

## SAMOAN SAINTS: SETTLERS AND SOJOURNERS

by

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(from Stanton, "Samoa Saints: The Samoans in the Mormon Village of Laie, Hawaii," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Oregon, 1973, pp. 34-56. Data updated to March 9, 1982.)

One of the earliest areas to be settled by Samoans outside of their home islands was Laie. It was founded on the site of a traditional Hawaiian "city of refuge" in 1865 (Cummings 1965:4, 7) as a gathering place for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Sandwich Islands to replace the former settlement in the Palawai Basin on the island of Lanai which the Church had lost a year earlier due to the mismanagement and deceit of Walter Murray Gibson (see Beck 1972 for further details). For the next fifty years Laie served as a center of the Mormon Church in Hawaii and attracted many Hawaiian converts.

### Samoa Immigration to Laie

In 1919, the Hawaii Mormon temple was dedicated in Laie and shortly thereafter Samoan Mormons began to settle in the village, mainly to enjoy the special benefits of the edifice. In light of the gathering concept popular at the time among members of the Church and the importance of the temple in Latter-day Saint theology, it is understandable why Samoans should have wanted to emigrate to

Hawaii. Such a move was made especially easy because the property in Laie was Church-owned and the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the community were fellow Latter-day Saints. Many of the Samoans had already broken traditional village and familial ties to join the Church and had moved into one of the recently founded Mormon settlements in their home islands, thus the move to Hawaii was not as severe a measure as might be assumed.<sup>2</sup>

There have been no official records kept on the ethnic composition of Laie, but Pierce (1956:20) reports that in 1925, thirty-one Samoans were living in the village and that by 1929 the number had increased to 125 (Ibid.), which was roughly one-fourth of the total population of the community. Thereafter the rate of immigration declined most probably due to the closing of a local sugar plantation, the economic depression of the 1930's, and the total cessation of immigration due to the Second World War.

After peace had been restored to the Pacific, Samoans again began to immigrate to Hawaii. In 1950, 463 natives of American Samoa were living in Hawaii (United Nations 1956:220). From population estimates provided by Pierce (1956:20), it is safe to assume that about half of this number lived in Laie. In 1951 there was a sharp increase in the number of immigrants as a result of the transfer of the administration of American Samoa from the Department of the Navy to the Department of the Interior. In that year, 117 Samoan

navy personnel and 257 dependents were transferred to Pearl Harbor (Born 1968:456). In July of the next year (1952), another 958 Samoans left American Samoa and arrived in Hawaii on the U.S.S. President Jackson (Ibid.). Another 1,074 persons were left behind in Samoa who had also expressed their desire to immigrate (Pierce 1956:22). It must be assumed that most of these latter individuals also were eventually able to emigrate.

Until 1950, nearly all of the Samoans arriving in Hawaii were members of the Mormon Church (Born 1968:456). The dramatic influx of over 1,300 Samoans in the early 1950's included mostly non-Mormons (Eyde 1954:14). After the arrival of the U.S.S. President Jackson, over 300 newly arrived immigrants settled with friends and relatives in Laie (Pierce 1956:21). Of this number, over one-third were not Mormons, and many of those who were Latter-day Saints did not adhere strictly to Church standards. Within a year, only 88 of the U.S.S. President Jackson group remained in Laie (Ibid.) and by 1955 only 59 President Jackson immigrants were still in the community (Ibid.:71-72).

Samoan immigration to Laie can be divided into two major groups. The older group, those who came to Hawaii before 1950 (and their children born either in Samoa or Hawaii), immigrated primarily for religious reasons. They wanted to be close to the Mormon Temple and to live in a community with fellow Latter-day Saints. The more

recent group came to Hawaii after 1950 for a variety of reasons, with employment and education being the two most prominent reasons (see also Born 1968:457). It is significant that in Eyde's study (1954:6), the prime motivation for migration given by those who settled in Laie from the U.S.S. President Jackson group was church work; however, Pierce (1956:28-31) was able to determine that economic factors played the most important role in the final decision for these people to migrate. Pierce completed his studies before the Church College of Hawaii had made much of an impact on Laie, but he did predict (Ibid.:22) that the college would greatly effect the social nature of the community, which has since been the case.

In 1954, the Church College of Hawaii (now known as Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus) was established; first as a junior college and then, in 1961, raised to a full four-year status. A primary objective of the college was to provide advanced education with a religious environment at minimal cost for the members of the Mormon Church in Hawaii and the rest of Polynesia, Australia and Asia; A number of young men from Samoa were called as "labor missionaries" to help construct the physical plant of the college. Many of these young men remained at the Church College as students. The Church also provided scholarships and financial aid to young men and women from Samoa to attend the college. Most of these students came from the Mormon secondary schools of Pesega near Apia and Mapusaga in American Samoa. By 1965 forty students from

Samoa were enrolled at the Church College of Hawaii (this total does not include Samoan residents of Hawaii, New Zealand and the United States mainland). In 1981 over 130 students from Western and American Samoa were registered at the college (Registrar, BYU-HC, n.d.).

Another factor that contributes to the in-flow of Samoans to Laie is the Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC) which was established in 1963. The PCC was created to preserve elements of the traditional culture of the Polynesian people and to provide a source of income and support for the students attending the Church College of Hawaii. The Samoans maintain one of the six "villages" in the Center. The villages are actually exhibit areas containing some typical examples of traditional architecture and provide a pleasing backdrop for the demonstration of various native arts, handicrafts, songs, and dances. No one actually resides in these villages at the PCC; those who work or perform there live in Laie or other communities in the area. Although many of the employees are students, the PCC also employs older artisans and specialist who are well-versed in traditional culture. Many of those in the latter category came to Hawaii with their families directly from Samoa.

The Polynesian Cultural Center is now one of the most popular tourist attractions in Hawaii. It employs a staff of over 1,100 people to keep it in operation. In addition to those individuals who are busy with the outward "tourist attraction" type activities, there are

many others working as secretaries, switchboard operators, security guards, public relations specialists, maintenance men and other vital personnel necessary to keep such a large operation functioning. The PCC is a major source of employment in the area and it is not surprising that a number of Samoans work there. Many students of the Church College of Hawaii continue their association with the PCC after graduation which provides them with the means to remain in Laie rather than returning to Samoa.

In 1955, there were 307 Samoans out of the total population of 1,041 in Laie (Pierce 1956:22), of which 150 were from the "old" (pre-1950) group. The majority of the Samoans living in Laie up until Pierce's study was made were from American Samoa, but in recent years there has been a sharp increase in the number of Western Samoans immigrating to Laie. A survey conducted in January, 1972 by the author of this dissertation included data from eighty-five per cent of the households in the community. Ninety-one households were contacted in which either the head of the household, the spouse (if married and living with the marriage partner), or both were Samoans. Of these ninety-one households, fifty-two were Samoan-Samoan marriages, thirteen were either single or not living with their spouse, nine were Samoan-Caucasian, nine were Samoan-Hawaiian, three were Samoan-Tongan, two were Samoan-Maori, and one each were married to a Tahitian, Fijian, and a Japanese.

TABLE I. A COMPARISON BETWEEN PLACE OF BIRTH AND YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN LAIE

Place of Birth	Years of Residence in Laie						Total
	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26+	
American Samoa	5	17	10	8	4	11	55
Western Samoa	23	16	15	4	3	6	67
Total	28	33	25	12	7	17	122

Note: An additional fourteen individuals in this survey were born in Hawaii, seven other did not indicate their place of birth.

Most of the recent immigrants are from Western Samoa (see Table I). There are only about 3,000 members of the Mormon Church in American Samoa compared to nearly 16,000 in Western Samoa (figures supplied by R. Wayne Shute), hence it is understandable that through the PCC and the Church College of Hawaii a greater number of individuals would be arriving from Western Samoa.

Closely related to the information in Table I is the data relating to the reasons why the people settled in Laie. Eyde made a similar study (1954:6) in which over half of the U.S.S. President Jackson group indicated that the motivation to come to Laie was for church work.<sup>3</sup> As indicated earlier, Pierce found the real reason for most migrants to come to Hawaii was economic; but, it must be stressed that ideal behavior is still socially significant. People often act or react according to what they believe or perceive to be

TABLE II. A COMPARISON OF REASONS FOR MIGRATING, PLACE OF BIRTH, AND YEARS OF RESIDENCE IN LAIE

Reasons for Migrating	Place of Birth (in Samoa)	Years of Residence in Laie						Total
		0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26+	
Attend CCH	American	3	2	1	0	-- <sup>1</sup>	--	6
	Western	8	2	1	0	--	--	11
Work at PCC	American	0	1	-- <sup>2</sup>	--	--	--	1
	Western	2	0	--	--	--	--	2
Church Affiliation	American	0	2	4	6	2	2	16
	Western	3	7	1	0	1	3	15
Live with Relatives	American	1	1	1	0	1	2	6
	Western	3	2	2	0	0	0	7
Employment <sup>3</sup> Opportunities	American	0	1	2	0	0	2	5
	Western	0	1	2	1	1	2	7
Other Reasons <sup>4</sup>	American	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
	Western	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Total respondents = 80

Note: five respondents were born in Hawaii and are not included in the table.

<sup>1</sup>The Church College of Hawaii was not in operation during this or any earlier time span.

<sup>2</sup>The Polynesian Cultural Center was not in operation during this or any earlier time span.

<sup>3</sup>This category does not include employment opportunities at PCC or CCH.

<sup>4</sup>This category includes: lower home leases; to get away from Samoa; and to get away from town.

true. If they believe that they came to Laie because of the opportunity to be involved in church-oriented tasks, then it is important to them, and to them it is a fact. In the survey of 1972, eighty-five of the respondents interviewed in the Samoan and part-Samoan households were actually Samoans (only one adult per household was interviewed). One of the questions asked was related to the reasons why a person would come to Laie, the results are shown in Table II.

From Table II, it is evident that church affiliation is still the major factor for the presence of the largest single group of Samoans in Laie. However, it is also evident that the more recent arrivals are arriving for reasons other than church work, the major factor being the Church College of Hawaii.

One of the largest cells in Table II represents six American Samoans who came to Laie 16-20 years ago. This probably represents the remainder of the U.S.S. President Jackson group. The raw data print-out of the survey reveals a total of nine adults who came to Laie during that time period which would be close to the actual number still remaining in the community. But, whatever impact the arrival of the immigrants on the U.S.S. President Jackson might at one time have had on Laie, is now a part of the past. The author was able to interview only one person in the village who came in the 1952 group, and while most adult Samoans are aware that at one time a large group of new immigrants arrived on some ship, the details

are either lost or only partially remembered. None of the younger people interviewed by the author were aware of the significant role played by the U.S.S. President Jackson in the migration of Samoans to Hawaii.

#### Samoans in a Multi-Ethnic Society

The presence of Samoans in Laie has been important for the past fifty years, but, with the exception of about a year after the arrival of the U.S.S. President Jackson, the majority of the people in Laie have belonged to other ethnic groups. The two other groups that have the longest association and the largest number of representatives in Laie are the Hawaiians and the Caucasians.

Laie was the center of the Church in Hawaii in the latter part of the nineteenth century and many members in the islands were attracted to the village because of favorable leases and also because of close association with other Latter-day Saints (Cummings 1965:7). Around the beginning the the twentieth century, it seemed as though the prospect of Laie as a home for the Latter-day Saints was not to be continued. The settlement of Iosepa in Utah had been founded, attracting a large number of staunch members (see Atkin 1958). Others had moved to Honolulu. The trend of out-migration was somewhat reversed in 1915 when it was announced that a temple would be built in Laie. Many of the former residents of the community returned

and in 1919, the Hawaii Temple was dedicated and opened for use (Cummings 1965:13-14). The establishment of the temple, however, did not secure the future growth of the village. In 1920, the headquarters of the Hawaiian Mission were moved from Laie to Honolulu; in 1927 Zions Securities released a large parcel of beach frontage lots to non-Mormon buyers; and four years later, the sugar plantation was leased (Ibid.:15). The Great Depression and the emergency of World War II also served to retard the growth of Laie.

The recent growth of Laie has been slow, but its extreme location away from Honolulu on Oahu serve as a factor in helping it to retain a distinctive identity. Except for the people living on the beach frontage lots (most of whom are part-time residents from wealthy families in Honolulu who use their Laie homes as a country house-weekend-vacation refuge), the population of Laie has remained overwhelmingly Mormon.

It is quite difficult to determine exactly the number of individuals of a specific ethnic group living in Laie. From Table III we can see that out of a total of 488 families, 166 consist of households wherein the husband and wife come from different ethnic backgrounds. This represents thirty-four per cent of the families surveyed.<sup>4</sup> Of the four largest groups represented, the Hawaiians exhibited the greatest per centage of out-marriages with a total of forty marriages with other ethnic groups. Although the Caucasians

TABLE III. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF LAIE HOUSEHOLDS

Ethnic Background of Respondent or Spouse	Ethnic Background of the Marriage Partner of the Respondent or Spouse <sup>1</sup>										Total
	Cauc	Hawn	Samn	Tongn	Maori	Tahiti	Fiji	Jpn	Chn	Other	
Caucasian	134(705)	16(65)	10(42)	3(10)	5(26)	1(3)	0	10(51)	0	3(8)	182(910)
Hawaiian <sup>2</sup>	16(65)	70(452)	9(41)	0	3(10)	3(17)	0	4(12)	4(10)	1(3)	110(610)
Samoa	10(42)	9(41)	65(484)	3(10)	2(5)	1(2)	1(11)	2(7)	0	0	93(602)
Tongan	3(10)	0	3(10)	19(129)	1(5)	0	0	0	0	0	26(154)
Maori	5(26)	3(10)	2(5)	1(5)	3(30)	1(5)	0	0	0	0	15(81)
Tahitian	1(3)	3(17)	1(2)	0	1(5)	6(41)	0	0	0	0	12(68)
Fijian <sup>3</sup>	0	0	1(11)	0	0	0	3(22)	0	0	0	4(33)
Japanese	10(51)	4(12)	2(7)	0	0	0	10(49)	0	0	0	26(119)
Chinese	0	4(10)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(7)	0	6(17)
Other	3(8)	1(3)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10(49)	14(60)
Total	182(910)	110(610)	93(602)	26(154)	15(81)	12(68)	4(33)	26(119)	6(17)	14(60)	488(2654)

Note: The first number of a cell represents the total households, the number in parenthesis is the total individuals living in all the households of the category.

<sup>1</sup>Single persons not living with a spouse: Caucasian 23(32); Hawaiian 17(47); Samoan 12(40); Tongan 3(11); Maori 1(3); Tahitian 2(10); Fijian 0; Japanese 2(2); Chinese 0; and, Other 6(24).

had the largest absolute number of out-marriages (forty-eight), the percentage of the total group is much lower than that of the Hawaiians. The children of a marriage between Hawaiians and other groups tend to identify themselves with the Hawaiians and are regarded by most of the rest of the community as Hawaiian. In the case of a Hawaiian-Samoan marriage, however, the identity of the children usually follows the ethnic background of the mother.

A general idea of the ethnic diversity of Laie may be gained by the data provided in Table IV. Due to the substantial number of mixed ethnic marriages, no absolute breakdown is possible. Even if such an operation were possible, it is doubtful if it would serve any better purpose than the information already established. The "mixed" columns in Table IV represent a considerable duplication of persons in the various ethnic groups (e.g., sixty-five persons live in Caucasian-Hawaiian households; these people are counted in the "mixed" column for both the Caucasian and Hawaiian categories in Table III).

When the total ethnic scene in Laie is considered, it becomes clear that any neat division of the community along strictly ethnic lines would be quite difficult. This situation is recognized by the people of Laie and although some strong feelings of inter-group

TABLE IV. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE FOUR LARGEST ETHNIC GROUPS IN LAIE

Ethnic Group	Ethnic Background of Household Marriage Partners					
	Number			Percentage		
	Same	Other	Total	Same	Other	Total
Caucasians	753	157	910	28.4	5.9	34.3
Hawaiians	492	118	610	18.5	4.5	23.0
Samoans	512	90	602	19.3	3.4	22.7
Tongans	136	18	154	5.1	0.7	5.8
Japanese	81	38	119	3.1	1.4	4.5

Notes: The individuals in the "same" column represent the marriage partners and other residents of the household in which both of the marriage partners come from the same ethnic background. This category also includes the household totals in which the head was single or not living with a partner. All individuals who have married outside of their ethnic group are included in the "same" column without including the spouse or the other members of the household.

animosity which occasionally emerge, the control mechanisms of religion and family ties quickly restore a workable balance of interaction.

The model presented by Fredrik Barth (1967:9-38) becomes very useful in the Laie situation. Frequent and close contacts across ethnic lines tend to obfuscate easily identifiable ethnic boundaries. By carefully considering the overt signs of group membership as well as the ascriptive aspects that are involved, it was possible to assign

<sup>2</sup>This includes part-Hawaiians who identified themselves as such.

<sup>3</sup>This includes both East Indians of Fiji as well as ethnic Fijians.

most of the residents to a specific ethnic group. One case in mind illustrating this point involves an amusing situation at a rugby football game between Laie and Hauula. A young spectator of Samoan ancestry was known by the author to identify closely with the Caucasians of the village. Late in the game a Samoan on the Laie team got into a fight with a Tongan player from Hauula. The young spectator was immediately on his feet shouting his encouragement to the Samoan disputant in his native language, and at the same time, hurling insults in English to any Tongan within hearing range. After the game had been restored to order, the young man turned to the author and apologized for acting like a "dumb" Samoan. The excitement of the event brought out his true group identification.

#### The Religious Homogeneity of Laie

The frequent mention of the unique religious situation merits some further consideration at this point. The condition of having people from such a wide cultural background all belonging to the same faith in so small a community as Laie makes it an ideal testing-ground for various theories and hypothesis based on ethnicity. There are, of course some non-Mormons living in Laie, but the majority live on the beachfront lots, and most of these are located in the southern part of the community, somewhat isolated from the village proper; but even here, less than half of the residents are non-Mormons

(thirty-six non-Mormon households out of a total of ninety). Nearly two-thirds of the non-Mormons are Caucasians. The non-Mormon Caucasians find most of their social and economic ties outside of the village and according to the definition given by Arensberg and Kimball (1965:20) are not an integral part of the community. When one considers only those non-Mormons living in Laie proper or those married to Mormons, we have only sixty-six individuals or less than three per cent of the community. Among the Samoans, the percentage is even more dramatic. Only two Samoan households have non-Mormon members. One is a single male living with a relative in the village (the relative is a member of the Church); the other household is a Samoan-Fijian marriage wherein the Samoan is a Mormon and the children are also Latter-day Saints.

With the above reservations in mind, Laie may be considered to be a highly homogeneous community in regards to religion. The Mormon Church has a strong influence on the various societal institutions in the community. It either has direct control over most of the major economic and religious activities (e.g., PCC, land, the college, the temple and churches, even over two local beach recreational areas and a community park) or the persons who operate and work in the local establishments are Mormons (e.g., the public schools, grocery stores, bank, etc.). Anyone dealing with the affairs of the village must take the Church into consideration.

TABLE V. LAIE RESIDENTS WHO ARE NOT LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Ethnic Group	Household Composition		Household Location				Total Non-LDS, Part-LDS Households
	Non-LDS	Part-LDS	Non-LDS Laie <sup>1</sup>	Non-LDS Beach <sup>2</sup>	Part-LDS Laie <sup>1</sup>	Part-LDS Beach <sup>2</sup>	
Caucasian	27(93)	1(6)	6(31)	21(62)	0	1(6)	28(125)
Hawaiian	7(26)	3(15)	3(15)	4(11)	1(4)	2(11)	10(41)
Samoan	2(6)	1(12)	1(1)	1(5)	1(12)	0	3(18)
Japanese	3(12)	0	0	3(12)	0	0	3(12)
Other	4(18)	0	1(3)	3(15)	0	0	4(17)
<b>Total</b>	<b>43(155)</b>	<b>5(33)</b>	<b>11(50)</b>	<b>32(105)</b>	<b>2(16)</b>	<b>3(17)</b>	<b>48(188)</b>

Note: The first number in each cell represents the number of households; the number within the parenthesis is the total population of all the households represented in the cell.

<sup>1</sup>Laie village proper.

<sup>2</sup>Laie village beachfront lots.

At one time, all three of the major leadership positions of Laie were vested in the control of a single person: temple president, stake president,<sup>5</sup> and director of Zions Securities. With the establishment of the Church College of Hawaii, and more recently the creation of the Polynesian Cultural Center and expanding from one to four wards in the past twenty years, the possibility of one single, monolithic control of community affairs has been greatly reduced. There are still men who hold positions of considerable prestige in community affairs, but they share their power with others. Even

the situation wherein one man was at the same time stake president, temple president, and head of Zions Securities has been eliminated: all three positions are now occupied by three separate individuals.

There is still some duplication of roles wherein the president of the Church College is also a representative on the board of Zions Securities and of the Polynesian Cultural Center as well as being a stake high council representative, with similar combinations holding true for the temple president or the head of Zions Securities. But, the leadership of the religious, as well as secular affairs, is broken down into a consortium of no less than nine men (CCH, PCC, Zions Securities, Oahu Stake, Hawaii Temple, and the four bishops of the local wards) plus a much larger network of counselors and assistants as well as members of the various governing boards from outside the community.

There have been some allegations made in the community that even with the present diversification of power, the Caucasians still control the religious affairs of the village. Some substance to such an accusation might have existed in the past, but recent events have dispelled this problem. The past stake presidents have both been Samoans along with large numbers of Polynesians and Orientals in the stake and ward organizations (only one of the current serve bishops in Laie is not a Polynesian) ethnic group has the advantage in the overall religious leadership structure of the community.

There is also a Laie Community Association made up of individuals of the whole village which is independent of the Church, Zions Securities, the College or any of the other major power groups in the village, and works to promote the interests of the general population. It is presently headed by a Samoan and has six other members on the board of directors: four Hawaiians and two Samoans. With diffusion of power and responsibility into the hands of a number of individuals, potential sources of stress and conflict have been greatly reduced between the various ethnic groups.

#### The Temple and the Priesthood

Two features of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints which set it apart from most other Christian groups are the temple and the lay priesthood. They lie together at the center of the theological foundation of the Church and are important forces in Laie.

#### The Temple

The most important single unifying agent in Laie is the temple.<sup>6</sup> It is a special religious edifice held in high respect and reverence by the membership of the Church and has a distinctive function in Mormon life. Only worthy Mormons who adhere strictly to the norms and values prescribed by the Church are allowed to enter a temple. It has proved to be the main factor to attract Mormon residents to

Laie over the last fifty years and through it, more than any other factor, the village has sustained its unique status.

The Mormon Church had been established for fifty years in Laie before the temple was built. By the time it was built, the unique characteristic of Laie as a special gathering place for the Polynesian Saints had begun to wane. It is highly probable that the interest of the Church in maintaining the special status of Laie would have gradually died were it not for the temple.

The temple gives a deeper appreciation of the Gospel and instills a greater sense of duty in a Latter-day Saint. Vows are taken and covenants are made which, to a Mormon, are binding in mortal life and transcend mortality and continue throughout eternity. A married couple and their children may be joined as an eternal unit. Vicarious work is performed for the dead such as baptism, marriage, and granting all the same temple privileges and blessings that are available to the living. Work for the dead must be performed inside the temple and requires a proxy. Once a person has completed his own temple work, he is expected to return often to perform vicarious work for the dead.

A "temple recommend" must be presented at the entrance of the temple before gaining admittance. Such a certificate is obtained after searching personal interviews with one's bishop and stake president to establish the fact that all of the personal standards

necessary for entrance are being strictly upheld. The mere possession of a temple recommend does not guarantee a totally Christian and moral life, but the general consensus among Mormons is that a person who enters the temple should live a type of life that is in general harmony with the doctrines of the Gospel. One of the strongest admonitions among Mormons is to be reminded that one's behavior is not compatible with the responsibility that has been assumed by becoming a "temple member." The temple recommend is renewed annually to insure sustained control over those who are worthy to take part in the ceremonies.

The great stress and importance of the temple is central to Mormon theology. It is basic to the complete understanding of the Latter-day Saint psyche. It is the thread that ties together the rest of the Church's programs. Any attempt made to understand Mormon behavior and action without consideration of the role played by the temple is a serious oversight.

#### The Priesthood

The temple is central to Mormon theology and the priesthood is fundamental to the concept of temple work and the administration of the Church. Mormons believe that the priesthood is the direct power to act in the name of God. Any program that is part of the Mormon Church is directly administered or supervised by holders of the

priesthood. The priesthood is held only by males and a male must have the priesthood to gain entrance into the temple. Hence, denial of one's right to exercise his priesthood functions or the inability to have one's temple recommend annually renewed is a serious matter for a devout Mormon.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The term, Saints, is often used by the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in reference to themselves. It carries the special connotation of that of a true follower of Christ; a baptized member of His Church.

<sup>2</sup>Three Mormon villages were initially established, one on each of the three major islands of the archipelago: Vaiola, on Savai'i; Sauniatu, on Upolu; and Mapusaga on Tutuila. The names of each of these villages reflect the special nature of religious refuge: Viola (Water of Life); Sauniatu (Prepare to Leave); and Mapusaga (Place of Rest). In all three villages, the matat system was never established; although in each case, adjacent communities developed with predominately Mormon populations having strong fonos and a full functioning matat organization. The increasing religious tolerance found in Samoa in recent times has obviated the need of special gathering places.

<sup>3</sup>The actual breakdown from a total of eight-eight responses was: church work, forty-seven; education, fourteen; economic betterment, fourteen; other, thirteen.

<sup>4</sup>The information shown in Table III conform closely to those found in the 1970 Federal Census (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1971: 52). At that time, 3,009 people were reported living in Laie of which 969 were classified as "white"; 6 Negro; 13 Indian; 153 Japanese; 125 Chinese; 53 Filipino; and, 1474 "other." The Federal Census included married students and staff living on the Church College campus as well as a number of Caucasian and Filipino families living north of the village--all of which are not included in this present study.

<sup>5</sup> The term, stake, is symbolic. It represents the idea that the whole Church is a tent (the Tent of Zion) and that each rope supporting the tent is held securely by a stake.

<sup>6</sup> These standards include: total abstention from alcohol, tobacco, coffee, and tea; a payment of a full ten per cent tithe on one's gross income; honest dealings with one's fellow men; total fidelity to one's spouse, if married, and complete abstention of sexual intercourse if single; regular attendance at church meetings and faithful execution of any callings or duties in the organization; lack of sympathy for and avoidance of close association with known apostate Mormon groups (especially those advocating the practices of plural marriage); and finally a commitment to abide by the special covenants made in the temple.

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