. Clark’s other photos from that time (slides and black and white photographs) were submitted to the Bishop Museum for archiving.

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Figure 6. Tui Manu'a grave, photographed in 1980 by Jeffrey Clark. Looking north.

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Figure 7. Tui Manu'a grave, photographed in 1980 by Jeffrey Clark. Looking toward southeast corner, from position just to the west and south of the monument.

In preparation for this nomination, Ms. Nolita Motu (a native of Tutuila Island, American Samoa) visited the site over an eight-day period from September 9-16, 2015 during which she took notes and measurements on the structure, took photographs, and interviewed local residents. By talking with people in Ta'u Village and neighboring Faleasao Village, she was able to identify and contact four people who agreed to talk to her about their knowledge of the monument. Those people are:

- Malila Tunupopo (74) – descendant of Tui Manu'a Elisara and Tui Manu'a Tauveve,
- Pa'u Young (late 50s) – descendant of Tui Manu'a Makerita (Margaret Young),
- Laufau Salai Sa'ega Moliga (63 – 65) – Ta'u village elder,
- Ale (Agata'u) Filoiali'i (late 50s) – a high chief in Lumā and descendant of Tui Manu'a Elisara.

It is important to note that in Manu'a, it would be disrespectful to climb on the grave monument of the Tui Manu'a and walk over the burials. Ms. Motu was, in fact, forbidden to do so. Therefore, while we have measurements for the outer dimensions of the structure, we have only estimates of all inner structural elements.

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Grave Description

According to local informants, the Tui Manu'a Graves monument was built by the people of Ta'u Village. The monument is actually a burial structure for the interment of multiple individuals. The overall monument is a raised platform, rectangular in plan with a small rectangular extension at the south end. The platform contains the outline of four graves, one of which has a large tombstone, but the southern extension has been said by some to be for a fifth burial. Sketch maps of the burial monument are presented in Figures 8 and 9, and a series of photographs taken in September 2015 are presented as Figures 10-16.

The sides of the platform are constructed of stacked waterworn, basalt boulders that are typically between 6 and 23 inches (15-60 cm) in length, with some smaller and others larger. Village informants reported that most of the large rocks were transported from Faga village – some 4.5-5 miles (7.5-8 km) to the east along the Ta'u Island Road – but others are from the coast near Ta'u Village. The rocks are dark gray to nearly black in color and provide a striking contrast to the tan sand and the green grass in the surrounding area.

The dimensions of the monument are 37.3 ft (11.35 m) maximum length and the width is 13.8 ft (4.20 m). The typical height of the platform is 3-3.5 ft (ca. 90 cm) and normally 6-7 courses high on the north end. and 2.6 ft (80 cm) high, with 4-5 courses, on the south. The southernmost section of the platform is filled with large coral pieces dispersed amongst waterworn basalt cobbles. Towards the northern section of the grave, the interior surface (and presumably fill) transitions to smaller waterworn basalt pebbles and cobbles, with small coral rubble and cobbles dispersed amongst them.

There are four enclosures atop the large platform that mark graves; three are formed by roughly rectangular outlines of waterworn basalt rocks (small boulders), which is a common practice for marking graves in American Samoa. The other grave enclosure is made of cement. All four enclosures measure to a height between 0.5-0.7 ft (17-20 cm). Descriptions of the graves will proceed from north to south.

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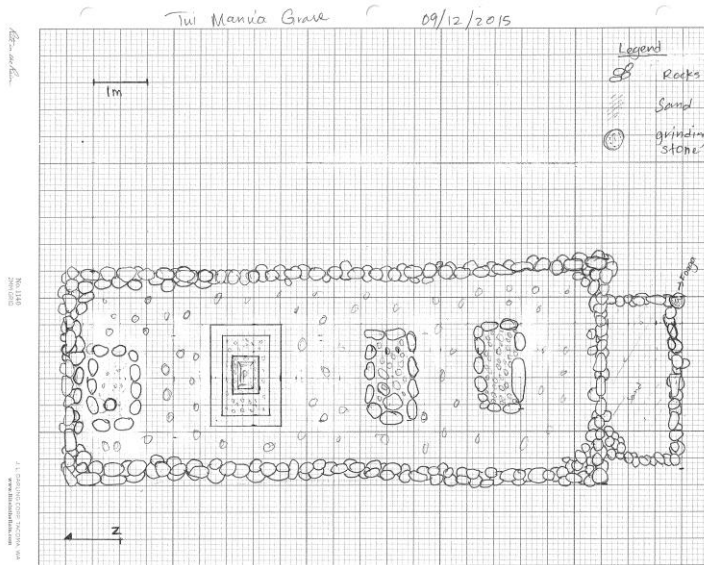


Figure 8. Sketch map 1, Tui Manu'a Grave, plan view.

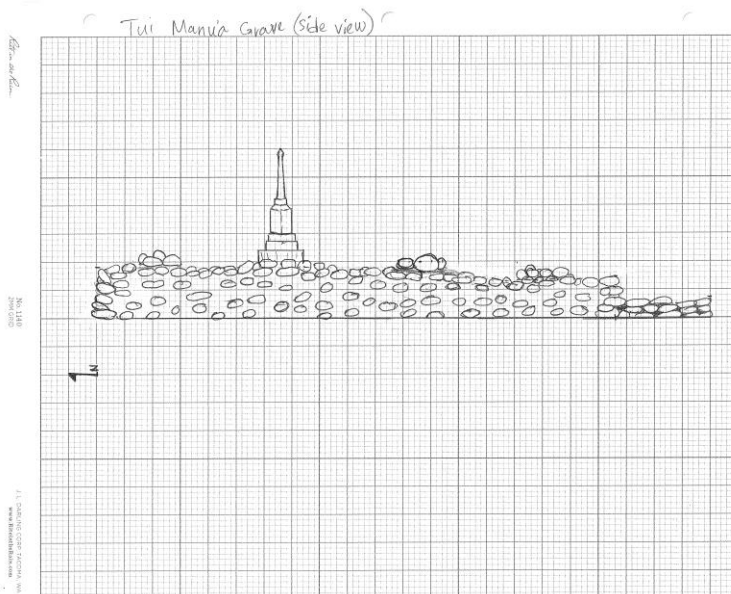


Figure 9. Sketch map 2, Tui Manu'a Grave, west side view.

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Figure 10. Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Looking due north.



Figure 11. Tui Manu'a Graves monument. Looking due south.

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Figure 12. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, east side. Looking due west.



Figure 13. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, west side. Looking east.

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Figure 14. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, west side. Looking due east.



Figure 15. Southwest corner of burial monument. Looking northeast (at 225° E of N).

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Figure 16. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, from southwest corner. Looking south along west wall.

Grave 1. The northern enclosure is formed by an alignment of waterworn basalt boulders – similar in size to the boulders used for the walls of the platform – that form a rectangular outline. Inside the alignment the fill is predominately small coral rubble, with some waterworn basalt pebbles. A single rounded waterworn basalt boulder lay on surface inside the enclosure and at the west (ocean) end (Figs. 17, 18, 19). This is the grave of Tui Manu'a Elisara.

Grave 2. To the south is the second grave, which, unlike the others, is conspicuously marked (see Figs. 7, 10-16, 19-21). It consists of a tombstone marking the grave of Tui Manu'a Margaret Young, also known as (aka) Makerita or Matelita (see discussion below). The tombstone is in the shape of a round column on a square base and is made of white marble. Village informants believe the marble was transported from Great Britain to Ta'u sometime after Matelita's death (exactly when is unknown). The column is 6-7 ft (1.8-2.1 m) tall and strikingly visible. It is located within the rectangular concrete enclosure, and between the enclosure boundary and the base of the monument are small coral and waterworn basalt pebbles. The concrete enclosure is in poor condition with only part of one corner nearly intact and the rest crumbling; the original size was probably about 5 ft (1.8-2.1 m) wide (north-

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Figure 17. Grave #1, Tui Manu'a Elisara, north end of platform. Looking east.



Figure 18. Grave #1, north end of the platform, identified as the burial of Tui Manu'a Elisara. Looking west.

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south) by 6-7 ft (1.8-2.1 m) long (east-west) (the long axis perpendicular to the long axis of the platform). Within the enclosure is a concrete base sticking up a few inches above the platform surface. The concrete slopes up from the outer edge to the inner marble of the base of the monument. Cemented into this concrete base, near the platform surface, are halves of large bivalve mollusks, possibly oyster shells. The concrete base supports the marble column, which is in multiple sections. At its base are two square tiers, 10-12 inches (25-30 cm) high each, with small bevels at the top, angling from larger at the bottom to smaller at the top. Next is an elongated block, square in cross-section at the base but rectangular in overall shape, nearly 2 ft (0.6 m) tall. Inscriptions are engraved on two sides of this block, one on the west side and one on the north (Fig. 11, 14, 19). Atop the block is the round column, which has as its base a set of rings that diminish slightly in size as they go up to the actual column shaft. Continuing up the monument, the next element is a round column that narrows slightly from bottom to top. Near the top of the column is a slightly protruding ring, above that and atop the column are two larger disks, and on those are three progressively smaller disks that cap the column. There appears to be a transverse crack through the column about half-way up, but there is no sign that it affects the integrity of the structure.



Figure 19. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, north half; grave #1 on left (boulder outline), grave #2 on right (marble column of Margaret Young tombstone). Looking west.

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As noted, inscriptions are engraved on two sides of the rectangular block of the monument (Fig. 16, 17), one in English (on the west or ocean side) (Fig. 14, 19) and one in Samoan (on the north side) (Fig. 11). The inscriptions are given below, along with a translation of the Samoan text by Nolita Motu. Please note that the meaning of first phrase is not clear to Ms. Motu, so no translation is attempted. For the last phrase, there may be other translations possible, but the translation given seems most likely and captures the sentiment intended.

English inscription, west side:

IN MEMORY
of
MARGARET YOUNG
QUEEN OF MANU'A
BORN DEC. 31, 1872
DIED OCT. 29, 1895

Samoan inscription, south side:

O MOA – ATOA
TUI MANU'A MAKERITA
O LONA TOA 35 LEA O TUPU O MANUA
NA FANAU TESEMA 31, 1872
NA FAAUU IULAI 1, 1891
NA MALIU OKETOPA 29, 1895
O LAU TOE UPU IA TE OUTOU O LENEI
"IA OUTOU FEALOFANI"

Translation:

O Moa Atoa
Tui Manua Makerita
The 35th King of Manua
Born December 31, 1872
Took the title July 1, 1891
Died October 29, 1895
These are my last word to you all
"May you live in peace"

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Grave 3. The next grave, to the south of grave #2, is similar to the first in size, shape, and form. It is marked by rectangular outline of waterworn basalt boulders, but here the boulders are larger than at grave #1 (Fig. 20). Two waterworn boulders are inside the alignment and, as with grave #1, on the west (sea) side of the grave (Fig. 21). The interior fill of grave consists of cobble-size pieces of waterworn coral and basalt.



Figure 20. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, grave #3. Note large boulders that form the alignment that marks the grave. Looking east.

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Figure 21. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, close-up view of grave #3, immediately south of Margaret Young's tombstone. Looking west.

fill of the alignment consists mostly of large pieces of waterworn coral, but also present are waterworn basalt cobbles (Figs. 22, 23).

Grave 4. Similar in form and size to graves #1 and #3, the southernmost grave on the platform is also a rectangular outline of waterworn boulders. The boulders are perhaps the largest of the graves, with one elongated rock so large that it would have required at least two people to carry and place it. The interior

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Figure 22. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, grave #4. Looking east.



Figure 23. Close-up of grave #4. Note large boulders in the grave boundary. Looking west.

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Grave 5? Aside from the large platform with the four definite graves, there is a lower platform that may or may not be a grave. In 1980, Clark's informant said this was also a grave, but in 2015 the informants did not identify it as such. However, no other function was put forward and none can be reasonably proposed. It is possible that it represents a much later grave of a ranking family member (a high title holder) but not of a Tui Manu'a.

This lower platform is connected to the larger platform at the south side (Figs. 24, 25). It measures 5.6 ft (1.7 m) long (i.e., length in terms of the overall monument configuration) by 10.5 ft (3.2 m) wide. The exterior of the platform is made of stacked waterworn basalt boulders, as is the case with the large platform, but occasional pieces of coral, usually small pieces placed in small crevices between the stacked boulders, are also present, probably put there subsequent to the construction of platform. The platform is about 1.5-2.0 ft (45-60 cm) high. It is normally 3 courses high, but it now looks to be only 2 courses high on the south wall. As illustrated by the comparison with the 1980 photo, however, it can be seen that sand accumulation obscures the lower course of boulders. Unlike the large platform and graves, the interior of this small platform is filled with sand.

Nearby Features

Two rectangular concrete graves, of typical Samoan form since the mid-20th century, are located close to the Tui Manu'a monument on the east (mountain) side (Fig. 12), but they are not the interments of Tui Manu'a themselves and so are not further described in this nomination. They are almost certainly members of the Tui Manu'a family given their location on *Lalopua* land, but the tombstone inscriptions can no longer be read with accuracy.

Interments

The individuals interred at the monument are not entirely clear, but there is agreement that the four on the main platform all held the title of Tui Manu'a at one time. In 1980, following an interview with a then elderly high chief and a younger *matai* (chief), Clark described the burial monument as containing five graves total, four in the large platform and one in the lower extension. He wrote: "According to local informants, those buried here are, from north to south, Tui Manu'a Elisara, Tui Manu'a Matelita (Margaret Young), Tui Manu'a Feagaimaali, Tui Manu'a Taufefe, and Tui Manu'a Tamasoa" (Clark 1980:28). Our 2015 interviews with local villagers produced only four names: Tui Manu'a Elisara (aka, Elisala, Eliasara), Tui Manu'a Makerita (aka, Matelita), Tui Manu'a Tauveve (aka, Taufefe), and Tui Manu'a Fagaese.

The authors of this nomination are unable to resolve this discrepancy, as they have not been able to locate any definitive list of the names, and only one person (Matelita) has an inscription on the monument. Memories are not infallible, of course, and so oral traditions can and do shift over time. It is perhaps worth noting that Clark's informant said he remembered when Margaret Mead lived in Ta'u

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Figure 24. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, looking north. From south to north, the extension of possible grave #5 (sand), grave #4, grave # 3, grave # 2 (tombstone). Looking north.



Figure 25. Tui Manu'a Graves monument, south extension, with sand fill. Looking west.

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Village where she carried out her famous studies of Samoan ethnography (*Social Organization of Manu'a* and *Coming of Age in Samoa*) in 1925-26. Clark estimates the informant's age at the time as late-70s to early-80s, so he was probably a boy at the time of the burial of the last Tui Manu'a, Elisara, in 1909. What we can say is that there is agreement on three of the burials: Elisara, Matelita, and Tauveve.

There are sometimes slightly different spellings used in Samoa reflecting formal and intimate pronunciations (e.g., t as formal sound versus k as intimate or informal, as in Matelita/Makerita), sound shifts over time and space, more than one name for an individual, and other considerations. It is uncertain whether there is fact some correspondence between Feagaimaali (perhaps Feagaima'ali'i?) or Tamasoia and Fagaese.

Written references to who is buried in the monument are nearly non-existent. The only reference that we were able to find is a statement by Commander Tilley who visited Manu'a in 1899 or 1900 and wrote of his interaction with Tui Manu'a Elisara. He wrote that "he led me to a great pile of stones in a prominent place, and told me that it was the grave of his grandfather" (Tilley 1900:1845). It is not certain exactly what was meant by the term "grandfather" in that context (possibly just male ancestor), but it would seem likely that he was referring to Tui Manu'a Tauveve who had the title immediately prior to Elisara's father (Tui Manu'a Alalamua) and was of the same family branch or clan, known as Avaloa.

The complete list of Tui Manu'a names is not known for certain. Isaia (1999) produced a list of 40 individuals, which has been frequently repeated on websites by non-scholars. For the most recent title holders, Isaia puts the last 5, from earliest to latest, as:

- Fagaese
- Tauveve
- Taulima
- Alalamua
- Matelita or Makerita
- Elisala or Elisara

Older, scholarly genealogical lists were provided by Fraser, Powell, and Krämer, but they provide little clarity. Fraser (1891b:138) gave a list of the "Kings of Manu'a," but his list ends before 1830. Krämer presented two lists. One list is by each of three ruling lines presented separately and so not in a full chronological sequence (1994:520-524). One of the lineage genealogies presented is that of "Gafa o Lika (Matelita)" (Krämer 1994:522-523), and the other is the "Gafa o Alalamua ma Tufele," which is the line of Elisara (Krämer 1994:524). Krämer's other list is by pure chronology, although it does not appear to present all of the names given in the first listing. Powell recorded three genealogies (presented by Fraser) of Tui Manu'a, two short and one longer, that were restated in Mead (1969:186). The longer

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of Powell's lists is also re-represented by Krämer next to his second list (Krämer 1994:529-526). It is important to note that all of these name lists are presented as genealogies of Tui Manu'a and not necessarily lists of the Tui Manu'a title holders. With that in mind, and focusing on the names given for the Tui Manu'a graves and immediate ancestors, we can compare those lists with that given by Isaia (1999) of Tui Manu'a. Krämer's first list only includes the names Alalamua (aka Lalamua), Matelita, and Elisala, and his second list has only Lalamua (aka Alalamua) and Matelita, while the lists of Powell and Fraser have none of the names that were given to us by informants. In short, the lists are all probably incomplete, given from biased perspectives, and may use different names for the same person. Also, they are not specifically lists of title holders only. Working in the 1920s, Mead (1969:185) wrote: "it is no longer possible in Manua [sic] to get even such pretentious genealogies as those collected by Powell and Krämer." So, while this lack of agreement as to who is buried in the tomb, and lack of clarity as to who the Tui Manu'a have been, may seem disconcerting, it is a consequence of oral history. It must also be kept clearly in mind that it is not the person that fills a title that is important in Samoan conception, but *the title itself*. With that, we turn to a discussion of the specific names given by informants for the burials.

Feagaimaali and Tamasoa

Neither Feagaimaali or Tamasoa appear on any of the lists of known Tui Manu'a or the genealogies, and no information on either name could be found.

Fagaese

No information could be found on Fagaese beyond his listing by Isaia (1999) and present-day inhabitants of Ta'u Village. Given the number of 2015 informants and their connection to the Tui Manu'a family, the identification of the fourth burial as Fagaese seems the most likely alternative. That conclusion is strengthened by the apparent temporal relationship, at least in contemporary oral tradition, of Tauveve and Fagaese, with the former immediately following the latter in holding the Tui Manu'a title.

Tauveve

While not on Krämer's list, Tauveve (aka, Taufefe) is known as a Tui Manu'a, and he held the title immediately prior to Tui Manu'a Alalamua. Like Alalamua and his son Tui Manua Elisara, Tauveve was from the Avaloa clan.

Tui Manu'a Matelita

With the death of Tui Manu'a Alalamua, there were, as in Samoan custom, competing heirs for the title, with their causes championed by their more immediate extended family ('aiga) members and allies. Contenders from three lines were advanced, one from the Anoalo line (clan or branch), which is the male line of descent of the Tui Manu'a family, one from the Avaloa line, which is the female line of descent of the Tui Manu'a family, and one from the Falesoā branch. One of Alalamua's sons, Elisara

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(from the Avaloa branch) was encouraged to take the title but he refused because he wished to retain his role as a Congregational minister. Eventually the advocates of the Anoalo branch garnered most support and their contender, Matelita, was awarded the title.

Tui Manu'a Matelita was named Margaret Young and called informally Makelita (or Lika); here, we will use the formal rather than intimate pronunciation (and spelling), Matelita (Fig. 26). She was born December 31, 1872. She held the Tui Manu'a title from July 1, 1891 until her death on October 29, 1895. Her mother was Amipelia and her father was Arthur Stephen "Pa'u" Young, who was half-Samoan (mother, name Fasito'o (Krämer 1994:523)), and half-American or British (father) (some historical sources say British, but Krämer (1994:523), who knew Young, said he was American). Matelita was a member of the Anoalo branch. She was only 19 when she took the title, which she held for nearly four years. On July 17, 1894, Robert Louis Stephenson wrote to a friend of a trip he made to Manu'a not long before, and in Ta'u he met with Matelita, of whom he wrote: "The three islands of

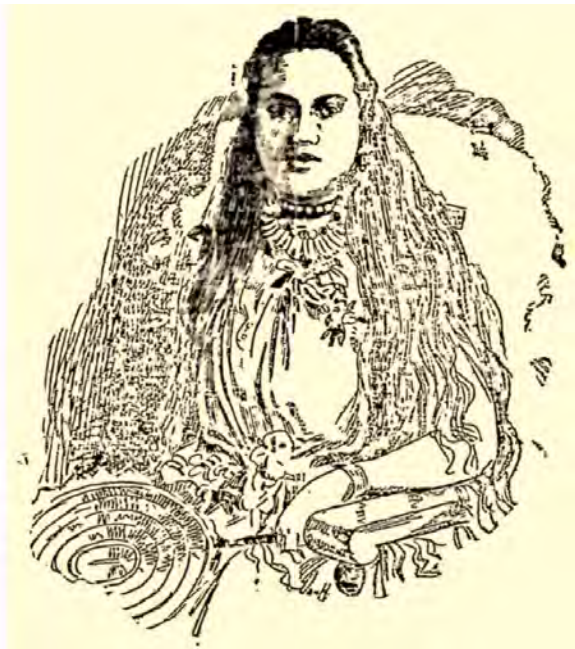


Figure 26. Tui Manu'a Matelita. The Morning Herald, February 16, 1896, captioned, "Queen of Manua, One of the Beauties of the South Sea Islands." Public domain.

Manu'a are independent, and are ruled over by a little slip of a half-caste girl about twenty, who sits all day in a pink gown, in a little white European house with about a quarter of an acre of roses in front of it, looking at the palm-trees on the village street, and listening to the surf" Colvin 1907:411). The next year Matelita died, at age 22, when an over-turned kerosene lamp set fire to her mosquito net as she

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slept. (Krämer (1994:523) writes that she was 23, but given the birth and death dates, she was a few months short of 23). Freeman (1983:318fn15) wrote that after that tragic event, “the chiefs of Manu’a ruled that henceforward women would be forbidden from holding chiefly titles and from participating in fonofono.” How or why that prohibition was announced is not discussed.

Not long after Matelita’s death, German ethnographer August Krämer visited Ta’u briefly and met Matelita’s father, Arthur Young. He wrote that Matelita, who he referred to as the “virgin queen” had “had the Manu’a traditions dictated to her a few years prior to her death and which I now had the opportunity to copy” (Krämer 1994:5). Whether she wrote them down from the dictation or had someone else write them is not known. The copy that Krämer made was in Samoan and had to be translated when he was back at his base in Apia, on ‘Upolu, with the assistance of three American Samoans (Krämer spoke Samoan but still wanted the assistance of native speakers). For that early dictation, we are indebted to Matelita.

Tui Manu’a Elisara

After the tragic accidental death of Tui Manu’a Matelita, Elisara was again asked to take the title, and this time he accepted. Tui Manu’a Elisara (aka, Elisala, Eliasara) became the successor to Matelita on October 25, 1899. His date of birth is not known, but he died April 2, 1909. He was the son of Tui Manu’a Alalamua and Sofe, a daughter of Matiu of Ta’u Island (ASBA 1927; Krämer 1994:524). Tui Manu’a Alalamua was the son of Alalamua and Pele’ese, who was the daughter of Tui Manu’a Moa’atoa. As noted, Elisara was a member of the Avaloa branch (the female line of the Tui Manu’as), as was his father, Tui Manu’a Alalamua.

Elisara (Fig. 27) was a graduate of the London Missionary Society College at Malua, Upolu, and served as a Congregationalist minister in Fifiuta Village, Ta’u Island, before being elected Tui Manu’a. Elisara was an advocate for education in Manu’a and for the general welfare of Manu’ans. His importance to Manu’a, and American Samoa, is discussed in the Significance section, below.

Age of the Structure

It should be remembered that the fill of the platform at the north end of the monument is noticeably different from the rest of the platform in having smaller waterworn basalt and coral. In addition, the fill of the north grave (#1), with smaller coral rubble, is also distinctly different from the southern two graves (#3 and #4). Those differences indicate that the northern grave was added on after the others, which is consistent with the identification of that grave as of the last Tui Manu’a, Elisara. The marble monument was for Tui Manu’a Matelita who preceded him, so the southern two graves are the earliest. Therefore, with the exception of the small southern platform, the burial monument grew from south to north (see Fig. 25). The last burial dates to 1909 (Elisara), the burial before that to 1895 (Matelita, with the marble), and the other 2-3 burials from unknown dates but prior to 1895 and most probably during the 19th century. This southernmost extension of the structure was not constructed at the same time as

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Figure 27. Tui Manu'a Elisara. Image from the American Samoa Historic Preservation Office. Public domain.

the platform, which is illustrated by the fact that the side walls of that feature are not well integrated into the side walls of the larger platform, and the fill (sand) is entirely different from the other graves. The extension appears, therefore, to be a later add-on, although it could have been later relative only to the first and/or second burial but not necessarily to the entire platform. While it is conceivable that it is the earliest grave and the larger platform was sequentially added to it, but that seems less likely.

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Tui Manu'a Graves Monument, Ta'u Village, Ta'u Island, Manu'a County, American Samoa

Background

Before proceeding, it is helpful to briefly define a few key terms and concepts central to understanding the Samoan sociocultural system, and therefore this nomination. A core element of the social structure, as it existed at the time of and since European contact, is the *matai* system. *Matai* are the titled heads of extended family units called '*aiga*. The '*aiga* is a cognatic (non-unilineal) descent group, and as a cognatic group, membership is optative and based on consanguineal links through both males and females (e.g., Shore 1982; Tiffany 1975). Multiple related '*aiga* (extended families) form larger '*aiga* (larger extended family groups), and within those larger units the *matai* are hierarchically ranked, with the highest-ranking title of the group traditionally the title of the founding ancestor. Title holders are usually, though not necessarily, males, and are elected to the position by '*aiga* members. Genealogy plays an important role in title appointment (especially for the highest titles), but other criteria are considered as well. Important among these criteria are past service to the '*aiga*, individual abilities, personal accomplishments and prestige, and possibly even personal wealth (Tiffany 1975; Shore 1982). Different factions of an '*aiga* may support different contenders, but a final conferring of the title requires group consensus, which often means long deliberation and negotiations. Although personal qualities are naturally important for an effective title holder, a critical feature is that the limits of his power and authority are defined by the position, not the person; thus, the title and the title holder are conceptually distinct (Shore 1982:69).

The term *matai* is conventionally glossed as "chief" and two types of chiefs are recognized, *ali'i* (chiefs) and *tulafale* (talking chiefs, or orators). The Samoan chiefly system is based on obligation and obedience to those who hold higher titles. There are numerous ranks within each category ranging from low-level chiefs (heads of small '*aiga*) to high chiefs and high talking chiefs with authority over entire villages, or groups of villages, parts of islands, or one or more islands. Traditionally, high chiefs held the most authority, while high talking chiefs were the primary spokesmen of their group. Talking chiefs were extremely important because of their knowledge of protocol, custom, genealogies, *fa'alupega*, and their abilities to sway the opinions of others through their orations. As Freeman (1983:122) describes it, the *fa'alupega* expresses, through a set of traditional phrases, "the genealogically sanctioned hierarchy of each local community and district, and, indeed, the whole of Samoa."

For this discussion, the term *Tui* is focal. Today, the term is typically glossed as "king." That translation should not be taken to be as a precise correspondence, but a fully comparable sociopolitical position does not exist in the Western sociopolitical conception. In his dictionary, Milner defines *tui* as: "Ceremonial title (of a paramount chief of a whole district or country, the name of which immediately follows)" (Milner 1966:284). The essential point is that it is one of the highest titles in a system of hierarchically ranked titles. The term Tui Manu'a, therefore, refers to the title that has authority over all of the islands of Manu'u. The title is so high, in fact, that its recognition, status, and prestige carries far

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beyond the limits of the three Manu'an islands. As is often referred to in the ethnohistoric literature, the Tui Manu'a was the "King of Manu'a."

Statement of Significance

Clearly, the individuals buried at the grave monument of the Tui Manu'a are historical figures of outstanding importance. The fact that four Tui Manu'a are interred at the monument increases the significance of the structure proportionately. Furthermore, there are no other sites directly associated with the productive lives of any of the former Tui Manu'a interred there.

The significance of the Tui Manu'a grave monument is based on four considerations: 1) the importance of the Tui Manu'a title in the local culture and history of the county (Manu'a); 2) the importance of the Tui Manu'a in the Territory of American Samoa and beyond (throughout the central Pacific); 3) the importance of the Tui Manu'a title for anthropological, sociological, and historical understanding; and 4) the importance of the last Tui Manu'a, Elisara, in American history.

1. Importance of Tui Manu'a in Manu'a

It is hard to overstate the importance of the Tui Manu'a to Manu'an culture. The significance of the title Tui Manu'a is evident in the conventional gloss as King of Manu'a. An extremely important statement of sociopolitical standings is the *fa'alupega*. Krämer (1994: 505) presents the *fa'alupega* of Manu'a: the first line is a greeting to Manu'a, and the second is a greeting to his highness the Tui Manu'a. Churchill (cited in Mead 1969:190) presents a slightly different version, with the first greeting (or acknowledgement) to Manu'a, the second to the three houses (highest ranking families), and the third to the Tui Manu'a.

The first Tui Manu'a was regarded as descended from the high (creator) god Tagaloa, or in some accounts the sun. Freeman (1983:178) reported that the Tui Manu'a could at times be possessed by Tagaloa, by whom he was created and divinely chosen to rule. In the historic era, however, the Tui Manu'a title holders were elected by the ruling high talking chiefs of Ta'u (Mead 1969:178). Thus, the person chosen was transformed at the installation ceremony from a common person to a person with extraordinary *mana* (impersonal supernatural force) and therefore power and authority. As a result, many behaviors related to the Tui Manu'a became *tapu* (taboo, or prohibited) and others just customary signs of respect and deference. For example, according to Tilley (1900:1843):

Until very recently they have not allowed him to drink water, bathe in the sea, or walk about from one village to another for fear that some misfortune would befall the community. When he went from one place to another, he was carried on a stretcher, which was covered over so that no one could see him. If by any chance he got into an altercation with another person and raised his hand in a threatening way, this was a signal for any native standing near him to kill his opponent.

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After a visit to Tui Manu'a Matelita in 1894, Robert Louis Stephenson wrote that, "a strong able-bodied native must walk in front of her and blow the conch shell continuously from the moment she leaves one house until the moment she enters another" (Colvin 1907:412). Thirty years later, Mead also discussed a number of *tapu* that were typically linked to an idea of supernatural penalty if violated. Some examples discussed by Mead (1969:174-186) include the following:

- His hair could be cut only by his wife, *taupou* (ceremonial maiden of a village associated with the high chief), or the highest ranking of his talking chiefs;
- His hair and nail clippings had to be thrown away in some place where they would not come into contact with people;
- His food remains could not be fed to other people, pigs, or dogs, but must be thrown away, burned, or thrown into the sea;
- His old garments had to be similarly disposed of;
- No one could drink water from where his water had been drawn for at least an hour;
- No one could touch fruit or fish intended for him;
- When away from his village, anyone that encountered him seated themselves cross-legged on the ground and prostrated their upper body with their faces downward until the Tui Manu'a passed;
- When away from his home, he could not raise his head near a fruit tree or the fruit might wither;
- His kava cup (*ipu*) could not be used by anyone else. Freeman wrote that in Manu'a the word *ipu* was reserved solely for the kava (*'ava*) cup of the Tui Manu'a, and the term could not be used in reference to anyone else (1983:138).

There were many special customs associated with the installation of a new Tui Manu'a, his/her formal kava ceremony, marriage, and death, as well as behavioral rules related to his/her person, foods he/she could eat and how they were served, and more. Mead (1969:174-193) wrote of many of these but certainly not all. In summary, the Tui Manu'a were surrounded by an array of rules, customs, behaviors, restrictions, and indulgences that were unique in Manu'a to him and signified his supreme importance.

2. Importance of Tui Manu'a beyond Manu'a

The importance of the Tui Manu'a title was recognized in Samoa beyond Manu'a. At the very least, Tui Manu'a is the oldest paramount chiefly title in the Samoa Archipelago. Mead (1969:173) wrote: "All Samoans know that the Tui Manu'a claims to have once been the king of the whole archipelago." She added that other Samoans "are exasperated by Manu'a's claim for him" as well as claims for the special status and place of Manu'a in Samoa (Mead (1969:173), but she does not say they disputed those claims. The fact is, the special place of Manu'a and the Tui Manu'a title are expressed in many sources on Samoan legends, myths, songs, and traditions, as documented in the many publications of Fraser, Krämer, Stair, and others, as summarized below.

The recognition of the Tui Manu'a extended to other archipelagoes in the central Pacific. In traditional Samoan conception, the Tui Manu'a was a divinely based title, a sacred chief whose authority was not

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restricted to Samoa. Freeman (1993:133) thought Fraser's comparison appropriate when he likened Ta'u, the home of the Tui Manu'a, to "Delos, the island birthplace of Apollo in the ancient Aegean."

The actual extent of the Tui Manu'a influence beyond Samoa is a subject of some disagreement. At the extreme, some people (primarily Manu'ans) have claimed that oral histories document that the Tui Manu'a was once the head of a widespread federation, or network, or even empire in the central Pacific. This domain included all of Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji, with some arguing that all islands of Western Polynesia were included, along with the Cook Islands, Tokelau, and Tuvalu. There is sufficient evidence in oral history and legends of some connections between Manu'a and islands of Tonga and Fiji to the west and Rarotonga in the east (see Williamson (1924, Vol 1:107-109; 1933); thus, knowledge of the Tui Manu'a title, status, and prestige beyond Samoa is certain. It is also apparent in the oral histories that wives were exchanged, and/or offspring sired, between Samoa (including but not exclusive to the Tui Manu'a), Fiji, Tonga, and probably Rarotonga (e.g., Krämer 1994:648). But, claims of the Tui Manu'a ruling those lands or having an empire or being able to exercise power in those places are controversial, particularly in those other island groups with their own oral histories and legends.

The key to the place of Manu'a and the Tui Manu'a in Samoa and in neighboring archipelagos is in the origin mythology. There are variations on the origin myths of Samoa (e.g., Turner 1884; Fraser 1891a-c, 1892; Krämer 1994, Vol.I; Stair 1895, 1896, 1897; Mead 1969), but some clear common threads. Williamson (1924, 1933) pieced together bits of oral history, genealogies, traditions, and legends and concluded that the Tui Manu'a line was of first descent from god Tagaloa, and therefore head of all chiefly lineages throughout Samoa. Manu'ans take the latter part of this claim to be true, although as Christians, a relationship with Tagaloa is perhaps no longer acceptable. Lowell Holmes relates a common creation myth that is widely held, especially in Manu'a (Holmes 1992:15-16). It is in effect a simplified version, as he relates it, compared with versions from chroniclers in the 19th and early 20th centuries, but it covers many of the key points. According to this legend, the god Tagaloa created a large rock that is called Manu'atele, or Great Manu'a. He then took pieces of Manu'atele and dispersed them in the sea to create the other islands of Samoa as well as Tonga, Fiji, and other islands. Tagaloa sent a sacred vine to cover the rocks, the vine decayed, and from it sprang worms or maggots. Tagaloa transformed the maggots into men and then placed one man and one woman on each of the islands of Samoa and on Tonga and Fiji; from them, populations would arise. The significance of the Tui Manu'a can be seen in the succeeding passage that he quotes as follows:

Then, Tagaloa decided that men should be appointed to rule the different islands and so he created the title of Tui [*king*]. He created the titles Tuiaga'e, Tuita'u, Tuiofu, Tuiolosega, Tuiatua, Tuia'ana, Tuitoga, and Tuifiti, and thus established lords of the islands¹.

Then, Tagaloa looked upon all he had created and decided that there should be a king greater than all the others and that he should reside in Manu'atele, his first creation. He selected the son

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of Po [*night*] and Ao [*day*] to be the king of kings. When this boy was to be born it was found that his abdomen was firmly attached to his mother's womb. Because of this, he was given the name Satia i le Moaatoa [*attached by the abdomen*]. When the child was born, he sustained a great wound as he was ripped from his mother's body. From this came the name of the place of his birth, Manu'atele [*the great wound*]. When this boy grew to manhood, he became king of all the Tui [*kings*] and carried the title Tui Manu'a Moaatoa. (Holmes 1992:16)

[¹Kings of Fitiuta Village, Ta'u Village, Ofu Island, Olosega Island, Atua District of Upolu, A'ana District of Upolu, Tonga, and Fiji, respectively.]

Fraser (1892:180) wrote that after Tagaloa performed the creation of all those islands, he issued his parting command: "Always show respect to Manu'a; if any one do not, he will be overtaken by calamity; but let each one do as he likes with his own lands."

It is safe to say that most Samoans, past and present, and scholars would agree that according to Samoan oral history, the Tui Manu'a represented the senior chiefly line throughout the archipelago. It is not clear whether his authority was actually expressed as political power, as some Samoans believe, or limited to ceremonial acknowledgment and deference. There is no archaeological evidence of political power or control beyond Manu'a, but then, there is no archaeological evidence of the Tui Manu'a as a specific title of power in Manu'a itself, yet, the oral histories, legends, myths, songs, and customs recorded for Samoa unquestionably document the authority and power of the title in Manu'a.

The prestige, influence, and power of the Tui Manu'a beyond Manu'a, such as it may have been, eventually waned as more powerful titles and people holding them appeared in the western islands, namely 'Upolu, Savai'i, and Manono (see, Krämer 1994, Vol.I:12; Goldman 1970; Linnekin et al. 2006). According to Samoan oral history, the islands were at one time conquered and ruled by invaders from Tonga, although Manu'a was not so subjugated. Some people calculate that period of Tongan domination at between ca.AD 1200-1400, others would place it beginning earlier (Linnekin et al. 2006). While the exact nature of the Tongan interlude in Samoa is not entirely clear, the Samoans eventually forcefully expelled the Tongans. Through that process, certain chiefly titles of 'Upolu and Savai'i rose in prominence, and the power of the title holders grew significantly due to the larger land areas under their control, the larger populations, and the correspondent increase in economic productivity. The high chiefly titles of Tui A'ana, Tui Atua, Gato'aitele, and Tamasoali'i became the four constituent titles of the overarching title of Tafa'ifa. Tutuila was even brought under the control of the Tui Atua. By the 19th century the Malietoa and Tupua families of western Samoa had emerged as the primary political powers. Still, through those centuries, the Manu'ans remained relatively uninvolved and unafflicted by those events and developments. Clearly the Tui Manu'a was eclipsed by the other titles in terms of power, but the Tui Manu'a title retained its cultural importance, if only ceremonially and conceptually.

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3. Importance of Tui Manu'a for studies of the development of social complexity

The Tui Manu'a title symbolizes, in fact, the evolution of socio-political complexity in the Samoan archipelago. A major question in archaeology and anthropology centers on the how and why of the development of sociopolitical complexity in human societies. Two major works by cultural anthropologists, Marshall Sahlins (1958) and Irving Goldman (1970), have in fact attempted to address that matter using Polynesian societies, including Samoa, as the case study. Kirch (1984) subsequently approached the question of *The Evolution of Polynesian Chiefdoms* from an archaeological perspective, although Samoa was not specifically dealt with in that book. Others are looking the same question from different disciplinary perspectives, such as sociology and history. The fact that the Tui Manu'a represents the highest level of political complexity in Samoa means that the development of the power, influence, and status of that title can be an extremely important line of study. How did three small islands, with small populations, become the home of the most influential and revered political title in the central Pacific? While the Tui Manu'a graves monument will probably not contribute directly to such a study (although possible future DNA studies, if undertaken, may hold some potential), the monument is an extremely important symbol of cultural complexity.

4. Importance of Tui Manu'a Elisara

The last formally recognized Tui Manu'a, Elisara, is also important as the key signatory to the treaty giving the United States official political hegemony over Manu'a, thus ending true independence of the Manu'a islands. Elisara is therefore important in the history of American colonialism.

At the end of the 19th century, the United States, Germany, and Great Britain were vying for colonial power in the Samoan Archipelago. They reached an agreement in 1899 by which Germany took control of the western islands, the United States claimed the eastern islands (known subsequently as Amerika Samoa, or American Samoa), and Great Britain secured concessions for uncontested control in Tonga and the Solomons. The next year, the United States embarked on a path to secure by treaty with the inhabitants of the eastern islands the ceding of the islands as determined by the agreement with Germany and Great Britain. In 1900, the high-ranking chiefs of Tutuila signed a deed of cession acknowledging the political control of the island by the United States. That same year, U.S. representative Navy Commander B. F. Tilley paid a visit to Tui Manu'a Elisara in Ta'u Village. But Elisara is reported to have told Tilley that Manu'a was independent of Tutuila and Aunu'u, which had been subject to significant American influence and effective control, and while he (and therefore all Manu'ans) would accept U.S. sovereignty and therefore protection, he would not cede the islands to the U.S. (see Gray 1960; Holmes 1992; Kennedy 2009). He did allow, a month later, the American flag to be raised in Manu'a but without ceding political control (Kennedy 2009:71).

It was probably clear to Tui Manu'a Elisara what the future held for Manu'a and Samoa. The Germans were firmly in control in western Samoa and the Americans, with their power and wealth, were increasingly in charge in Tutuila. In 1901, a significant set of events took place that foretold the near

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future of Manu'a and all of American Samoa. As noted above, it was *tapu* for anyone to use the *ipu* reserved for the Tui Manu'a. But on a visit to Ofu Island, a high chief from Tutuila, who had been appointed District Governor of Manu'a by American Navy administrators even before Manu'a had been ceded to the U.S., insisted that he drink from the *ipu* (kava cup) reserved for the Tui Manu'a, who was on Ta'u. When he heard about the incident, Tui Manu'a Elisara was outraged by the insult and the breaking of customary "law," but by then the American Navy was in control and the Tui Manu'a was persuaded to take the case to the newly established American court system instead of taking punitive actions against the chiefs who had acquiesced and served the kava. Tui Manu'a Elisara eventually lost the prolonged court case (see Gray 1960:140-149 for a full account). Kennedy (2009:100-101) summarized the implications of the case as follows: "when pressed, the Americans would most formally side against tradition; additionally, these events sent a message that while the chiefs may have retained their status under the new system, the U.S. Navy was going to be the supreme authority in the islands and that they were prepared to unequivocally trump any cultural practice, title, or protocol wherever they saw fit." Elisara and the other chiefs of American Samoa undoubtedly saw the writing on the wall.

In 1903, Commander E. B. Underwood again traveled to Manu'a and met with the Tui Manu'a. Elisara was unhappy with the state of formal education in Manu'a since the London Missionary Society had closed its school, leaving a few hundred Manu'an children without an opportunity for education. As Holmes (1992:22) puts it, Underwood promised "that the United States would provide one hundred dollars a year for a new school, that Eliasara [sic] would be named district governor of the Manu'a District, and that Manu'a chiefs who would sign a deed of cession would receive recognition and gifts equal to those given to the chiefs who had signed the Tutuila deed." The Tui Manu'a and other paramount chiefs of Manu'a finally agreed to the terms and on June 14, 1904 they signed an agreement by which the islands of Manu'a became a territorial holding of the United States.

Commander Tilley (1900:1843) referred to Elisara as an "able and enlightened man." He added, that: "He is trying to abolish many of the heather customs, but is opposed by many of the old and ignorant people." Tilley attributed that condition to the fact that there is very little contact between Manu'a and Pago Pago, let alone the rest of the world, as the only ships to call in the islands are occasional small trading vessels and the yearly visit by the missionary steamer the "John Williams" (Tilley 1900:1844). In any case, Elisara is important as a major force in bringing Manu'a to an acceptance of important American values, law, and political control. One may argue as to whether or not that was a good thing for Samoa, but it was an inevitable movement and Elisara almost certainly knew that. He was an important figure in bringing about the peaceable transition to American rule, and he did so by trying to secure what he could for his people rather than for himself.

With the raising of the American flag in Ta'u marking the formal cession in July 1904, the status of the Tui Manu'a shifted from independent monarch to dependent district governor. Elisara continued to hold the title of Tui Manu'a even though it was stripped of its former authority and its status as a kingly title.

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When Elisara died, however, the title effectively died – at least in the eyes of the American government – with him. But the status of the title was not forgotten and the desire for Samoa autonomy lived on. That remembrance and desire culminated in July 1924 with an effort by a group of high-ranking chiefs in Manu'a to reestablish the title. They elected Christopher Taliutafa Young (aka, Chris Young or Kilisi Young) the new Tui Manu'a in defiance of the U.S. governor of Samoa. Young was a halfcaste, or *afakasi*, the son of a Samoan woman of the Tui Manu'a clan and an English copra trader.

The then governor of American Samoa, Navy Captain E.S. Kellog, dispatched the *U.S.S. Ontario* to Manu'a to take into custody Young and the chiefs who had elected him and transport them to Pago Pago on Tutuila. The attempted resurrection of the Tui Manu'a title was disturbing to the U.S. officials for a few reasons. Gray (1960) states that a royal title and rank – King of Manu'a – was antithetical to and inadmissible under the U.S. Constitution, which was the overriding rule of law in the Territory of American Samoa. Kennedy (2009:156) points out that the possibility of resurrecting the “king” also probably produced fears of Samoan nationalism, which was a sentiment the Americans would not permit. Kennedy also suggests that the prospect of an *afakasi* holding the title “had ramifications that that may well have spilled over into the land ownership issue.” Furthermore, the fact that Young had lived outside of Samoa for 17 years meant that he had been exposed to and may introduce “ideas that, to Navy eyes, were outside the parameters of safe and conciliatory thought” (Kennedy 1009:156). In a statement to the Manu'an high chiefs on this matter, Kellog claimed that Young illegally used the title name “Tafa” (short, presumably, for Tualiufafa), which is punishable by fine and imprisonment. Also punishable was the taking of the title name Tui Manu'a, which no longer existed, and, moreover, since Young was not full Samoan it was illegal for him to hold the title anyway. Kellog closed his statement by noting that as governor his principal duty was “protecting the Samoan people against themselves” (Conference Record, Aug. 71924.2, cited in Kennedy 2009:157). An exchange took place between the chiefs and Kellog, but in the end Kellog stuck to his decision and forbade Chris Young from accepting the Tui Manu'a title, and further disallowed him to return to Ta'u, the seat of the title. Young was eventually allowed to return to Ta'u, but not until he had received a letter from the President of the United States stating that there would be no further succession to the Tui Manu'a title because such a thing was not permitted by the U.S. system of government (Meleisea 1987:168). Thus ended the attempted resurrection of the Tui Manu'a title.

In 1927, as the result of a separate court case, the American Samoa High court ruled that Chris Young had the right to the Tualiufafa family name and that he was a member of the Anoalo family and therefore a descendant of the Tui Manu'as (ASBA 1927). While that ruling made a clear legal statement that Young would be eligible to hold the Tui Manu'a title, he effectively was not allowed to do so by the governing American officials (Navy) in American Samoa. Consequently, even though some Samoans continued to regard Chris Young as the last Tui Manu'a, the official last holder of the title was Tui Manu'a Elisara.

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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Tui Manu'a Graves Monument

Name of Property

Manu'a County, American Samoa

County and State

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

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09/14/2015



09/14/2015



09/14/2015



09/14/2015



IN MEMORY OF
MARGARET YOUNG
BORN DEC. 31 1874
DIED MAY 23 1959

09/14/2015



09/14/2015



MARGARET YOUR...
BORN DEC. 31 1872
DIED OCT. 29 1895

09/14/2015



09/14/2015



La Reina
-of-
MARGARET YOUNG
QUEEN OF MANUA
BORN DEC. 31, 1873
DIED OCT. 29, 1895

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