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The Globalization of Latter-day Saint Education

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The Globalization of Latter-day Saint Education

Casey Paul Griffiths

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

The Globalization of Latter-day Saint Education

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This work traces the development of the global educational system of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After a long period of providing schools for its membership in the Intermountain West of the United States, the Latter-day Saints ultimately settled on a system of supplementary religious education, designed to work in concert with public education systems. During the 1950s as the Church began to gain an international following, Church leaders moved to establish an international system of schools to meet their needs. These schools were largely supervised and directed by American personnel. Under the leadership of Church president David O. McKay, large school systems were constructed throughout the Pacific, Mexico, and Chile. As the costs and complexities of these systems multiplied, Church leaders began to take a more structured and systematic approach towards their educational system. Under the direction of Harold B. Lee and other leaders, the Church chose once again to emphasize religious education among its membership, and a large system of supplemental programs were launched across the globe. These new programs were staffed primarily by indigenous personnel, providing strong local leadership. Eventually the majority of the international schools closed in favor of these supplemental programs. By 1980 the basic policies governing the Church Educational System were in place and for the most part these policies continue to govern the system today.

Keywords: Church Educational System, Latter-day Saint Education, Global Mormonism, Internationalization, Globalization.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Two themes figure prominently in the present historical analysis of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints¹ in the 21st Century: growth and globalization. These two themes are linked together because the most impressive increases of recent Church growth have occurred on the international front. Rapid expansion in the last half-century prompted Rodney Stark, a non-LDS sociologist at Baylor University, to observe that “if this growth rate continues much longer, Mormonism will become the first new world religion to appear since the Prophet Mohammed rode out of the desert.”² Stark reaffirmed his projections for Mormon growth, initially made in 1984, in separate essays published in 1998 and 2005, noting that, twenty years after his initial comment, membership figures for the Latter-day Saints are substantially higher than his most optimistic projections. This growth, most of which has occurred outside the United States, has also changed the demographic core of Mormonism. For roughly the first century of its existence, the faith was largely regional, confined to the Intermountain regions of the United States. By the end of the twentieth century, less than 15 percent of all Latter-day Saints lived in Utah, with only a third of the membership in the western United States as a whole. By 1996, more members of the faith lived outside the United States than inside of it. A regional faith had blossomed into a worldwide movement in an astonishingly short period of time.³

¹ As a religious movement, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been referred to as Mormonism, or abbreviated to Latter-day Saints, LDS, or the LDS Church. Since this study focuses exclusively on the LDS faith, the terms “The Church” or simply “Church” will also refer to the LDS organization. Each of these terms will be used interchangeably throughout this study.

²Rodney Stark, "The Rise of a New World Faith," In *Latter-Day Saint Social Life*, edited by James T. Duke, Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 1998, p. 30.

³Phillip L. Barlow, "Shifting Ground and the Third Transformation of Mormonism " In *Perspectives on American Religion and Culture*, edited by Peter W. Williams. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

The specific patterns of this growth highlight the need for rapid cultural adaptations in Mormonism. When organized in 1830, the Church consisted of only six⁴ members in rural New York. From there the movement spread throughout North America, with its membership growing exponentially. By 1840, approximately thirty thousand members claimed adherence to the new faith, and by 1850 membership doubled. Growth continued steadily throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, there were approximately 268,000 Latter-day Saints. By mid-century, LDS membership surpassed the one million mark and continued its increase.⁵ During the second half of the century, Church membership continued to not only grow but to expand into other nations. By 2010, Church membership stood at over 13.5 million, with just over half of the members living outside of the United States. In less than half a century, large populations of Latter-day Saints emerged in different regions around the world. In South America, for example, there are over three million Church members, and no populated continent has a membership smaller than 250,000.⁶ Less than a century ago, nearly every member of the Church lived in an English-speaking country and grew up in an Anglo-American culture. With most of the significant expansion of Church membership occurring internationally, a major challenge for the LDS Church became finding ways to meet the needs of members in a multitude of different languages and a myriad of diverse cultures. Understanding the transition of this homegrown American faith into a worldwide religion is one of the most fascinating and rich areas of study for scholars of Mormonism today.

⁴ Six was the minimum number of members necessary to form a religious organization in the state of New York. In addition to the six founders, over thirty people attended the meeting where the Church was organized and several were baptized. See James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book), 1976, 47.

⁵ James T. Duke, ed. *Latter-Day Saint Social Life: Social Research on the LDS Church and Its Members*, Religious Studies Center Specialized Monograph Series (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 1998), 14-15.

⁶ *Deseret News Church Almanac 2010*, (Salt Lake: Deseret News, 2010), 4-5

Scholarship on Mormonism as a Global Phenomenon

The relatively new and growing international face of Mormonism calls for new research to address these emerging themes in Latter-day Saint history. Reid L. Neilson, a scholar of global Mormonism and the managing director of the Church History Department, has issued a call for “a recommissioning of church historians,” noting that “the study of global Mormonism offers a wonderful window into larger scholarly themes such as ethnicity, enculturation, transnationalism, globalization, and regionalism.”⁷ The global expansion and growth of the Church has spurred a number of other fascinating areas of study, particularly dealing with the challenges and promises associated with globalization. However, most scholarship in Church history has focused on the foundational periods of Mormonism, particularly the administrations of the first two presidents of the Church, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young.⁸ In response to this, Neilson argues that “international Church history *is* Church history.” He continues, “We must realize that the Restoration of the gospel continues every time a new country is dedicated by apostolic authority for proselyting. . . Latter-day Saint historians need to refocus their scholarly gaze from Palmyra, Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City to Tokyo, Santiago, Warsaw, Johannesburg, and Nairobi. In the coming years these international cities and their histories will become increasingly important to our sacred history.”⁹ The rapid gains in membership outside the United States in the late twentieth century led the Church to undergo major changes as an organization to meet the needs of its members in other countries. One of the most remarkable of

⁷Reid L. Neilson, ed. *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century*, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008), xi-xv.

⁸ Illustrating this point, the official *History of the Church*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake: Deseret News, 1972), only covers the presidency of Joseph Smith, with one volume focusing on Brigham Young, and ending in the year 1847. A second larger work, B.H. Roberts’ *Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake: Deseret News, 1930) only traces the history of the Church until 1930. In a recent work, three Mormon Historians traced the history of Mormon historical writing, in which they mention only a handful of works on Twentieth Century figures, among them J. Reuben Clark, and George Albert Smith. See Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, *Mormon History*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

⁹Neilson, xv.

these adaptations was the creation and expansion of an educational system for the global membership of the Church. The work of the Church Educational System globally is one of the most important stories of the international era. However, since the system was not created in a vacuum, it is necessary to briefly review the history of the efforts of the Church in providing education to its membership.

Key Definitions in this Study

Before continuing, it is necessary to define certain key terms which will direct and shape the course of this study. Two key terms used in the study are “internationalization” and “globalization.” The functional definitions utilized here are drawn from a conference of the International Association of Universities (IAU) held under the direction of the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000. “Globalization” and “internationalization” are often taken as synonyms, but important distinctions in the meanings of the two terms were developed at the conference which will be used in this study.

“Globalization” was defined as “homogenization of social, economical, cultural, and academic processes and the marginalization of peripheral cultural and other social processes.”

“Internationalization,” as defined at the conference, “looks for the participatory intervention among equal partners”; however, “this ‘equal’ partnership between advancing countries and developing countries do not always ensure equal treatment among the partners.”¹⁰ One of the key differences in the use of these terms is that “internationalization” denotes the cooperation between organizations in two separate countries, while “globalization” denotes an organization

¹⁰“Universities as Gateway to the Future.” Conference Proceedings at the IAU Durban Conference, Durban, South Africa, August 20-25, 2000, accessed from <http://www.unesco.org/iau/conferences/durban/index.html> on April 5, 2011.

operating with less concern about national boundaries. “Internationalization” often denotes a more advanced country assisting in the development of a less advanced one, while “globalization” invokes the image of an organization developing which spans several different countries.

This is a critical distinction in this study because the LDS educational system in large measure began its worldwide operations as an “internationalization” venture which then grew into a “globalization” venture. The roots of the Church are found in American soil, and the largest Mormon population still resides within the United States. Early LDS educational ventures outside of the U.S. and Canada were directed mostly by American personnel. For example, for a number of years, the majority of staff at the Church schools in the South Pacific consisted of American expatriates, brought from the U.S. and assigned to the schools on a rotating basis. As time progressed, the initiation of Church educational programs became more a process of “globalization,” with local members taking the lead in directing Church programs in their home countries. Less dependent on support from U.S. personnel, the global Church Educational System then emerged as an organization transcendent of international boundaries. The story of how this occurred is the major theme of this study.

Background on Latter-day Saint Culture

In order to make the study more understandable to interested member of other faiths, it is important to provide some explanations of key terminology within Mormon culture.

Nearly all active males over the age of twelve hold the priesthood within the Church and are part of a hierarchical structure. The highest officials are called general authorities, a term denoting a general officer of the Church with authority to operate outside of geographical

boundaries. At the next level the Church is organized into stakes, a regional organization roughly equivalent to a Catholic diocese. The lowest local organizations are called wards, which are basically equivalent to a congregation or a Catholic parish. Where the local population of Saints cannot justify the organization of a stake, members are organized into missions and meet in congregations called branches.

The highest governing body of the Church is the First Presidency, consisting of a president and two counselors. Below the First Presidency is the Council or Quorum of Twelve Apostles, a body of twelve leaders, the most senior of whom is sustained as president of the quorum. A call to these two bodies is a lifelong one. Next in authority is the First Council of the Seventy, consisting of seven presidents. The Presiding Bishopric consists of a Bishop and two counselors who supervise the temporal affairs of the Church. It is appropriate to address members of the First Presidency as “president” and for all other general authorities as “elder,” with the exception of the Presiding Bishopric, who members are addressed as “Bishop.” The president of the Church is frequently referred to as the Prophet. General Authorities labor for the Church on a full-time basis, but the Church has no professional ministry. General Authorities could still be considered lay leaders because there is no professional training for the ministry within the Church. They are selected and called by revelation received by the current leaders of the Church.

Local leadership of the Church mirrors the structure of this hierarchy, though all local leaders are lay members with full-time occupations outside the ministry. Stakes are governed by a stake president with two counselors. Serving under them is a high council made up of twelve high priests. Stakes are divided into smaller units called wards, which are governed by a bishopric, which consists of a bishop with two counselors. While the bishop is given charge over

the temporal welfare of the members, he also acts as the presiding high priest of the ward and is also responsible for the spiritual well being of the ward members as well.

Functioning under the priesthood on both the general and local levels are the auxiliary organizations of the Church. These consist of the Relief Society (a women's organization), the Young Men and Young Women Mutual Improvement Associations (for youth ages 12-18), the Primary (for children under the age of 12), and the Sunday School (all members). Most of the presidencies of these organizations also consist of a president and two counselors.¹¹

Organization of the Church Educational System

The Church Educational System (CES) today consists of five entities, Brigham Young University (BYU), Brigham Young University–Idaho (BYU-I, called Ricks College prior to 2001), Brigham Young University–Hawaii (BYU-H, called the Church College of Hawaii prior to 1974), LDS Business College, and Seminaries & Institutes of Religion (S&I). The latter organization oversees the majority of the K–12 programs of the Church, including all secondary and elementary schools operated by the Church. In this study, the Seminaries and Institutes program will receive the main focus, with the other institutions of the Church Educational System receiving notice only when they directly impacted the policies of the larger system. S&I is by far the largest of the five entities, with over 700,000 students enrolled worldwide as of 2010, along with 8,120 students in the elementary and secondary schools of the Church. By

¹¹ This summary borrows heavily from Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930*. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986), x-xi.

comparison, BYU, the largest of the Church universities, enrolled just over 30,000 students in the fall of 2010.¹²

The Church Educational System is governed by the Church Board of Education, which consists of the First Presidency and other general and auxiliary officers of the Church. The Church board was established in 1888, governing the system without interruption since that time. The educational ventures of the Church prior to 1888 have been adequately dealt with in a number of prior studies that will be discussed only briefly in this study.¹³ With these terms properly understood, it will now be appropriate to briefly overview the role of education within the Latter-day Saint movement.

Overview of Education in Latter-day Saint Culture

From the beginning, education has been a consistent theme in the Latter-day Saint theology. An early revelation to Church founder Joseph Smith called on Church members to “teach one another the doctrine of the kingdom” and also to “teach one another words of wisdom; yea, seek ye out of the best books... Seek learning, even by study and also by faith” (Doctrine and Covenants 88:77, 118). Highlighting this concept, early Mormon revelation referred to the first Mormon temple as “a house of learning,” prompting early Mormon leaders to conduct a community school within its walls. As the Church moved westward, education remained a vital part of LDS culture. One historian noted that “in the pioneer days every new settlement as soon as it had planted crops, opened a school—in the open air, in tents, in log

¹²Seminaries and Institutes of Religion Annual Report for 2010, accessed from <http://www.ldsces.org/content/memos/2010/Annual-Report-for-2010.pdf> on April 5, 2011.

¹³ For example, Bennion, *Mormonism and Education* (1939), Arrington, “The Latter-day Saints and Public Education,” *SouthWest Journal of Social Education*, 1977, (Spring-Summer), 7:9-25, Buchanan, Frederick Buchanan, *Education Among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah*, *History of Education Quarterly*, 1982, 22 (4):435-459.

houses, in adobes.”¹⁴ As mentioned previously, in 1888 the Church Board of Education was organized in response to the growing system of public schools developing throughout the Intermountain West. Throughout the remainder of nineteenth century, the Church founded schools throughout the Mormon cultural region of the Western United States.¹⁵

In the early 20th century the expansion of public schools throughout the West, combined with the high cost of the Church sponsored schools and concerns over members supporting a dual system of education, prompted the Church to close most of its schools rather than duplicate the work of the public educational programs.¹⁶ However, concerned that public schools would not provide adequate religious education, the Church established the seminary program, consisting of facilities built near public schools that offered supplemental religious instruction to students released from school custody for one period of the day.¹⁷ Similarly, Institutes of Religion (seminaries on the collegiate level) were set up adjacent to college campuses to offer religious education for LDS students attending post-secondary institutions.¹⁸ As the Mormon population grew in areas outside the Intermountain west, a system of Church education programs

¹⁴ Milton L. Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, (Salt Lake City: The Department of Education of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), 40.

¹⁵ See Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, also William E. Berrett and Alma Burton, *Readings in L.D.S. Church from Original Manuscripts*, 3 vols. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953-58), 3:336-340.

¹⁶ Scott C. Esplin, "Education in Transition: Church and State Relationships in Utah Education, 1888-1933," PhD Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 2006.

¹⁷ The most extensive discussions of the launch of the LDS released time seminary program include Joseph F. Merrill, "A New Institution in Religious Education," *Improvement Era*, 1938, pp. 12, 55-56. See also William E. Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988), and Casey Paul Griffiths, "The First Seminary Teacher" in *Religious Educator* 9, no. 3 (2008): 115-130.

¹⁸ Leonard J. Arrington, "The Founding of LDS Institutes of Religion." *Dialogue*, Summer (1967): 137-47, Ward Magleby, "1926- Another Beginning, Moscow, Idaho." *Impact*, Winter 1968, Gary A. Anderson, "A Historical Survey of the Full-Time Institutes of Religion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1926-1966." Brigham Young University, 1966, Wright, Dennis A. "The Beginnings of the First LDS Institute of Religion at Moscow, Idaho" *Mormon Historical Studies* 10, no. 1, 2009, Casey Paul Griffiths, "The First Institute Teacher," *Religious Educator* 11, no. 2, 2010, 174-201.

developed, enabling students to attend religion classes before or after school. Instead of developing schools to compete with public education programs, after 1920 Latter-day Saints participated in public education while developing their own religion programs to supplement secular education. These programs allowed LDS leaders to provide religious training alongside secular public schooling. Staffing the growing early morning system almost entirely with unpaid volunteer teachers allowed the creation of an educational system spanning several states at a relatively low cost.¹⁹

During the latter half of the twentieth century, Mormon educational programs faced the challenge of following the Church as it expanded beyond the borders of the United States. In large measure, the pattern established during the academy period, providing schools until local governments instituted adequate education and then providing supplemental religious training through seminary and institute of religion programs, repeated itself as Mormonism expanded internationally. The first wave of this expansion occurred throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Under the leadership of Church president David O. McKay, Church leaders established schools at select locations throughout the Pacific, Mexico, and Chile, with plans to build more schools, particularly in developing nations.²⁰ Working alongside President McKay, Ernest L. Wilkinson, Chancellor of the Unified Church School System, became a major architect in this effort.

Paralleling the LDS K–12 school systems set up outside the United States, Wilkinson developed

¹⁹David B. Rimington, *Vistas on Visions: A Golden Anniversary History of Church Education in Southern California*. (Anaheim, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1988) and Dennis A. Wright, "Good Morning Los Angeles: The Beginning of the Early Morning Seminary Program," In *Regional Studies in Latter-Day Saint Church History: California*, edited by David F. Boone, Freeman, Robert C. Freeman, Andrew H. Hedges, and Richard NeitzelHolzapfel, (Provo: Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1998).

²⁰Taylor, Harvey L., *The Story of LDS Church Schools*. 2 vols. (Privately Published, 1971), Palmer, Spencer J. Palmer, *The Expanding Church*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1978), F. LaMondTullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1987), R. Lanier Britsch, "Latter-Day Saint Education in the Pacific Isles," in *New Views in Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987).

plans to build a satellite system of junior colleges to feed into Brigham Young University.²¹ The junior college movement in the United States, combined with the K–12 school networks developing in the Pacific, Mexico, and Chile, gave to rise to the perception that Church schools would be the major vehicle for education as the Church expanded globally. The direction of Church education seemed to indicate that in the future each country with a sizable Church population could expect to see a system of elementary, secondary schools, and possibly its own junior college.²²

The global system of elementary and secondary schools reached their apex in the late 1960s, with plans in existence to further expand the system. However, when Church leaders examined the financial and logistical considerations inherent in expanding and operating these large school systems, they chose instead to launch a worldwide program of supplemental religious education. During this period, a close examination of the educational needs of the Church showed that the CES could not meet the educational demands of every group of Saints in the world. To meet the needs of Church members in areas where the number of members could not justify released-time or early-morning seminary, a new program of seminary, home-study, was developed. With these three delivery systems (released-time, early morning, and home study seminary) in place, a method existed to reach students anywhere in the world. During this time CES leaders established policies creating an order of priorities for LDS educational programs: (a) literacy and basic education received top priority, as basic gospel needs; (b), Church programs would not duplicate educational opportunities already existing, particularly in

²¹ Gregory A. Prince, and William Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 182-187.

²² Leon R. Hartshorn, "Educational Institutions," *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, edited by S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, Richard H. Jackson, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 172-173.

higher education; and (c), all high school and college-age Latter-day Saints should have access to weekday religious education to supplement their secular education.²³

Following these priorities, the process of phasing out the schools established outside the United States in the previous decades began. In areas where basic literacy and educational needs were evident, schools stayed open. New schools were even opened in Indonesia and Kiribati (formerly known as the Gilbert Islands) during the 1970s to meet the basic needs of members. In other areas, the process of transitioning from Church K–12 schools to the seminary and institute programs began. In the late 1970s, the Church closed its schools in Chile or transferred them to government control, with the closure of the majority of schools in Mexico a few years later.²⁴ Within the United States, established institutions of higher education such as Brigham Young University, Ricks College, BYU-Hawaii, and LDS Business College remained, but plans to build other Church-sponsored colleges or universities ended. Outside the United States, the Church retained schools where they were needed to meet the basic educational needs of the local membership, as in Samoa and Tonga. Other schools, like the Church College of New Zealand, escaped the closures during this time, based the needs of the local populations. Following the implementation of the policies established under Church Commissioner of Education Neal A. Maxwell, the majority of the K–12 schools in the Pacific continued along with the Church College of Hawaii, renamed BYU-Hawaii, and two K–12 schools in Mexico, the Academy in Colonia Juarez and the Benemerito de las Americas, remained open. Outside of these schools,

²³ “Seek Learning Even by Study and Also by Faith,” Report for 1971 from Commissioner of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.” (Salt Lake City: Church Educational System, 1971).

²⁴ See Palmer, *The Expanding Church*, p. 43-54, also Tullis, *Mormons in Mexico*, 173-200.

the seminaries and institutes now serve as the primary delivery system for LDS religious education.²⁵

Today wherever Latter-day Saints live around the world, the Church offers educational options, either supplemental religious education or K–12 training, through a number of different programs. From the first classroom in the early LDS center at Kirtland, Ohio, the educational programs of Mormonism expanded, adapted, and now meet the demands of a worldwide religion. Whether students attend a Church college or university, wake up early for seminary classes, study independently using Church-sponsored curriculum, or attend a Church-sponsored elementary or secondary school, a means exists to bring the proper spiritual and, if necessary, secular learning to each member of the Church. Why and how did such an educational system evolve and develop? Given the complexity and scope of the worldwide CES today, it will be impossible to answer this question in every particular. But answering this question in a general sense, primarily by analyzing the major events and personalities involved in the creation of the worldwide system, is the primary aim of this study.

Research and Methodology

A number of excellent studies concerning the history of Latter-day Saint education exist. Why the need for one more? Several compelling reasons exist for this study. First, in order to understand the Church Educational System and its functions today, a knowledge of its past is vital. History serves as a vital window into the past, but also into the present. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner argued

Each age writes the history of the past anew with reference to the conditions uppermost in its own time . . . The aim of history, then, is to know the elements of

²⁵Seminaries and Institutes Annual Report, 2010.

the present by understanding what came into the present from the past. For the present is simply the developing past, the past the undeveloped present . . . The antiquarian strives to bring back the past for the sake of the past; the historian strives to show the present to itself by revealing its origin from the past. The goal of the antiquarian is the dead past; the goal of the historian is the living present.²⁶

There is a need to reexamine historical conclusions over time in order to make them relevant for today's audiences. Turner's goal of history illuminating the "living present" calls for new research periodically to make the history an active force in the lives of its current participants.

Second, a thorough overview of the history and development of global Latter-day Saint education needs to be written for a number of reasons. A number of exhaustive studies exist concerning Latter-day Saint institutions of higher learning.²⁷ However, studies of the K–12 programs of the Church, its most widespread institutions, are much more difficult to find and are very outdated. The earliest and most thorough study to address the issue came in 1939 when Milton L. Bennion published *Mormonism and Education*. Leon R. Hartshorn's *Mormon Education in the Bold Years* (1965)²⁸ presented an updated view of the Church Educational System but came while the global programs of the Church were still in their infancy. A number of important studies have dealt with specific aspects of LDS education, such as James R. Clark's *Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah* (1958)²⁹ and A. Theodore Tuttle's *The Released Time Religious Education Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*

²⁶Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of History," in *The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner*, edited by Everett E. Edwards, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1938),52-53.

²⁷See *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*. edited by Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 vols., (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1985), David L Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks: A History of Ricks College, 1888-1997*, (Rexburg, ID: Ricks College, 1997), Reuben D. Law, *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii* (St. George, UT: Dixie College Press, 1972).

²⁸Leon Roundy Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years." PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1965.

²⁹James R. Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah." EdD Dissertation Utah State University, 1958.

(1949),³⁰ but by design these studies did not address the larger global picture of Church Education. When Neal A. Maxwell was serving as head of CES in the early 1970s he commissioned two former administrators, Harvey L. Taylor and William E. Berrett, to write histories of the Church Schools and the Seminary and Institute programs. Both efforts resulted in a wealth of information, but the histories produced, Taylor's *The Story of the LDS Church Schools* (1971) and Berrett's *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education* (1988),³¹ serve as descriptive works, with little analysis and interpretation. All of the works mentioned above are more than twenty years old. Even the latest work, Berrett's history, grew from research carried out in the early 1970s.

Third, though the number of works concerning the international history of Mormonism continues to grow, no single work specifically addresses the global educational system of Mormonism. A number of fine histories, including R. Lanier Britsch's studies of the Pacific Rim,³² Mark Grover's work on South America,³³ Bruce Van Orden's history of the Latter-day Saints in Europe,³⁴ and Reid L. Neilson's studies on Asia,³⁵ along with works covering the

³⁰ Albert Theodore Tuttle, "Released Time Religious Education Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." Master's Thesis, Stanford University, 1949.

³¹ William E. Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988).

³² R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989), *From the East: The History of the Latter-Day Saints in Asia, 1851-1996*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998).

³³ Mark Grover, "Mormonism in Brazil: Religion and Dependency in Latin America." PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 1985, "The Miracle of the Rose and Oak in Latin America." In *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Susan Easton Black, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 138-151, *A Land of Promise and Prophecy: Elder Theodore A. Tuttle in South America, 1960-1965*, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008).

³⁴ Bruce Van Orden, *Building Zion: The Latter-Day Saints in Europe*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1996).

³⁵ *Taking the Gospel to the Japanese*, ed. Reid L. Neilson and Van C. Gessel, (Provo, UT: BYU Press, 2006), Reid L. Neilson, *Early Mormon Missionary Activities in Japan* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010).

general international story of the Church,³⁶ have been produced in the last few decades. Each of these studies briefly addresses education in the regions they study, but none address the development and operation of the worldwide educational programs of the Church.

Works Addressing Global Latter-day Saint Education

Brief surveys of the global expansion of Church education appeared previously in a 2001 speech that Joe J. Christensen, former Church Commissioner of Education, gave to the BYU International Society³⁷ and in Bruce C. Hafen's biography of Neal A. Maxwell, *A Disciple's Life*.³⁸ Both of these histories focus almost exclusively on the perspective of Church administrators. Attention also needs to be given to the families who sacrificed to travel to these countries to set up the programs as well as their native counterparts who took over after their departure. The global expansion took place during an incredibly short period, roughly six years, and was undertaken in many countries where living conditions were less than ideal and which often had hostile political environments. The stories of these modern pioneers contain accounts of heroism, sacrifice, and dedication, which are equivalent to the tales of the celebrated early Mormon pioneers who settled the arid valleys of the Intermountain West. They serve as a reminder that the grand heroic tradition of sacrifice for the cause has continued to the current day.

³⁶Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan, *Unto Every Nation: Gospel Light Reaches Every Land* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), James R. Moss, R. Lanier Britsch, James R. Christianson, Richard O. Cowan, *The International Church* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Publications, 1982), *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures*, ed. F. LaMond Tullis (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

³⁷Joe J. Christensen, "The Globalization of the Church Educational System," in *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century*, ed. Reid L. Neilson (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2008).

³⁸Bruce A. Hafen, *A Disciple's Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002).

The Need to Capture Recent History

One major reason for the lack of study on the worldwide Church Educational System stems from the fact that most of its history is relatively recent, taking place within the last 40–50 years. As the Church continues to mature globally, its global history will as well. However, the recent nature of this history makes a study at this time more vital because many of the participants are still alive and can contribute. Capturing this information is an important aspect of this study. The problem this study proposes to address the development and expansion of the worldwide Church Educational System.

Goals of This Study

This study seeks to examine the decisions, events, and actions leading to the global expansion of the Church Educational System, focusing specifically on Latter-day Saint K–12 education during the period from 1950 to 1980. As the global growth of the Church began to expand rapidly during this period, Church leaders launched efforts to meet the educational needs of the worldwide membership of the Church. Initially, Church-sponsored schools were established to meet these needs. As Church leaders further explored how to best meet the needs of members in different nations, policies developed leading to the gradual phasing out of the majority of the Church schools in favor of seminaries and institutes. The study will highlight the main issues surrounding the development of these policies, their implementation, and their effects on the direction of Church education. The study concludes with an analysis of the possible implications of these changes on Latter-day Saint education. It will also briefly address the current state of the system and possible directions it may take in the future.

Key Research Questions

This historical study will focus on two important questions:

1. What were the factors that led to the global expansion and contraction of Latter-day Saint K–12 educational programs during the period of 1950 to 1980?
2. How do the decision and policies of this era continue to affect the operation of the Latter-day Saint education today?

Delimitations

This study has four delimitations. First, the historical segments of this study are limited primarily to the period of 1950 to 1980. While other materials will provide background for the years leading up to these events and the effects in the years following, the focus will remain primarily on this period. Prior to this time, LDS educational programs outside the United States and Canada existed but operated only sporadically, mostly by missionaries, and with little or no unified, coordinated efforts. Beginning in the 1950s, specifically with the presidency of David O. McKay, efforts began to launch a unified, coordinated system of worldwide Church education. By roughly 1980, the policies governing the operations of the global system were in place and have remained the same, with a few exceptions. The decisions and actions taken during these three decades laid the foundation for the expansion and operation of the global Church Educational System. The history of Latter-day Saint education is complex and fascinating, but in order to facilitate an in-depth examination of the development of the global CES, discussion of events outside of this timeframe receive attention only to provide context and are not the focus of the study.

Second, the primary focus of the study will center on the elementary and secondary educational programs of the Church and not post-secondary education. Latter-day Saint K–12 programs consist primarily of two components: the Church’s K–12 schools established globally and the supplemental religious education programs, specifically the seminaries and institutes. Although the institute program falls outside of the range of elementary and secondary education, its close ties with the seminary program, especially their common administration and personnel, necessitates its inclusion in this study. Because of the extensive research already performed on LDS institutions of higher learning (BYU, BYU-Idaho, BYU-Hawaii, LDS Business College, etc.),³⁹ their inclusion in this study will be limited to their impact on the policies developed to address the needs of the worldwide Church.

Third, the first priority of the study is to highlight the development of the policies which governed the worldwide CES during this period. Accordingly, it will focus on the Church leaders and administrators responsible for these decisions. In a more restricted fashion, it will seek to tell the story of the administrators, teachers, and families asked to carry the burdens of the programs. In carrying out these objectives, the study takes on a dual nature. A key to understanding the Church Educational System consists in studying the individuals in chief ecclesiastical and administrative positions who made the decision leading to the creation of the policies which govern the worldwide CES. To illustrate this, the history is enlightened by the perspective of those who then carried out the policies. The vast scope of this enterprise makes it impossible to include the voice of every individual involved, so historical episodes will be

³⁹ Major studies on LDS institutions of higher learning include *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, ed. Ernest L. Wilkinson, (Provo, UT: BYU Press, 1975), Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, (Salt Lake: Signature Books, 1985), David L. Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks: A History of Ricks College, 1888-1997*, (Rexburg, ID: Ricks College, 1997), Reuben D. Law, *The Founding and Development of the Church College of Hawaii*, (St. George, UT: Dixie College Press, 1972), R. Lanier Britsch, *Mormona: The Mormons in Hawaii*, (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989), Lynn M. Hilton, *The History of LDS Business College and Its Parent Institutions*, (Salt Lake: LDS Business College, c1995).

included which illustrate the implementation of the policies of the CES and their effects on the system. To maintain a cohesive flow to the history, the story will focus on a few key participants, while representative voices of the students and families involved will also be utilized.

Finally, the study focuses exclusively on the development of Latter-day Saint educational programs without attempting to compare or contrast how other religions may have developed similar systems. In areas where the influence of other religious organizations played a direct role in the creation or expansion of LDS systems, they will receive mention. In order to keep the scope of this project manageable, these other systems will find place in the work only as they provide valuable context for the main story.

Sources and Methodology

The worldwide expansion of the Church Educational System produced a wealth of documentation. Whenever possible, primary source documents are used throughout this study. Several major collections highlighting the development of the educational system exist. The primary headquarters of the CES was located at Brigham Young University from 1953 until 1970, and the papers of the majority of the key administrative figures are located in the collections in the school's Harold B. Lee Library. When CES headquarters moved to the LDS Church Office Building in the early 1970s, administrators remained conscious of the historical nature of their files and placed them in the LDS Church Archives. In addition, the LDS Church History Department, aware of the vital role of education in the Church, carried out extensive oral histories with CES administrators from this period. These materials are now available on a limited basis in the LDS Church History Library. Many are limited because they contain sacred, private, or confidential information, but whenever possible these materials will be utilized in the study. Additional primary sources relating to the topic may be found in archives at the

University of Utah and Utah State University. The increasing time span from these events allow access to several sources of information previously unavailable to researchers, among them the papers of key players, including David O. McKay and Ernest L. Wilkinson.

A unique primary source for this study is drawn from ninety-three interviews conducted by E. Dale LeBaron during from 1991 to 1992. These interviews were conducted with the approval of the CES administration, and unprecedented access was allowed to higher CES officials. LeBaron's work focused primarily on American expatriates sent out to begin the program during the late 1960s and early 1970s. LeBaron had a particularly close affiliation with these families, having served in one of these roles when he and his family helped launch the program in South Africa during the same period. Although LeBaron traveled extensively around the United States collecting the interviews, his work was limited geographically. In a few cases he was able to speak with individuals native to the countries where the seminary and institute programs were launched, typically only if they were currently living in the United States. These sources were previously unpublished and provide new insights into the development of policies and practices during this vital period. To augment and update LeBaron's work, my research entailed a search to obtain materials from the international personnel who took over the program after the expatriates returned home. Fortunately, a number of their histories had been recorded in the ensuing years. Now available in the LDS Church History Library, at Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, and other nearby research institutions, these materials provide vital information to the study.

Finally, oral history interviews were conducted with key participants in the work. Many individuals who took part in the worldwide expansion of Church education are still alive, and live within a reasonable distance to the researcher. Their insights will provide an invaluable

contribution to the accuracy of the study. Time, funding, and geography limit how extensively the interviews can be carried out, but whenever reasonable these individuals will be contacted to add to the study.

Secondary sources will be used to augment and provide missing information from primary sources. While some materials relating to the subject have recently become available to researchers, others have recently been restricted. The works of authors who previously had access to these sources will be consulted if primary sources are no longer available to researchers.

Source Limitations.

The sources for this study are subject to several limitations. First, access to international personnel is limited because of the distance and cost involved in international travel. Many of these limitations can be overcome through the benefits of the Internet, email, or phone communication and whenever possible these techniques will help gather more materials. Second, along with a global study comes with the difficulty that many of the pertinent materials exist in different languages. Whenever possible, translators will be employed to overcome this barrier, yet the limits of clarity in translation must also be taken into account.

Potential Sources of Bias.

Any historical research is subject to bias, and a clear acknowledgment of possible sources of said bias is necessary to maintain the integrity of the work. Historian Keith Jenkins observed,

we know of no such things as neutral/objective ‘interpretation’ as ‘innocent’ surveys, as ‘unpositioned positions.’ Rather, we should all know by now that the best we can do is to alert and keep on alerting the ‘readers’ to the position we are interpreting from, rather than imagining that interpretations not only might spring

from nowhere, but that some interpretations are not interpretive at all but ‘the truth.’⁴⁰

Another author suggested a writer’s open acknowledgement of perspective as part of the solution to the problem of bias:

Interestingly, the one path that still leads in the direction of scholarly objectivity, detachment, and neutrality is exactly the one originally thought to lead away from these classic virtues, that is, an openly autobiographical style in which the subjective position of the author, especially on political matters, is presented in a clear and straightforward fashion.⁴¹

Along these same lines, Karl Popper advised researchers to “be clear about the necessity of adopting a point of view, to state this point of view plainly, and always to remain conscious that it is one among many.”⁴²

The study is also limited by the biases that may stem from the nationality of the author, his upbringing, and his current location. The same considerations must be taken into account for the authors of the source materials utilized in this study. I am a religious educator employed by the LDS Church Educational System. In addition, my doctoral work took place at Brigham Young University, a Church sponsored institution. Much of the research vital to this project has been carried out in conjunction with a project assigned to me by the administration of Church Educational System to assist in writing the history of Church education. My affiliation with this project helped open doors to several key materials and individuals generally unavailable to most researchers. In many cases I identified with individuals consulted for the study and became sympathetic toward the struggles and sacrifices they made to assist in performing their duties. While the study rests on a foundation of objectivity, when conflicts arise I will most likely err on

⁴⁰Keith Jenkins, *On 'what is history?': From Carr to Elton to Rorty and White*. (London: Routledge, 1995), 13.

⁴¹Dean MacCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds*, (London: Routledge, 1992), 9-10.

⁴²Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism*, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1957), 152.

the side of positive interpretation. My own beliefs as a person of faith influence, and I hope augment, this tremendous story.

Additionally, the potential for bias must be acknowledged to exist in the sources themselves. The primary source materials for this study consist of oral interviews carried out several years after the events they were meant to chronicle. They are limited by the problems associated with human memory, which builds as distance and time increase. Whenever possible, events and dates mentioned in these oral histories were checked with existing historical documents from the period to ensure the highest degree of accuracy possible. It should also be noted that every participant interviewed in the study, myself included, are faithful Latter-day Saints, with a conviction that Church organization is guided by inspired revelation. While objectivity is necessary in any historical study, this perspective must be noted as an influence over both the project and its conclusions.

Special Challenges in Writing International Latter-day Saint History

At the outset of this study, it must be noted that the field of global Mormon history still faces a number of obstacles as it fully matures. When Reid L. Neilson set about assembling a historiographical survey of global Mormon history, he noted that most of the sources he discovered were “short periodical pieces brimming with testimony and faith but lacking scholarly depth and analysis.”⁴³ Returned missionaries or second- and third-generation members who had immigrated to America wrote most of these histories. Most discouraging was the lack of histories written by local members. Neilson notes several factors which lead Mormon

⁴³Neilson, *Global Mormonism*, xiv.

historians away from these kinds of studies. Among these concerns were, first, that global Mormon history is too recent to chronicle, with most of the major events happening in the last half-century and many of the principal actors still alive. In many cases, primary sources such as journals, correspondence, and histories still rest in the hands of their owners, and solid documentary sources are difficult to obtain. Second, the hub of Mormon studies is located in northern Utah, particularly at BYU, but increasingly at the University of Utah, Utah State University, and Utah Valley University. While the increasing output of historical studies from these institutions has produced a wealth of scholarship on Mormonism, most of it has followed the traditional pattern of focusing on the foundational periods of the Church. The understandable focus on LDS scriptural texts in part drives this tendency but sometimes leads scholars to overlook the vitality of more recent events in Church history. Finally, since most Mormon scholars are American, a language barrier exists which often makes serious scholarly study difficult.⁴⁴

International members have shown some dismay at how global Mormon history has been written as well. Wilfried Decoo, a Belgian Latter-day Saint and scholar from the University of Antwerp, wrote a review of Bruce Van Orden's *Building Zion: A History of the Church in Europe*, highlighting several difficulties facing LDS scholarship in global studies. Decoo criticized Van Orden's use of Utah-based secondary sources and decried the book's emphasis on Americans temporarily in Europe, such as missionaries and General Authorities. He also charged that European converts were largely treated as statistics and not individuals. Decoo summed up his review by calling *Building Zion* "a necessary book... it makes apparent the need for critical reflection on the study of international Mormon history—on the persons and subjects it should

⁴⁴Ibid., xiv-xv.

treat, on the value of sources, on the dangers of triumphalism, on the misuse of naïve generalizations and causalities, on intercultural misunderstanding, and on the modalities that could improve in the future.”⁴⁵ Van Orden responded magnanimously to Decoo, “I’m pleased that Decoo contributed his insights that aid our common understanding of the history in Europe. Everybody gains when we carry on this scholarly debate, especially when we can all be brothers and sisters in the same work.”⁴⁶

I mention the exchange between these two scholars only to note the difficulties surrounding the writing of any global history. The scope of this work, encompassing many cultures, limits the depth with which each culture may be explored. As an administrative history, it will out of necessity deal mainly with an American perspective. As a larger historical narrative, it concerns itself less with the individual cultures of each country and more with issues, problems, and innovations surrounding the creation of a global system of education. Though it cannot address every aspect, hopefully future readers will view this as a study contributing to the conversation of global Mormonism in the 21st century.

Outline of the Study

This chapter is an introduction to the study, existing primarily to introduce the main issues surrounding Latter-day Saints globalization, education, the issues surrounding the writing of this history, and the purpose and methodology of the study. The key research questions of the study are introduced, as well as a brief discussion on the sources involved, their limitations, and acknowledgement of any possible biases found within the work.

⁴⁵Wilfried Decoo, "Issues in Writing European History and in Building the Church in Europe," *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 1, 1997, 176.

⁴⁶Bruce Van Orden, "Response to "Writing European History and Building the Church in Europe" by Wilfried Decoo." *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 2 (1997), iv.

Chapter Two consists of a brief overview of LDS educational history, leading up to the international expansion of Church educational programs. Brief mention will be given to the theological and historical roots of Mormon education and how the philosophies that govern the system were developed. Focus will also be given to the primary policy issues which have governed the manner in which the programs have developed and the important personalities involved in the process. A historical chronology is presented providing the backdrop for the events that led to the launch of the international LDS educational programs, particularly the Church schools, the released-time seminary and institute programs, and the launch of early morning seminary programs.

Chapter Three looks at the beginnings of global educational efforts under the leadership of David O. McKay, Church president during this period, and Ernest L. Wilkinson, head of the Church school system. This chapter examines McKay and Wilkinson's emphasis on Church schools during this period, using them as the main vehicle for worldwide expansion. The study outlines the personalities and factors leading to the establishment of Church schools in the Pacific, Mexico, Chile, and other areas. Particular emphasis is given to David O. McKay and his influence over the expansion of these programs. Attention is given to the way these programs illustrated the policy of "internationalization" as defined earlier, with American personnel taking the lead in the establishment and operation of these programs.

Chapter Four looks at the administrative developments leading to the decision to make the Seminary and Institute programs the primary instruments for the education of the global Church membership. It discusses the factors behind policy decisions which led to eventual phasing out of most of the Church schools outside of the United States in favor of the Seminary

and Institute programs. It also details the reasons why Church schools became the secondary, rather than primary means for the global expansion of Church education.

Chapter Five details the events of internationalization occurring during the later tenure of William E. Berrett's administration. In 1967, Berrett and his associates began development of the home study seminary program, which would become the main vehicle used in the worldwide expansion. Administrators at Berrett's headquarters at Brigham Young University developed these programs and pilot-tested them in the American Midwest. Once the home-study program was proven, Berrett launched the programs primarily in English speaking nations, specifically the British Isles, New Zealand, and Australia. Berrett then made the first moves in bringing the programs to non-English speaking nations, specifically Germany, Guatemala, and Brazil. The chapter will address the successes and failures of these early efforts. This chapter highlights the shift from "internationalization" to "globalization" as defined earlier. During this time key policy decisions occurred, facilitating the planning and launch of the international S&I programs, building the framework necessary for a new, global system.

Chapter Six continues the historical account as the Church educational programs were handed off to Neal A. Maxwell in the midst of a major reorganization of the Unified Church School System, renamed the Church Educational System during this time. Maxwell and his team systematized the training of local personnel in the nations where the programs launched and the creation of curriculum materials for different cultures and countries. Under Maxwell's leadership, the program was sent into more countries in Asia, Latin America, and Europe. It was during this time that the philosophy that the programs should be led by local men hired and trained, rather than by a rotating corps of American teachers, began to be developed. During this

period the policies of the Church Board of Education crystallized, shifting toward a stronger emphasis on the needs of local populations, led by indigenous personnel.

Chapter Seven details the aftermath of the rapid global expansion of the program throughout the remainder of the 1970s. This chapter gives particular attention to the work of the CES teacher and administrators from the different countries the program expanded into, providing a look into their challenges and struggles. It also seeks to explain the impact that the worldwide expansion of the seminary and institute programs on previous international programs, specifically the school systems set up in Latin America and the Pacific. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the operation of the global system, with several key individuals highlighting important issues.

Chapter Eight summarizes and analyzes the findings of the study. It seeks to offer answers to the key research questions. In addition, it reflects on the impact and outcomes of the events from the transformative period of the 1950s to the 1980s in Church education. It also addresses the current worldwide outreach of the CES and possible directions that worldwide expansion may take in the future. Suggestions for future studies will also be offered.

To summarize, this study seeks to analyze the development of the global LDS Church Educational System, explaining its present function by examining its historical roots. The answers to many of the questions raised about the current educational policies of the Church find their solutions in understanding the historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the policies. Revelation, innovation, and historical circumstance all played a role in the creation of the educational system of the Church. An informed understanding of the past assists current and future leaders in facing the issues confronting Church education. At the same time, the study

will detail a small part of the larger saga of how the worldwide expansion of the Church, and how priorities and policies adjusted to meet the needs of a dynamic, global membership.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF LATTER-DAY SAINT EDUCATION, 1830-1950

Education plays a central role in the life of Latter-day Saints around the globe. Throughout its history Church leaders have stressed the need for education in the lives of adherents to the faith. In Latter-day Saint society, instruction in Church doctrine and principles was part of daily life. At times the Church served as the primary provider of education in LDS communities, especially in the early history of the organization. Though there are communities where the Church offers the full range of secular and religious learning, for the most part the global Church education program today consists of a structure of supplemental religious programs designed to educate the youth of the Church on a daily basis. In order to understand how the modern Church educational program developed, it is helpful to first understand the historical development of education within the Latter-day Saint movement. The development grew out of a combination of adaptation, innovation, and revelation.

Early Latter-day Saint Education in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois

One of Joseph Smith's early revelations declares that "the glory of God is intelligence" (D&C 93:36). Almost from its inception, the Church sponsored vigorous educational programs, constantly adapting to fit the changing conditions associated with the tumultuous history of the movement. In early LDS centers in Ohio and Missouri, schools filled an important role in the community. In different locations a "School of the Prophets" and a "School for the Elders" were established, following revelations given to Joseph Smith and in accordance with early American

educational traditions.¹ Even before buildings were available, these schools met. An early teacher in Missouri, Parley P. Pratt, described the programs as follows: “The place of meeting was in the open air, under some tall trees, in a retired place in the wilderness where we prayed, preached, and prophesied, and exercised ourselves in the gifts of the Holy Spirit. . . . To attend the school I had to travel on foot, and sometimes with bare feet at that, about six miles.”² An early revelation to Joseph Smith concerning these efforts reads, “I, the Lord, am well pleased that there should be a school in Zion . . .” (D&C 97:3). The first temple built by the Latter-day Saints in Kirtland, Ohio doubled as both a house of worship and an educational center. The revelation directing the construction of the temple designated it as a “house of learning” (D&C 88:118) and exhorted the early Saints to “seek ye out of the best books words of wisdom; seek learning, even by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118). In addition to theological lectures, the schools offered courses in geography, literature, philosophy, politics, and grammar. These early LDS efforts are among the first American schools to offer adult classes on the high school level.³ The schools in these early Mormon centers included a healthy number of offerings for all ages, from the elementary level on up.⁴

The Saints built the schools in Kirtland and Missouri by revelatory command, but in establishing the modus operandi of the schools Church members borrowed from the societies they grew up in. These early classes most likely found inspiration in similar “Schools of the

¹ Joseph F. Darowski, “Schools of the Prophets: An Early American Tradition,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 1-14.

² Parley P. Pratt, *The Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt: Revised and Enhanced Edition*, edited by Scott F. Proctor, and Maurine J. Proctor, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 113-114.

³ Leonard J. Arrington, “The Latter-Day Saints and Public Education,” *Southwestern Journal of Social Education* (Spring-Summer 1977), 10.

⁴ Scott Esplin presented on the topic of early LDS educational practices, see “That Little Children Also May Receive Instruction: Early Latter-day Saint Educational Programs for the Youngest of Saints,” Mormon History Association Conference Paper, May 2010, copy in author’s possession.

Prophets” held throughout the New England and Mid-Atlantic frontiers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These schools became early forerunners of the theological seminaries set up during the 1800s to train American clergy. The schools set up by the Saints sought to mirror these societies, but they also transcended their efforts in blurring the line between learning and devotion. One scholar of the period has noted

Joseph Smith’s School of the Prophets incorporated all these elements and yet fundamentally altered them. In the early Mormon tradition, preparation to teach the restored gospel required more than was offered by the dominant society. Joseph Smith sought to take the first elders beyond the common notions of piety, divinity, and scholastic achievement. He pursued not just knowledge coupled with conversion, but a literal, transformational endowment of power from on high.⁵

The School of the Prophets combined learning and religious ceremony. The same revelation which directed the creation of the school also gave instructions for ordinances which should be performed for each member of the school (D&C 88:138-141). It also set the tone for Mormon schools which followed. To the Saints learning was a form of religious devotion, not just a secular pursuit.

Severe persecution forced members of the Church from place to place, but they continued to establish schools. After leaving Missouri and Ohio, Church members sought sanctuary in Illinois, eventually building the city of Nauvoo. A generous charter from the state of Illinois allowed for the creation of the university in Nauvoo, an institution also designed to supervise a system of common schools set up throughout the city.⁶ The city council of Nauvoo appointed the most educated men in the city to staff the fledgling institution, with specialists in

⁵Darowski, “Schools of the Prophets,” 11.

⁶Arrington, “The Latter-day Saints and Public Education,” 10.

mathematics, English literature, languages, church history, and music.⁷ Expressing the hopes of the Saints, Joseph Smith stated, “We hope to make this institution one of the great lights of the world, and by and through it, to diffuse that kind of knowledge which will be of practical utility, and for the public good, and also for private and individual happiness.”⁸ A number of other programs flourished in the city during its apex, bringing education to all different ages.⁹ Unfortunately, increased persecution shortened the Saints’ stay in Nauvoo, and the programs of the University of Nauvoo never came to full fruition.

Creation of Church Schools in the Intermountain West

After the martyrdom of Joseph Smith in 1844 and evacuation of Nauvoo in 1846, Church leaders relocated the main body of the Saints to the Great Basin of the western United States. Aware of the isolation of this new location, Church leaders instructed the Saints to bring “every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and all other variety of useful and interesting writings.”¹⁰ Within three months after their arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, the first school was established. As the Saints spread throughout the valleys of the region, they established schools in every settlement. Often the school would be the first public building constructed in a new community.¹¹ Despite the primitive frontier conditions Latter-day Saints continued their efforts to education their people. Mormon apostle George A. Smith spoke fondly of “scholars standing round my huge camp fire, the wind broken off by the brush and the whole

⁷ The most comprehensive source on the University of Nauvoo is Susan Easton Black, Henry B. Black, and Sarah Allen, *University of the City of Nauvoo, 1841-45*, (Wilmington, DL: World Vital Records, 2008).

⁸ Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 194.

⁹ See Marnie Hopkins, “History of Latter-day Saint Education in Nauvoo, 1839-1845,” Master’s Project, David O. McKay School of Education, 2010, accessed June 13, 2011 at <http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cgi-bin/showfile.exe?CISOROOT=/IR&CISOPTR=986&filename=989.pdf>.

¹⁰ Arrington, “The Latter-day Saints and Public Education,” 11.

¹¹ Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 4.

canopy of heaven for covering . . . I would stand with my grammar book, the only one in the school, would give out a sentence at a time and pass it around.”¹²

During the early years in the Great Basin, the Church ran all the schools with little concern of overlapping ecclesiastical and secular boundaries. One scholar notes that “school boundaries were coterminous with the boundaries of ecclesiastical wards, and the Mormon ward bishop was made legally responsible for organizing the elections of school trustees and general supervision of the school.”¹³ This degree of control lasted only about a decade, when the beginning of an influx of non-Mormons into the Great Basin signaled the beginning of the end of Mormon dominance in the region. In the 1860s other denominations from the East attempted to counter Latter-day Saint dominance in the territorial schools of Utah by setting up their own schools designed to wean the young population of the territory away from the influence of the Church.¹⁴ The aim of the schools caused some contention between the Church members and non-members. For the most part the Saints jumped at the chance to take advantage of the superior educational opportunities offered by these institutions. Both sides recognized education as a vital weapon in the battle for the hearts and minds of the youth of the territory. Church president John Taylor stated during this period, “We want to study also the principles of education, and to get the very best teachers we can to teach our children; see that they are men and women who fear God and keep his commandments. We do not want men or women to teach

¹²Arrington, “The Latter-day Saints and Public Education,” 11.

¹³ Frederick Buchanan, “Education among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah,” *History of Education Quarterly* 22:4, 439-440.

¹⁴ A number of resources exist on this topic, among them T. Edgar Lyon, “Evangelical Protestant Missionary Activities in Mormon Dominated Areas 1865-1900,” (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Utah, 1962, p. 246-250, 107; Frederick S. Buchanan, “Faith in Schooling: Solving the Mormon Problem,” *Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science*, vol. 3, 1978, 161. See also Scott C. Esplin, *Education in Transition: Church and State, Relationships in Utah Education, 1888-1933*, Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 2006, p. 59. And *Revealed Educational Principles & the Public Schools: A look at principle-centered education through the prophets and LDS educational history*, by John D. Monnett (LDS Archive Publishers, Heber, Utah 1998).

our children who are not Latter-day Saints themselves.”¹⁵ For the most part, the denominational schools of Utah failed in their aim of converting the younger Saints away from their views. One administrator from the schools wrote in exasperation, “The major result of the Utah Christian schools appears to be that we are training Mormons to serve as Sunday School teachers, young folk leaders and bishopricks in the Mormon church. They take our proffered education, but not out religion, and use it to strengthen their own institutions.”¹⁶

The battle over education in the West represents only one facet of the larger conflict between Latter-day Saints and American society as a whole during this era. The Mormon practice of plural marriage, branded as one of the “twin relics of barbarism” along with slavery,¹⁷ brought intense pressure from the government of the United States upon the Saints. By the 1880s, schools in the Utah territory consisted of a hodge-podge of these non-Mormon private secondary and public schools, private Mormon academies, and an emerging system of public elementary schools that were still largely Mormon-controlled. The passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 broke Mormon control by abolishing the office of Territorial Superintendent of District Schools, replacing it instead with an appointed commissioner empowered to “prohibit the use in any district school of any book of sectarian character or otherwise unsuitable.”¹⁸ With the Federal government and the state exerting greater control over education, Church leaders grew concerned over secularized public schools and what the consequences might be for the youth of the Church.

¹⁵Scott C. Esplin, "Moving Zion 'Far Ahead' John Taylor's Educational Contributions" in *Champion of Liberty: John Taylor*, ed. Mary Jane Woodger. 327-46. Salt Lake City, Provo, UT: Deseret Book, Religious Studies Center, 2009), 335.

¹⁶Cited in Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 16.

¹⁷James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1976), 297.

¹⁸Buchanan, “Education Among the Mormons,” 441.

Creation of the Church Board of Education. Faced with these circumstances, Church leadership chose instead to launch their own private educational system. In the late 1880s, Church leadership sent a letter asking local leaders to establish academies, patterned after Brigham Young Academy and Brigham Young College, schools already established in Provo and Logan respectively.¹⁹ Several years later, in 1888, Church president Wilford Woodruff issued another letter stating the reasons for the launch of this new school movement:

We feel that the time has arrived when the proper education of our children should be taken in hand by us as a people . . . Religious training is practically excluded from the district schools. The perusal of books that we value as divine records is forbidden. Our children, if left to the training they receive in these schools, will grow up entirely ignorant of those principles of salvation for which the Latter-day Saints have made so many sacrifices.²⁰

Woodruff's letter is important for several reasons. First, it effectively established that the Latter-day Saints rejected taking part in a system of education where their children could not receive religious instruction along of their regular schooling. Second, with the launch of the academies, the Church leadership began an organized, systematic approach toward creating its own system of education. The first Church board of education was organized shortly after Woodruff's 1888 letter was issued.²¹ Latter-day Saint stakes throughout the territory immediately began to organize their own schools, supervised by the Church Board of Education. These changes signaled the launch of a brief but important era in LDS educational history: the rise and establishment of the Church academies.

¹⁹ James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, 3 vols., (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 3:86-87.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:168.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

Establishment of Latter-day Saint Academies. Quickly moving to follow Woodruff's directives, local stakes formed their own boards of education to supervise the affairs of their respective schools. By 1889, all but two of the 29 stakes had complied.²² Most LDS histories list 22 academies being more or less established during this period. The academies were mostly found in the Mormon culture region of Utah, Idaho, and Arizona, but could also be found in locations as far flung as Big Horn, Montana, Cardston, Canada, or Colonia Juarez, Mexico.²³ Determining the exact number of academies can be problematic. LDS historian Alma Burton notes some of the issues surrounding and accurate accounting of the academies:

Various historians have listed the Church Academies and the supposed dates of their founding. These lists show certain discrepancies. The differences arise from the fact that some academies, started on a Stake basis, in response to the request of the First Presidency in 1888, did not operate continuously due to lack of funds and proper facilities. Some were revived by direct Church appropriations, while others were wholly discontinued. Only 22 of the academies had school buildings especially erected for school purposes.²⁴

More recently, Scott C. Esplin has examined the correspondence to appointed academy principals, and determined the number of academies based on those records to be 33.²⁵

Church members responded enthusiastically to Woodruff's call for Church schools, but the challenging economic circumstances of the 1890s meant the failure of the many of the schools established in the initial first wave of the movement. However, a renewed effort at the beginning of the twentieth century began a widespread expansion of the academy system. Esplin noted, "During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Church academy and junior college program expanded significantly. High school enrollment nearly tripled over the two-

²²J.D. Monnett, "The Mormon Church and Its Private School System in Utah: The Emergence of the Academies," 1880-1892," PhD diss., University of Utah, 1984, 121.

²³Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 164

²⁴ William E. Berrett and Alma Burton, *Readings in L.D.S. Church from Original Manuscripts*. 3 vols., (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953-58), 3:336.

²⁵ Scott C. Esplin, "Stake Academies," unpublished manuscript, in author's possession, 4.

decade era, expanding from 2,033 students enrolled at Church high schools in the 1902-03 school year to 5,984 enrolled in 1919-20. College enrollment underwent an even bigger increase, multiplying five-fold over the same era.”²⁶

Supplementation of the Academies with Religion Classes. Recognizing the geographical limitations of the academies in their service, during the same period Church leadership launched a separate movement to set up LDS religion classes throughout the region. These classes represented a striking innovation. They were intended not to compete with the public school system, but rather to supplement it. Designed to provide weekday religious instruction, the program served children from the first through the ninth grades. The classes took place outside of school hours and off school grounds with no cooperation with public schools. The program was hobbled partially by the perception that it was duplicating the work of the Sunday School, Primary, and other Church auxiliaries, but where it received support from the local leadership the program reported a high rate of enrollment. For example, a ward in Cleveland, Utah, reported in 1906 that 100 percent of the local children, both LDS and non-LDS, were attending religion classes.²⁷

LDS religion classes pioneered the concept of supplementary religious education.²⁸ Not until 1906 did other religious groups initiate similar experiments with supplementary programs in New York City. It was not until 1914–15 that other religious groups began implementing similar programs were implemented on a large scale. The religion class movement also served as an important forerunner to the seminary and institute programs. The program actually

²⁶Ibid., 6.

²⁷ D. Michael Quinn, "Utah's Educational Innovation: LDS Religion Classes, 1890-1929," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 43:8, 379-84.

²⁸ The most comprehensive work on these early LDS Religion Class is Brett Dowdle, "A New Policy in Church School Work,": The Founding of the Mormon Supplementary Religious Education Movement," M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2011.

outlasted the majority of the academies and at its peak involved 89 different stakes in the Church and served over 60,000 students. The program, involving children from grades 1–12, was discontinued in 1929 and merged with the Primary program, though it continued in spirit through the supplemental classes of the released time seminary program, a direct offshoot of the religion classes.²⁹

The religion class program is a landmark in LDS educational history. It opened up the idea of LDS educational programs working in concert with public education. Rather than competing with the government programs, which would always possess more resources and funding than the Church could muster, the Church specialized in religious training. The religion classes allowed the Church to do what it could do best and use its resources providing the specialized education which Church leaders felt would best serve their student population. The success of the actual program is difficult to measure, but conceptually the program represents a brilliant innovation. The adaptation was part of a larger motif in LDS history during this period, dubbed the “transitional” era of Mormonism by LDS historian Thomas G. Alexander.³⁰ During this time period, roughly from 1890 to 1930, Mormonism as a society began to gradually accept American institutions, even adapting them to serve their own purposes to create new ways of providing religious education to children. The move to supplement secular education with religious training, rather than working to wholly replace it, created new directions in education within the faith. This innovation developed at a fortuitous time for the Church, since its more traditional programs began to experience financial difficulty in their competition with public programs.

²⁹Quinn, “Utah’s Educational Innovation,” 385-389.

³⁰See Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*.

Decline of the Church Academies. The work of the religion class programs during this period, however, served a secondary purpose behind the Church schools, which most members viewed as the primary vehicles for LDS education. Throughout the period of 1890 to 1910, the Church academies continued in to grow in enrollment. While the academies reached the apex of their popularity, the public school system in Utah expanded rapidly. Eventually these free schools began sapping the financial strength of the academies. Church members started to feel the strain of maintaining a double system, paying tuition to the Church schools while also paying taxes to support the public schools. Over time as enrollment at the public schools began to climb, the number of students attending the Church academies began to slip, and then descended into a rapid decline. The number of students attending public schools passed the enrollment of the Church schools in 1910 and then quickly surpassed them.³¹

At the same time, Church leaders began to feel the financial strain of maintaining the Church school system. In 1915, President Joseph F. Smith, normally a staunch advocate of the Church schools, suggested that some of smaller academies should be turned over to the state and converted into public high schools in order to divert more funds to the Church schools providing teacher training. President Smith felt the academy system had reached the limits of its expansion confronted the reality that the Church would “have to trim our educational sails to the financial winds.”³² Even David O. McKay, a former principal of the Weber Academy, recognized that maintaining the Church academies “is a policy which will eventually bankrupt the Church.”³³ As time progressed, it was become clearer that the Church would have difficulty duplicating and

³¹Bennion, *Mormonism and Education*, 177.

³² Church Board of Education Minutes, Jan. 27, 1915, Centennial History Project Papers, UA 566; Box 24, Fd. 8, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

³³ Mary Jane Woodger, "David O. McKay, Father of the Church Educational System." In *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Susan Easton Black. 379-97. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 382.

competing with the growing public school system. While Church leaders wrestled with these difficult issues, a new solution appeared on the horizon.

Creation of the Seminary Program

An alternative to the academies appeared in 1911 with the initiation of the first released-time seminary program at Granite High School in Salt Lake City. LDS Seminaries adapted the supplemental principles of the earlier religion class program but also made use of the public school system. The program began when Joseph F. Merrill, a counselor in the Granite Stake presidency who was given responsibility over education, sat listening to his wife tell their children scriptural stories she learned during her education at a Church academy. Merrill's children attended a nearby public school, and he became concerned over his children's lack of religious training. An energetic young professor at the University of Utah, Merrill began searching for a way to bring religious training to students attending public schools. Possibly inspired by theological seminaries he saw during his graduate education in Chicago, Merrill struck upon the idea of building smaller facilities dedicated exclusively to religious education next to public high schools, then releasing students from school custody for one period a day to take part in religious studies.³⁴ Merrill even went so far as to approach the local school board to allow school credit for biblical studies in seminary.³⁵ The school board agreed to grant one-half credit for courses in Old and New Testament studies which would count towards the sixteen credits required for high school graduation. The Utah State School Board also sanctioned the practice, and they expressed approval of the plan for the seminary near Granite High School.³⁶

³⁴ Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 168.

³⁵ Joseph F. Merrill, "A New Institution in Religious Education." *Improvement Era*, 1938, 12, 55-56.

³⁶ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 29.

In order to cover materials specific to the Church, a third course non-credit course in Church History was also offered.³⁷

Working alongside Thomas Yates, a member of the Granite stake high council selected to be the first seminary teacher, Merrill developed a curriculum based on the Latter-day Saint scriptures. A \$2,500 loan from Zion's Bank to the Granite Stake financed the first seminary building, and construction began only a few weeks before school began, and it was not fully finished until three weeks into the school year. The limited finances resulted in the most spartan of accommodations. The building consisted of four rooms: a cloak room, an office, a small library, and a classroom. The building had blackboards and a stove for heating but no electric lights. The seminary's entire library consisted of a Bible dictionary owned by Yates. Students used their scriptures as the textbooks and made their own maps to decorate the room. Despite the rough conditions, seventy students enrolled the first year. The program found even greater success in its second year when Guy C. Wilson, a professional educator recently moved from the LDS colonies in Mexico, arrived and took over for Yates.³⁸

Merrill later explicitly stated he did not intend for the seminaries to replace the academies, only to bring weekday religious instruction to public school students.³⁹ Nevertheless, the seminary program spread rapidly and began to overtake the academies as the dominant factor in Church education. One of the primary factors driving this shift was economic. While a Church school required hundreds of thousands of dollars to construct and maintain facilities, only \$2,500 was necessary to build the seminary building at Granite High.⁴⁰ Only one teacher,

³⁷ Merrill, "A New Institution," 55-56.

³⁸ Charles Coleman and Jones, Dwight Jones, *History of Granite Seminary*, unpublished manuscript, MSS 2237, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, 1933, 6-7.

³⁹ Merrill, "A New Institution," 12, 55-56.

⁴⁰ Coleman and Jones, *Granite Seminary*, 6.

and not an entire faculty, taught religion at a seminary. Seminary held benefits over the religion class program as well, since it took advantage of the fact that most LDS students in a local area were already gathered at public schools. Classes held during the school day removed the need for a separate gathering outside of school time and allowed access to some students who would be unable to attend otherwise. With costs on such a limited scale, it was possible to bring seminary to nearly every community with LDS students, while the academies only served a limited area. Within a decade after the first seminary was started at Granite High, the program had grown to include 32 seminaries with an enrollment of 4,400 students.⁴¹

Seminaries represented a unique fusion of the academy and religion class systems. The released-time program worked in concert with public school system, not in competition. While it was supplementary, the inclusion of high school credit for some seminary courses allowed students to attend a public high school, study religion, and still receive credit toward graduation. Since seminaries only focused only on the teaching of religion, they operated with smaller facilities, faculties, and at a fraction of the cost of maintaining an academy. Unlike religion classes, studies took part during the school day and in facilities closer to the public schools, allowing for increased attendance.

At the same time, the seminary system raised some difficult issues. Though the Utah State Board had approved the system, the practice of released time was still largely experimental. The legal and constitutional boundaries involved in seminaries presented many questions. Is it legal to offer high school credit for any religious course of studies, no matter how neutral? To what extent should the administration of the seminaries and the schools nearby overlap? Even the practice of releasing a student from school to attend religious instruction presented new legal

⁴¹Clark, "Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah," 309.

territory. Seminaries also created a new kind of educator in the Church. In the academy system, religion classes were taught by teachers who specialized in other subjects. For example, an English teacher might teach several classes in his specified subject per day, then one focusing on a religious topic.⁴² Seminary teachers focused solely on the teaching of religion. In a church led by lay clergy, was there room for a group of professional theologians?

Focus Shifted to Seminary

In 1920 a major shift in the direction of the Church's educational programs took place. In 1919 the Church board of education reorganized the governing hierarchy of Church education, creating a new body with apostle David O. McKay selected as the first commissioner. Stephen L Richards served under McKay as first assistant commissioner and Richard R. Lyman as second assistant. The board appointed Adam S. Bennion, a former principal of Granite high school, as the Superintendent of Schools.⁴³ Within several months, President McKay proposed the practical measure that "all small schools in communities where LDS influence predominates to be eliminated" and that the Church only "maintain four or five schools with the aim of giving first-class training to teachers."⁴⁴ Soon afterward, the Church Board of Education announced the closure or transfer to state control of nearly all of the Church academies. A few of the stronger academies, specifically Ricks, Weber, Snow, and Dixie, received upgrades in status to junior colleges, designed mainly to function as teacher training schools. In the new system, Brigham Young University acted as the parent school to these junior colleges that in turn acted as feeder schools to BYU.⁴⁵ The beginnings of these policies marked a major change in the educational

⁴²Bergera and Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, 53.

⁴³ Bell, Kenneth G. "Adam Samuel Bennion: Superintendant of LDS Education, 1919 to 1928," M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969, 47-48.

⁴⁴Woodger, *David O. McKay: Father of the Church Educational System*, 382.

⁴⁵ Clark, *Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah*, 312-313.

policies of the Church. Rather than competing with secular systems, the Church instead chose to cooperate, offering religious education via the seminary program to supplement the education of its youth. In 1922, LDS Church president Heber J. Grant gave a speech at one of the Church schools which illuminated this new policy. In Grant's mind the purpose of the Church education "was to make better Latter-day Saints. But for this reason, I am convinced there would be no need of having church schools as ordinary education can be secured at the expense of the taxpayers of the state."⁴⁶

Even more sweeping changes came in 1926. At a meeting of the Church General board of Education, Church Superintendent of Schools Adam S. Bennion submitted a document titled "An Inquiry Into Our Church Policy." In this report Bennion bluntly laid out the financial position of the Church schools and the seminaries. Bennion estimated that the relative cost of operating the schools was \$818,426.01 compared to \$197,502.59 for the seminaries. In light of these facts, he presented the Church board with three alternatives for the future of Church education. Under the first plan, the Church schools would be maintained but with no further funding for expansion, while the seminary continued to grow. The second alternative called for an expansion of Church education, but warned about prohibitive costs. The third plan called for the Church to withdraw altogether from the field of secular education to favor efforts at providing a religious education to LDS students. He also recommended the establishment of collegiate level seminaries near the campuses of universities and colleges with a large enough population of LDS students to justify their existence. At the end of his report, Bennion asked eight questions which would largely shape the direction of Church education from that point:

1. Does the Church receive benefit in returns from an 8 to 1 investment in

⁴⁶ Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 165.

- Church schools as against the seminaries?
2. Do these returns equal the returns possible in other fields from the same investment?
 3. Does there lie ahead in the field of the Junior College the same competition with State institutions that has been encountered in the high school field?
 4. Can the Church afford to operate a university which will be able creditably to carry on against the great and richly endowed universities of our land/
 5. Will collegiate seminaries be successful?
 6. Can seminaries be operated successfully in communities where Latter-day Saints do not predominate?
 7. May seminaries be legislated out of successful operation?
 8. Assuming the Church can continue to operate Church Schools, can it launch a permanent campaign for fund which will automatically provide for all academic needs?⁴⁷

Such a clear distillation of the dilemmas facing Church education called for quick action by the board. At a later meeting of the Church Board, President Charles Nibley summarized the issue by saying, “the whole question in a few words is this: Shall the Church continue to compete with the State or shall it step out and attend strictly to religious education?”⁴⁸

After raising these questions, Bennion offered his recommendations a month later in March, 1926. They were as follows:

- a. That we continue to establish seminaries wherever their need is keenly felt and wherever the local people exhibit a spirit of cooperation and enthusiasm which seems to guarantee for successful operation of such institutions.
- b. That we plan to withdraw from the field of the Junior Colleges as the State may make provision to take them over, or where conditions no longer warrant their maintenance, except in those cases in which our judgment such conversion will be inimical to the welfare of our young men and women.⁴⁹

Bennion would sum up by saying, “My judgment leads me to the conclusion that finally and inevitably we shall withdraw from the academic field and center upon religious education. It is

⁴⁷ Bell, “Adam S. Bennion,” 87.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 90.

only a question as to when we may best do that.”⁵⁰

While Bennion functioned as the chief architect of this restructuring, the drive behind it was coming from higher places in the Church. President Heber J. Grant remarked in the midst of all these discussions:

I am free to confess that nothing has worried me more since I became president than the expansion and appropriation for the Church school system. With the idea of cutting down the expense, we have appointed three of the Apostles as Commissioners; but instead of cutting down we have increased and increased, until we decided a year ago that there should be no further increase. We decided to limit Brigham Young University to \$200,000. Last year that school got \$165,000 for a new building, and inside of two or three years they expect a regular appropriation of \$300,000,, besides which they have plans laid out for new buildings involving an expenditure of over a million and a half. Well, we can't do it, that's all.⁵¹

Grant further expressed his view that for any higher institutions of learning in the Church to be maintained, they would probably have to be largely supported by endowments, and he went on to say, “Our people are not in a position to make endowments.”⁵²

Despite such strong statements, Bennion's suggestions did not find immediate approval. Church schools enjoyed acceptance as a long-term part of the Church's program and suggesting their closure caused some objections. Apostle David O. McKay urged caution in so quickly abandoning the Church schools. McKay wanted to seek a compromise between the two alternatives of maintaining the Church schools or moving entirely in favor of the seminaries. He stated

I stand right between these two extremes. I am not in favor of spending money on higher education in Church schools... but I hesitate about eliminating the schools

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 91.

⁵² Wilkinson, 1975, 2:74-75.

now established, because of the growing tendency all over the world to sneer at religion. When President Woodruff sent out his letter advising Presidents of Stakes to establish Church Schools, he emphasized that we must have our children trained in the principles of the gospel. We can have that in the seminaries it is true, but he added this, “and where the principles of our religion may form part of the teaching of the schools.” President Young had the same thought in mind when he told Dr. Maeser not to teach arithmetic without the spirit of the Lord. The influence of seminaries, if you put them all over the Church, will not equal the influence of the Church schools that are now established.⁵³

Bennion’s policy recommendations sent strong reverberations throughout the Church’s entire educational system. While work went forward on some of his suggestions, the debate continued over the more controversial aspects continued for the next year, without any major announcements of policy changes.

During this period Bennion resigned as Superintendent of Church schools to accept a position on the board of the Utah and Power Light Company, and Joseph F. Merrill, the founder of the seminary system, received a call from the Church board to take over in the new position of Church Commissioner of Education.⁵⁴ By this time it was clear that the majority of the leaders of the Church favored a complete withdrawal from the field of secular education. Merrill later recalled

When I was asked by the First Presidency if I would accept the position being vacated by Dr. Bennion, I asked for a statement of policy. They replied, ‘We have concluded to spend all the money we can afford for education in the field of religious education.’ My first duty would be to eliminate the junior colleges from the Church School system . . . and to promote the extension of the seminary system, just as widely as our means would permit . . . The First Presidency told

⁵³Ibid., 74-75.

⁵⁴ Bennion’s exact reasons for resignation are unknown, though some have suggested he clashed with Church leaders over their conservative attitudes. See John Andrew Braithwaite, “Adam Samuel Bennion, Educator, Businessman, and Apostle,” M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965, 34. It should be noted that Bennion continued to serve on the Church Board of Education even after his resignation as superintendent of Church Schools. See Bell, 97.

me that this was the plan they would like to see followed. But the junior colleges were to be closed.⁵⁵

Seminaries on the Collegiate Level: The Institute Program

Before the junior colleges could be closed, however, a necessary substitute to provide LDS college students with access to religious education had to be found. Prior to Merrill's call as commissioner, Church leaders sent J. Wyley Sessions, a returning mission president from South Africa, to Moscow, Idaho, to prepare the way for the new program. Sessions faced a difficult task. In his own recollection he was given no guidance other than a directive from the First Presidency to "study the situation and tell us what the Church should do for Latter-day Saints attending state universities."⁵⁶

Arriving in Moscow, Sessions worked hard to win over the support of the community. He enrolled at the University of Idaho and worked on a Master's degree while designing the curriculum and philosophy of the new program. Winning over the local populace was only part of Sessions' challenge. His task consisted of nothing less than to create a new kind of religious education, almost entirely from scratch. Anxious to receive some guidance in the venture, Sessions wrote to Brigham Young University, Illinois University, and several others. Worried over the aim of the curriculum he was creating from scratch, Sessions wrote the following to Commissioner Merrill seeking advice: "I have been working on a plan for the organization of our Institute and the courses we should offer in our weekday classes. I confess that the building of a curriculum for such an institution has worried me a lot and it is a job that I feel unqualified for."

⁵⁵ Joseph F. Merrill to Amos N. Merrill, Salt Lake City, Dec. 13, 1951, Joseph Francis Merrill Collection, MSS 1540, Box 4, Folder 2, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, BYU.

⁵⁶ James Wyley Sessions Interview, August 12, 1972, interviewed by Marc Sessions, MS 15866, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, UT, hereafter designated as Sessions 1972 Oral History, 5.

Merrill's reply two days later became a foundational pillar for the institute program. In Merrill's mind, the objective of Institute aimed to "enable our young people attending these colleges to make the necessary adjustments between the things they have been taught in the Church and the things they are learning in the university, to enable them to become firmly settled in their faith as members of the Church." Merrill continued, "You know that when our young people go to college and study science and philosophy in all their branches, that they are inclined to become materialistic, to forget God, and to believe that the knowledge of men is all sufficient.... Can the truths of science and philosophy be reconciled with religious truths?" Merrill, a scientist by profession, wanted institute to be designed specifically to allow the reconciliation of faith and reason. To this end, he concluded, "Personally, I am convinced that religion is as reasonable as science; that religious truths and scientific truths nowhere are in conflict; that there is one great unifying purpose extending throughout all creation; that we are living in a wonderful, though at the present-time deeply mysterious, world; and that there is an all-wise, all-powerful Creator at the back of it all. Can this same faith be developed in the minds of all our collegiate and university students? Our collegiate institutes are established as means to this end."⁵⁷

In constructing the institute curriculum, Sessions freely admitted that he "plagiarized" from several universities. Some of his co-conspirators consisted of members of English, Education, and Philosophy departments of the university faculty, a group just as eager as Sessions to see how the new program would function. They sought out textbooks and outlines, assisting Sessions while he wrote outlines for several courses in biblical studies and religious

⁵⁷ All quotes in this paragraph are taken from Ward H. Magleby, "1926- Another Beginning, Moscow, Idaho," *Impact*, Winter 1968. 31-32. Magleby corresponded directly with J. Wyley Sessions in the writing of this article. Sessions' original letters describing these events can be found in the J. Wyley Sessions Papers, UA 156, at L. Tom Perry Special Collections, BYU. Sessions was of advanced age when writing these letters, and I have used Magleby's article here because of the difficulty of reading Sessions' handwriting in the original manuscripts.

history. Through an arrangement with the university, college credit was granted for each of the courses.⁵⁸ This arrangement meant that Sessions' classes were partially overseen and occasionally visited by officials from the university. With the curriculum in place and the support of the university, Sessions began teaching the first classes in the fall of 1927, roughly one year after his arrival. His total enrollment was fifty-seven students.⁵⁹

In devising the Institute program, Sessions involved himself in more than just offering religion classes. College level religion courses existed already, and even in the Church some were previously taught experimentally by Andrew Anderson and Gustive Larsen at the College of Southern Utah, beginning in 1925, but Sessions' program held something different.⁶⁰ What distinguished Sessions' efforts were his intentions to launch an entire program designed to meet the spiritual, intellectual, and social needs of his students. To assist him in this endeavor, Sessions enlisted his wife, Magdalene, who devised a varied program of social and cultural activities.⁶¹ Under their supervision, the institute became an all-out effort to form the scattered students into their own community at the university.

Despite some hostility from the local community, Sessions successfully designed and launched an adaptation of supplementary religious education on the collegiate level. Essentially an adaptation of the seminary program on the collegiate level, the program offered supplemental religious education for LDS college students at a fraction of the cost of the Church colleges. Dubbed the "Latter-day Saint Institute of Religion," the program took hold and was soon

⁵⁸ J. Wyley Sessions, "The Latter-Day Saint Institutes," *Improvement Era*, July 1935, 412-13.

⁵⁹ "Moscow Institute of Religion, Sixty Years of Institute," unpublished manuscript, CR 102 205, Salt Lake City, Church History Library, 1986, 5.

⁶⁰ Anderson, "A Historical Survey of the Full-Time Institutes of Religion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1926-1966," Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1966, 44.

⁶¹ "Moscow Institute of Religion: Sixty Years of Institute," 5.

launched at several other universities.⁶² Spreading from its inception in Moscow, most other universities in the Intermountain region received the institute program warmly. Some educators hailed it as the solution to the problem of Church and State in collegiate education. F.J. Kelly, the president of University of Idaho, wrote of the Institute program, “All the great churches should recognize their responsibility at state supported colleges and universities. These church institutions should be recognized as an intrinsic part of the educational scheme.”⁶³

Coming after the rapid expansion of the seminary program in the 1920s, Institutes showcased another successful application of supplemental religious education. Part of the reason for maintaining Church schools rested in the need to train new teachers in an LDS environment. With the institutes in place and spreading, the Church could provide the religious part of a teachers training, while a secular, state sponsored school could provide the rest. The institutes, as conceived by J. Wyley Sessions, became an interesting hybrid of a seminary program, a social club, and even a fraternity. The original institute in Moscow, for example, featured dorm rooms for male students at the University of Idaho. Institute added another dimension to the supplemental religious education programs, demonstrating not only the academic appeal of the program, but the social aspect as well. Seminaries and Church schools previous to the Institutes existed only where a *large* population of Latter-day Saints existed. Sessions’ program showed how religious education could build a *small* cohort of LDS students into a faith-affirming community. This adaptation for a handful of students also demonstrated another powerful advantage of supplemental religious education. It allowed religious training to follow the students, rather than forcing them to come to it.

⁶²Magleby, “1926 – Another Beginning, Moscow, Idaho,” 23, 27.

⁶³Anderson, “A Historical Survey of the Full-time Institutes,” 65.

Discussions Concerning Whether Seminaries Should Replace Church Schools

With the program up and running, Merrill's next moved to address the lingering issues surrounding the continuance of the Church schools. Despite a statement of policy from the First Presidency, Merrill still sought a statement of consensus from the Church Board of Education. With the closure or transfer of most of the Church schools certain, the question still remained of how far Church leaders desired to carry the transformation of the Church school system. Should all of the Church schools, including Brigham Young University, face elimination in favor of the seminary and institute system? Finding no clear answer in the minutes of the Church Board of Education, Merrill asked for a clear statement of policy. This in turn led to a lively discussion among the board members about what direction the Church's educational program should precede in. Mixed feelings existed among the board member actions they should take. President Heber J. Grant felt the finances of the Church could best be served by the closure of all the schools as quickly as possible. David O. McKay, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve at the time, argued strongly for the retention of the Church junior colleges. He felt this was critical in allowing Church influence in teacher training throughout the state. McKay also sounded some concerns about the viability of the seminary and institute systems. The minutes from the meeting read as follows:

Brother McKay stated that he did not wish to be considered as not sustaining the First Presidency, but that he could not vote in favor of the elimination of junior colleges . . . He favored the retaining of junior colleges at this time because, by their elimination, the Church would lose its hold on the training of teachers, and that in his opinion it would be better to curtail the establishment of seminaries for a time and hold the colleges, until the virtue of seminaries and institutes as substitutes for schools be more clearly demonstrated. He also expressed the thought that the local people involved in the junior colleges should be consulted

and won over to any proposed eliminations before definitive decisions should be made.⁶⁴

The meeting ended with President Grant declaring that the policy covered *all* Church schools, including BYU. President Grant expressed remorse, saying it “almost breaks one’s heart” to close all the schools, but that Church finances simply could no longer support the school system.”⁶⁵

Acting under the direction of the Church board, Merrill made arrangements to transfer Weber, Snow, and Dixie Colleges to state control. Through a process of delicate negotiations, each of these schools managed a successful transfer away from Church ownership. Merrill worked out a similar process for Gila College in Arizona. Negotiations were difficult, given the drastic economic circumstances of the time, and not all found success. The two most difficult schools to save were Ricks College in Idaho, and LDS College in Salt Lake City.⁶⁶ Church leaders worked to allow the transfer of control over Ricks College to the state of Idaho, but the state legislature rejected the offer several different times. Merrill persisted in trying to save Ricks College, writing to one school official, “The cause of the college is just. Let the support of the people be so generous that the college shall never die.”⁶⁷ When Merrill left the commissioner’s office in 1933 the fate of Ricks College was still unresolved. However, strong community support, and Church funding, as meager as the circumstances would allow, kept the

⁶⁴ Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 183.

⁶⁵ Wilkinson, 1975, 2:87.

⁶⁶ The effort to transfer Ricks College to the state of Idaho was rejected several times by the Idaho state legislature. See Jerry C. Roundy, *Ricks College: A Struggle for Survival*, (Rexburg, Idaho: Ricks College Press, 1976). LDS College was an unlikely candidate for transfer because of its close proximity to several well-established high schools, as well as the University of Utah. See Casey Paul Griffiths, “Joseph F. Merrill: Latter-day Saint Commissioner of Education, 1928-1933, (M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2007), 78-88.

⁶⁷ Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks*, 113.

school on life-support until the situation improved. Today, renamed BYU-Idaho, the school serves as a vital component of the Church educational system.

A few schools did survive the policy decision of 1929. While it is clear that Merrill felt some schools closures were inevitable, it is also clear that he felt a university was a vital component of the Church educational system. The day after the board meeting where the decision was made, he wrote to a BYU official, expressing his own desires for the university, “At the Board meeting yesterday it was not definitely stated so, but it seemed to be the minds of most of those present that the BYU as a whole be included in the closing movement; and that is specially the reason why I am writing you. My own hope and fondest desire is that we may retain the BYU as a senior and graduate institution, eliminating its junior college work, and make the University outstanding, a credit to the Church, and a highly serviceable and necessary institution.”⁶⁸ Writing to BYU president Franklin S. Harris, Merrill expressed similar hopes, “As I have told you before, I think it is perfectly feasible and logical to make the BYU the most outstanding institution between the Mississippi and the Pacific coast.”⁶⁹

Accompanying these private statements, Merrill also defended the need for a Church school in public. Part of the reasoning for keeping BYU under Church control stemmed from the need of an institution for the training of seminary teachers. Merrill worked to show the connection between the seminary system and the Church university, making the survival of both vital to the future of Church education. In the *Deseret News* he laid out three key reasons for the retention of BYU:

⁶⁸ Wilkinson, 1975, 2:87.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:221.

A university is an essential unit in our seminary systems. For our seminary teachers must be specially trained for their work. The Brigham Young University is our training school.

We need in the Church a group of scholars learned in history, science, and philosophy, scholars of standing and ability who can interpret for us and make plain to us the results of research and the reasoning of the human mind . . .

I offer as a third reason why we need a university the fact that Latter-day Saints' ideals are in many respects different from and higher than those of the average non-Latter-day Saint ideals so high in the educational world that all students in all schools of all grades may see beauty thereof, and perhaps be influenced by them?⁷⁰

With Merrill's intervention and the influence of several other General Authorities, BYU retained its place as the parent institution of the Church Educational System. Besides BYU and Ricks College, other schools survived as well. The Academy in the Mormon colony of Colonia Juarez in Mexico remained because of perceived inadequacies in the Mexican public schools system. Under the leadership of President Faramorz Y. Fox, the business department of LDS College in Salt Lake City remained and eventually became LDS Business College.⁷¹

While the meeting in 1929 seemed to sound the death knell for the remaining schools in the Church system, McKay's comments also represented some lingering insecurities about the seminary and institute system. As McKay pointed out, the concept of Church-sponsored schools held a long history inside and outside of Mormonism. Schools were simply less experimental than the seminaries and institutes. But the looming shadow of the Great Depression with its impact on Church finances forced the issue. The seminaries and institutes were less expensive to

⁷⁰ *Deseret News*, Dec. 20, 1930, quoted in Berrett & Burton, 3:341-342

⁷¹ Richard O. Cowan, *The Latter-Day Saint Century*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 82. Faramorz Y. Fox was instrumental in allowing securing the survival and growth of LDS Business College. See Lynn M. Hilton, *A History of LDS Business College and its Parent Institutions*, (Salt Lake: LDS Business College, 1995).

build, maintain, and carried religious education more easily to the wider body of the Church. However, McKay's fears about the legal questions surrounding the system soon materialized.

Legal Challenges to the Seminary Program

The worst fears surrounding the seminary and institutes seemed to explode in January 1930. A report from the state Inspector of High Schools, Isaac L. Williamson to the state school board was issued on January 7, 1930, giving a scathing public critique of the relationship between Utah high schools and seminaries.⁷² The state board gave few indications of the coming attack. Informed a few days before, Merrill attempted to meet with Williamson's committee before it made its report to the state board, but the board refused the meeting.⁷³ Church leaders, Merrill included, found themselves blindsided by the report and quickly organized themselves to issue a response.

Over the next few months, Merrill and other Church leaders waged a campaign to preserve the seminary system. The conflict climaxed with Merrill appearing before the Utah State Board defending the seminary system in person. In a letter sent to the board which captures the core of his arguments he wrote

The adoption of the committee's suggestions means the death of the seminary, and the enemies of the seminary all know it. But why do they want to kill something that every high school principal and school superintendent of experience says is good, being one of the most effective agencies in character training and good citizenship that influences the students? Is religious prejudice trying to mask in legal sheep's clothing for the purpose of stabbing the seminary,

⁷² Frederick S. Buchanan, "Masons and Mormons: Released-Time Politics in Salt Lake City, 1930-56." *Journal of Mormon History* 19:1, 77.

⁷³ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 43.

this agency that has had such a wonderful influence in bringing a united support to the public schools?⁷⁴

Merrill's defense sent a clear message to the State Board that the Church was willing to fight for the seminary program and held compelling legal reasons to believe they would win if the question came to a court decision.

In the aftermath of Merrill's rebuttal, the Board showed little inclination to back down, though it now had to consider the consequences of legal action if it did move to end credit and released time. In June 1930, the Board briefly considered the possibility of a "friendly lawsuit" to answer the constitutional questions raised by the Williamson report and briefly initiated a search to find a taxpayer who would bring the suit.⁷⁵

Merrill also expected that the fate of seminary might ultimately be decided in court and he readied himself for the challenge. In July 1930, he told a gathering of BYU students that the Church would "fight to the bitter end" to save its seminaries, and intimated that the controversy might eventually end up in the Supreme Court.⁷⁶

Fortunately, such measures were unnecessary. In September 1931, the Utah State Board voted six to three in favor of retention of credit and released time. Williamson argued passionately before the State Board several times against the seminaries, but his efforts appeared

⁷⁴Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, *A Reply to Inspector Williamson's Report to the State Board of Education on the Existing Relationship Between Seminaries and Public High Schools in the State of Utah and Comments Thereon by a Special Committee of the Board*, issued as a letter to the Utah State Board of Education, 23-24, May 3, 1930, Box 57, Folder 13, Buchanan Collection, AO149.xml, Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah, 4, hereafter referred to as the *Merrill Report*. While it is likely several figures authored this report, it was sent under Merrill's signature and he should be considered, if not its sole creator, to at least be responsible for it. For the sake of clarity, and so as to not confuse this report with the Williamson report, I will refer to the words in this report as Merrill's, recognizing other unidentified church officials may have also had a hand in writing them. A complete copy of this document may be found in Griffiths, "Joseph F. Merrill," 2007.

⁷⁵"Status of Church Seminaries Seek Court Decision," *Deseret News*, June 28, 1930, 3.

⁷⁶*Salt Lake Telegram*, July 3, 1930, 6.

to have been ineffective.⁷⁷ The conflict did serve as an uncomfortable reminder of the religious rift which still existed in the state. All six of the board members who voted in favor of retention were Latter-day Saints, while the three dissenters were not.⁷⁸ Minor skirmishes continued over the seminary issue in the ensuing decades. At a 1932 meeting of Utah educators, one school principal called the seminaries “an evil more subtle, farther reaching, more dangerous, and unwise than the cigarette evil.”⁷⁹ The lawsuit desired by the State Board never materialized, though the articles which appeared in the public press appeared in 1934, 1943, 1948, 1950, and even as late as 1956 which indicated that individuals had intended or proposed to institute judicial proceedings intended to test the legality of the seminary system.⁸⁰ The legality of released-time religious education also became the subject of two cases presented before the U.S. Supreme Court, *McCullum v. Board of Education* (1948) and *Zorach v. Clauson* (1952). Both trials involved non-LDS released time programs. The two Supreme Court cases settled several issues over the legality of released time programs, which the Court defined as legal so long as the programs did not entail “excessive entanglement.”⁸¹ The legal issues over released-time and credit were finally resolved in 1978 when a lawsuit was brought by the American Civil Liberties Union in Logan, Utah established the legal operational boundaries for the LDS program.⁸²

The battle over the seminary system caused significant reverberations through Church education. Williamson had raised some legitimate concerns over the way the system operated. Administrative changes were also initiated to comply with the wishes of the state board.

⁷⁷ Utah State Board Minutes, June 28, 1930, the minutes from the State Board may be accessed at the Utah State School Board offices in Salt Lake City, Utah, courtesy Twila Affleck.

⁷⁸ Buchanan, *Masons and Mormons*, 80.

⁷⁹ *Deseret News*, October 29, 1932, 1.

⁸⁰ Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah,” 327.

⁸¹ For a review of the legality of released time seminary, see Casey Paul Griffiths, “The Seminary System on Trial: The 1978 Lanner v. Wimmer Lawsuit,” *Journal of Mormon History*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Spring 2011), 146-183.

⁸² See Griffiths, “The Seminary System on Trial,” 146-183.

Registration was carried out in a separate building, seminary photographs and activities were not allowed to be shown in high school yearbooks, and seminary teachers were banned from seeking any privileges not already available to any citizen in their respective communities.⁸³

The episode illustrated insecurities certain Church leaders felt over the nature of supplemental religious education. David O. McKay's fears about the experimental nature of the seminary program found actualization in the crisis. Church finances and the gloomy economic outlook of the 1930s shifted momentum in favor of the seminary and institute programs, but questions existed over the effectiveness and basic legality of the system. The ruling of the state board settled the question statewide, but the contest over released time continued in the Salt Lake school district, home of many Church leaders, and served as a continuing reminder of the questionable legality of the seminary system, especially with credit allowed for biblical classes.⁸⁴

Concerns over the Orthodoxy of the Seminary & Institute Teachers

The legal episode also radically altered the mindset of Church educators for a brief time. In large measure the conflict with the State Board had come about because the teachers staffing them were not adequately trained. Many seminary teachers at the time failed to possess even a high school teacher's certificate. Merrill had already seen this as a potential problem. One of his first actions as commissioner was to send a general letter to all seminary teachers, requesting that they obtain a teaching certificate as soon as possible.⁸⁵

⁸³ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 46.

⁸⁴ For a complete account of the legal battles over seminary in the Salt Lake School District, see Buchanan, "Masons and Mormons," 1993.

⁸⁵ Joseph F. Merrill to all Seminary Teachers, October 1, 1928, George A. Brimhall Papers, BYU, UA 1092, Box 32, Fd. 2.

The episode may have in part inspired Merrill to create the Department of Religion at BYU in order to prevent Church teachers from making the same errors found in Williamson's report.⁸⁶ Several outside scholars from the University of Chicago were brought in to instruct the Church's religious educators, among them Edgar J. Goodspeed, an eminent New Testament Scholar. T. Edgar Lyon, a young teacher in the audience, described Goodspeed's teaching style: "He was a marvelous lecturer. I was amazed at how well he had these [things] timed. He would never allow any interruption in the classes. . . He would start lecturing and he'd finish his lectures on the last sentence and the bell would ring. I haven't seen anything so well timed in all my life. Then on Fridays we'd have a free-for-all discussion on what we wanted."⁸⁷ Lyon also recalled that after two or three weeks of teaching several General Authorities attended Goodspeed's class. They were so impressed that Goodspeed was invited to deliver a Sunday afternoon sermon to a packed crowd in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. To Lyon, Goodspeed's lectures were "the most exciting class I've ever had up to that time." He remarked that "I learned more in Goodspeed's one hour lectures... for six weeks than I would have learned in a Sunday school class in a hundred years because the individual had his subject matter and knew how to present it. And he didn't have any people sleeping in his class... He was a scintillating lecturer."⁸⁸

Merrill, deeply impressed with Goodspeed's teaching and scholarship, invited several more teachers from the Chicago Divinity School to come and instruct the seminary and institute teachers over the next few years. At the same time, several promising young teachers were sent

⁸⁶ Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 1975, 2:286

⁸⁷ T. Edgar Lyon Oral History, Interviewed by Davis Bitton, 1974-75, Special Collections, BYU, 93.

⁸⁸ T. Edgar Lyon Interview, February 7, 1973. Interviewed by Frederick S. Buchanan and Marshal B. Poulson, 11-15, 28, in Thomas Edgar Lyon, Jr. Research Collection, MSS 2372, Box 2, Fd. 11, Special Collections, BYU.

to the University of Chicago's Divinity School to receive advanced training.⁸⁹ Among these men were several educators who later became key leaders in the developing religious education programs of the Church. In total, eleven men⁹⁰ earned advanced degrees at Chicago during this period. Among this number were such noted LDS teachers as Sidney B. Sperry, T. Edgar Lyon, Russel B. Swensen, Daryl Chase, George S. Tanner, and Heber C. Snell.⁹¹

When the men sent to Chicago began to return, they resumed their position in the religious education programs of the Church. For example, Sperry and Swensen were placed in the religious education department at BYU, George Tanner became the head of the Moscow Institute.⁹² Some of these teachers began to use their Divinity school training to write apologetic works for the faith, while others began acting as critics and gadflies to what they saw as the flaws or anachronisms in Church organization and doctrine. Boyd K. Packer, an LDS educator and later member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, gave this assessment of these teachers:

Some who went never returned. And some of them who returned never came back. They had followed, they supposed, the scriptural injunction: 'Seek learning, even by study and also by faith' (D&C 88:118). But somehow the mix had been wrong. For they had sought learning out of the best books, even by study, but with too little faith. They found themselves in conflict with the simple things of the gospel. One by one they found their way outside of the field of teaching religion, outside of Church activity, and a few of them outside of the Church itself.⁹³

⁸⁹ Russel B. Swensen, "Mormons at the University of Chicago Divinity School: A Personal Reminiscence." *Dialogue*, 7:2, 39.

⁹⁰ The participants in the Chicago experience were Anthony S. Cannon, Daryl Chase, Carl J. Furr, Therald N. Jensen, Vernon Larson, Wesley P. Lloyd, T. Edgar Lyon, Heber C. Snell, Sidney B. Sperry, Russel B. Swensen, and George S. Tanner. See T. Egar Lyon, Jr., *A Teacher in Zion* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 143.

⁹¹ T. Edgar Lyon Jr., 136.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 145.

⁹³ Boyd K. Packer, "Seek Learning Even by Study and Also by Faith," in *That All May Edified* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 43-44.

The Chicago teachers began to make waves in the system as they brought back Modernist theories and approaches towards the scriptures. Part of the trouble stemmed from the fact that the Chicago Divinity School was among the most liberal theological institutions in the United States. Why would such a conservative organization send teachers to a school which prided itself on being “a hotbed of radical theology”?⁹⁴ One of the ironies of the situation may have been that only a very liberal school would accept Latter-day Saints as students in the religious climate of the time.⁹⁵

How did the Chicago students react when they returned as full-time Church educators? Some began to immediately produce strong apologetic works for the Church. Sidney B. Sperry immediately began writing books using scholarly approaches towards the Book of Mormon and other unique Latter-day Saint works. Others felt that their training curtailed them from teaching in a faith-building manner. Daryl Chase, who was assigned to teach at a high school seminary, wrote to Russel B. Swensen, another Chicago alumni, “It is next to impossible to keep from slipping backwards intellectually in such an environment.... It is not that I am over-worked, but the monotony is killing. —Six classes of the O.T. daily to little children who have to be told the meaning of half of the words in their text. God of my fathers, why am I so cursed!”⁹⁶ In a similar vein Chase wrote to T. Edgar Lyon, “I used to think I knew how to teach the Old Testament to high school students but after my work at the University of Chicago, I discovered what an impossible task it was to teach the Old Testament as it actually is, and at the same time

⁹⁴ Charles Harvey Arnold, *Near the Edge of Battle: A Short History of the Divinity School and the “Chicago School of Theology” 1866-1966*, (Chicago, Illinois: The Divinity School Association, 1966), 34.

⁹⁵ Lyon, Jr., *A Teacher in Zion*, 132.

⁹⁶ Daryl Chase to Russel B. Swensen, undated letter (ca. 1933), Davis County, Utah, Swensen Collection, box 2, folder 9, Special Collections, BYU.

feed the religious life of young boys and girls. For that reason I persuaded my associate teachers to relieve me of all Old Testament duties.”⁹⁷

Public controversies accompanied these private expressions as well. Another Chicago man, Heber C. Snell, who was then serving as Institute Director in Pocatello, Idaho, created an uproar at a January 1937 meeting of LDS institute directors. In an address entitled “Criteria for Interpreting the Old Testament to College Youth,” Snell publicly questioned the historicity of the Book of Jonah and traditional authorship of the later chapters of the Book of Isaiah. Snell admonished that “we ought to be governed in our judgments in internal evidence of the books themselves, and by such external evidence as may exist, rather than by mere tradition.” Snell continued on, stating that evolution proved “not a blind arrangement for continuing species in the world, but a method used by and worthy of a God whose chief glory is intelligence.”⁹⁸ Joseph Fielding Smith was so alarmed by Snell’s declarations that he wrote to Church Commissioner of Education, Franklin L. West, saying, “If the views of these men become dominant in the Church, then we may just as well close up shop and say to the world that Mormonism is a failure.”⁹⁹

Further evidence of concern among the leaders of the Church concerning the seminary and institute program came when J. Reuben Clark, a member of the First Presidency of the Church gave an address to religious educators at the 1938 BYU Summer School. Clark stated in no uncertain terms the concern of the leaders of the Church over what they perceived as a creeping secularism beginning to inundate the seminary and institute programs. He declared

⁹⁷Daryl Chase to T. Edgar Lyon, Feb. 18, 1933, T. Edgar Lyon Collection, Reel 13, box 17, folder 17, Special Collections, BYU.

⁹⁸Heber C. Snell, “Criteria for Interpreting the Old Testament to College Youth,” *Through the Years: Occasional Writings of Heber C. Snell*, (Logan, Utah, Merrill Library, 1969), 95-97.

⁹⁹Joseph Fielding Smith to Franklin L. West, March 11, 1937, cited in Richard Sherlock, “Faith and History: The Snell Controversy,” *Dialogue*, 12:1, 27-41.

If we cannot teach the gospel, the doctrines of the Church, and the standard works of the Church, all of them, on "released time" in our seminaries and institutes, then we must face giving up "released time" and try to work out some other plan of carrying on the gospel work in those institutions. If to work out some other plan be impossible, we shall face the abandonment of the seminaries and institutes and the return to Church colleges and academies. We are not now sure, in the light of developments, that these should ever have been given up. We are clear upon this point, namely, that we shall not feel justified in appropriating one further tithing dollar to the upkeep of our seminaries and institutes unless they can be used to teach the gospel in the manner prescribed. The tithing represents too much toil, too much self-denial, too much sacrifice, too much faith, to be used for the colorless instruction of the youth of the Church in elementary ethics. This decision and situation must be faced when the next budget is considered.¹⁰⁰

Clark's address sent a clear message to the seminary and institute teachers of the Church. It also indicated that Clark felt uncomfortable with the experimental nature of seminaries and institutes, particularly their affiliation with modernist biblical scholarship. Seeming to address this point, in the same speech Clark directly addressed those with advanced training. He continued

On more than one occasion, our Church members have gone to other places for special training in particular lines; they have had the training which was supposedly the last word, the most modern view; then they have brought it back and dosed it upon us without any thought as to whether we needed it or not. I refrain from mentioning well-known and, I believe, well-recognized instances of this sort of thing. I do not wish to wound any feelings.

But before trying on the newest-fangled ideas in any line of thought, education, activity, or what not, experts should just stop and consider that however backward they think we are, and however backward we may actually be in some things, in other things we are far out in the lead, and therefore these new methods may be old, if not worn out, with us.¹⁰¹

President Clark's address provoked strong reactions among educators present. Sterling McMurrin, a young teacher present, remarked, "We divided ourselves up into liberal and conservative camps.... There was considerable discussion about it around our campfires." One

¹⁰⁰ J. Reuben Clark, "The Charted Course of the Church in Education," in *J. Reuben Clark: Selected Papers*, ed. David H. Yarn, Jr., (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1984), 254.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 251-252.

teacher, Newell K. Young, offered his resignation that night, but it was refused.¹⁰² Another teacher reported a fireside conversation where the talk was called “an expression of medieval theology.”¹⁰³ President Clark acknowledged the criticism himself in a letter to mission president, William E. Tew, noting, “There has not been a little rather severe fault-finding on the part of certain groups because of the things which I said at Aspen Grove. We expect to follow through on this matter and try to bring our Church education institutions in line herewith.”¹⁰⁴

Franklin L. West, the Commissioner of Education during these controversies, worked to smooth out concerns among Church leaders over the orthodoxy of the seminary and institute teachers.¹⁰⁵ West, a physics professor from Utah State University, believed strongly in academic freedom and encouraged open inquiry among the seminary and institute personnel. He was also a devout Latter-day Saint with a strong loyalty to the hierarchy of the Church. Throughout his administration he found himself straddling the line between these two forces. He also contended with the massive societal and economic upheavals which took place during his service from 1936 to 1953, and which curtailed major growth of the religious education programs of the Church during this era.

Within a few months after Clark’s address at Aspen Grove, West moved to bring the seminary and institute system more into line with the leaders of the Church. Clark recorded in his journal a conversation held in January 1938 in which West outlined his efforts to bring religious education into line:

¹⁰² Sterling M. McMurrin, and L. Jackson Newell, *Matters of Conscience: Conversations with Sterling M. McMurrin on Philosophy, Education, and Religion*, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996), 115.

¹⁰³ Scott C. Esplin, "Charting the Course: President Clark’s Charge to Religious Educators," *Religious Educator* 7:1 (2006), 107, 117.

¹⁰⁴ J. Reuben Clark to William E. Tew, Sept. 22, 1938, J. Reuben Clark papers, box 215, folder 8, Special Collections.

¹⁰⁵ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 1988, 63.

Brother West told me that he himself [was] outlining the courses for the Brigham Young University religious training; that he was also looking over the question of selection of the teachers, and insisting that no teacher should be employed in the school who is not spiritually sound; that this qualification seems at some time to have been overlooked or not sufficiently emphasized; and that the problems presented there was, for various reasons, rather a difficult one. He said, however, he was determined that the schools should take on a proper instruction in religion.¹⁰⁶

Clark, in turn, was frank about his misgivings with the religious educators of the Church.

Writing of the same conversation with West he recorded in his journal the following:

In the course of his [West's] observations he spoke of the fact that as a body the institute and seminary teachers had real testimonies of the truthfulness of the Gospel. I told Brother West that I had never had a serious doubt but that the bulk of those teachers did have a testimony. I said that my own view was that their real difficulty was that they could not bring themselves to teach the doctrines of the Church because of what their non-Church member colleagues would say about them. I said in my judgment the real difficulty was lack of courage. I emphasized this several times during the conversation.¹⁰⁷

The next conflict to flare up between the First Presidency and the Religious Education program came at the end of 1939. During West's tenure as Commissioner, a publication was launched by the Church Department of Education entitled *Weekday Religious Instruction*. The magazine, intended for use by seminary and institute teachers, featured speeches and writings from training conferences, notices about moves and changes within the system, and essays on theology and pedagogy written by seminary and institute personnel. It immediately began to spark controversy among the leaders of the Church. Sterling S. McMurrin, a young seminary teacher at the time, wrote an essay entitled "Toward a Christian Ethic." McMurrin later recalled that during the controversy following the essay's publication Commissioner West was called into Church President Heber J. Grant's office and told that the article was unacceptable. McMurrin

¹⁰⁶J. Reuben Clark Office Journal, January 23, 1939, Clark Papers, Addendum Box, Box 9, Folder 3, Special Collections, BYU, 62.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 63.

later reported that West informed him that President Grant had asked several lawyers to look at the article and that it was, in his opinion “a lot of damned tommyrot.”¹⁰⁸ Notes in J. Reuben Clark’s office journal confirm President Grant’s ire over the article. A brief entry records, “Brother Grant took him [West] to task a little bit about the article in ‘Week Day Religious Education’ by McMurrin”¹⁰⁹

Attempts to Reform Religious Education

With so many concerns being raised among the leadership of the Church concerning religious education, steps were immediately taken to remedy the situation. Since the BYU religion department was ostensibly the intellectual locus of religious education in the Church, the first efforts at change were made there. At the end of the 1938–39 school year when Guy C. Wilson retired as head of the religion department at BYU, J. Wyley Sessions, who did not hold a PhD, was appointed as Wilson’s replacement. To some the move was interpreted as the sending of a signal that faithfulness was more important than scholarship in Church education. Though Sessions spent several summers at Chicago working towards a PhD, his appointment more likely came because of the close relationship he had gained with most of the General Authorities as he served as president of the mission home in Salt Lake City previous to his assignment at BYU. Sessions’ appointment drew dismay from many of the scholars in the department. Sidney B. Sperry wrote to John A. Widtsoe, expressing his disappointment: “Another man is to come in as the head of the department of Religious Education who has had little or no real rigorous training as a number of us have. He is a fine fellow and we give him our support despite our personal feelings, but it hurts the morale of the department to have men hoisted over our heads when we

¹⁰⁸McMurrin, *Matters of Conscience*, 120.

¹⁰⁹ Clark Office Journal, 1940, Jan. 9, 1940, BYU, MSS 303, Special Collections, BYU, Box 9, Fd, 3.

have gone through the heat and labor of the day.”¹¹⁰ Daryl Chase wrote to Sperry offering his diagnosis, “The brethren who make the decisions in such matters still distrust the scholarship of the specialists in the field of religion.”¹¹¹

A few months later the First Presidency, led in this effort by President Clark, made an even more forceful move to put religious education in order. A memorandum sent to Commissioner West from President Clark stated that “Institutes and Seminaries will hereafter confine themselves exclusively to the following work: (a) Fostering and promoting the work of the auxiliary organizations of the Church... and (b) teaching the principles of the Gospel, as set out in the doctrines of the Church.” Teachers were directed specifically directed to use the Bible, Book of Mormon, Doctrine & Covenants, and Pearl of Great Price as the “ultimate authority on all matters of doctrine, save where the Lord shall have given or shall give further revelation through the prescribed source for such – the President of the Church.” The letter contained even more pointed references to the influence of the Chicago school, stating that “teachers will do well to give up indoctrinating themselves in the sectarianism of the modern ‘Divinity School Theology.’ If they do not, they will probably bring themselves to a frame of mind where they will no longer be useful in our system.” The letter asked teachers to teach “the Gospel and that only, and the Gospel as revealed in the last days.” They were also warned not to use the term “ideology” which the First Presidency felt “places the Gospel in the same category with any and every pagan religion or theology, characterizes them all as ‘a science that treats of the history and evolution of human ideas.’” The letter continued, “This concept, reduced to its lowest terms, may be expressed as conceiving that religion is man-made, that man makes his God, not God his

¹¹⁰ Sidney B. Sperry to John A. Widtsoe, Sept. 2, 1939, Provo, Utah, Sperry Collection, BYU, UA 618, Box 1, Fd. 4.

¹¹¹Daryl Chase to Sidney Sperry, Nov. 27, 1939, Sperry Collection, BYU, UA 618, Box 1, Fd. 4.

man—a concept which is coming to be basic to the whole ‘Divinity School Theology,’ but which is contrary to all the teachings of the Church and to God’s revealed word.”¹¹²

Such a direct challenge to the divinity school philosophies indicates that serious concerns arising in relation to the Chicago men and the general direction of religious education within the Church. Even their old ally, Joseph F. Merrill, felt corrections needed to be made. “I am in full harmony with the efforts now being made,” he wrote to Christen Jensen. Merrill was wary of “teachers who have seemed to be unwilling to accept wholeheartedly the teachings of Mormonism.... Of course, if the faith is genuine, all of us feel more or less lenient for conduct of the past, if there shall be a wholehearted desire to make amends for failures as indicated by conduct from now on. Enough said.”¹¹³

During this time Clark held multiple conversations with John A. Widtsoe and Merrill, the two apostles most involved in religious education. Following a prayer meeting in the Salt Lake Temple held on March 21, 1940, he took Widtsoe and Merrill aside to speak privately. Clark’s notes from the meeting record, “Told them all the Presidency want is the gospel.”¹¹⁴ This led to two meetings in Clark’s office a few days later. Clark’s notes from one of the meeting with the two apostles records the terse entry “schools – seminaries and institutes must be brought into line.”¹¹⁵ Clark’s concern over religious education may have been exacerbated by the fact that his son, J. Reuben Clark III, had recently been hired as a seminary teacher.¹¹⁶ He expressed his

¹¹² Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:381-382.

¹¹³ Wilkinson, *Brigham Young University*, 2:385.

¹¹⁴ J. Reuben Clark Office Journal, March 21, 1940, BYU, MSS 303, Box 9, Fd. 3.

¹¹⁵ J. Reuben Clark Office Journal, March 29, 1940, BYU, MSS 303, Box 9, Fd. 3.

¹¹⁶ Milton L. Bennion, *Recollections of a School Man: The Autobiography of M. Lynn Bennion*, (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1987) 108.

concerns in a letter to a seminary principal in 1941, writing, “I express to you the hope that all the seminaries of the Church will abandon their generalities based on sectarian concepts, frequently, in fact, almost always contrary to the principles and doctrines of the Church, and get back to the great fundamentals of the restored Gospel and priesthood.”¹¹⁷

During this period shadows hovered above the supplemental religious education programs. Several important General Authorities, particularly J. Reuben Clark and David O. McKay, questioned the orthodoxy of the men within the programs. The issues surrounding the practice of employing professional religious educators within a Church run by a lay clergy continued to linger. Clark and McKay in the meantime became fixtures within the First Presidency of the Church, with Clark serving as first counselor and McKay as second counselor to Church presidents Heber J. Grant and George Albert Smith. President Grant’s support for the programs grew out of financial concerns, and he, along with his counselors, seemed to harbor doubts about the orthodoxy of some of the teachers in the Seminary & Institute programs.

Despite the concerns of the some Church leaders, the tumult of World War II decade meant very little change occurred in the seminary and institute programs during the remainder of the 1940s. Very little is recorded concerning religious education during these years. Released time and institute programs continued to expand, albeit much more slowly given the massive focus which was placed in the war effort. Only three new institutes were established during the entire decade. By the end of the 1940s, released time was available throughout most of Utah, with the exception of the Salt Lake City School District. Ironically, the efforts to ban released-time seminary in Salt Lake City gave rise to another innovation in supplemental religious education.

¹¹⁷J. Reuben Clark to J. Karl Wood, May 27, 1941, Salt Lake City, Clark papers, Box 224.

Development of the Early Morning Seminary Program

One of the most important developments to occur during the administration of Franklin L. West administration came with the development and launch of the independent early morning seminary program. Ironically, the first early morning seminary classes began because the Salt Lake City school district refused to allow released time privileges. These classes, originally only designed as a temporary adaptation of the program until released time privileges could be gained, eventually became a critical vehicle for adapting the seminary program to the needs of students in areas where Latter-day Saints formed a minority of the population.

Beginning early in the 20th century, Mormon migration patterns began to follow different currents than they had traditionally adhered to. While many Mormons still chose to migrate to the LDS strongholds of the Intermountain West, many members of the faith also began a pattern of outmigration – leaving the Mormon dominated regions to expand into other areas of the United States.¹¹⁸ Southern California in particular became a gathering place for many Mormons. Many of the priesthood leaders in the area, coming from the Mormon strongholds of the Intermountain West, knew the benefits of a strong religious education program among their youth. During the 1940s these local leaders made attempts to gain legislative approval for a released time program in California but found no success.¹¹⁹ During the April 1950 General Conference, ten stake presidents from the Los Angeles area met with Elder Joseph Fielding Smith of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles to discuss the possibility of establishing some kind of seminary program for the youth in their areas. E. Garrett Barlow, president of the Inglewood

¹¹⁸ G. Wesley Johnson and Marian Ashby Johnson, "On the Trail of the Twentieth Century Mormon Outmigration." *BYU Studies* 46:1 (2007), 41-83.

¹¹⁹ Dennis A. Wright, "Good Morning Los Angeles: The Beginning of the Early Morning Seminary Program," in *Regional Studies in Latter-Day Saint Church History: California*, edited by David F. Boone, Robert C. Freeman, Andrew H. Hedges, Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, (Provo: BYU Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1998), 223-224.

Stake recalled, “We were acquainted with seminary on a released-time basis... and out of our experience came a desire to do something... our young people were scattered all over the area. They were in many high schools . . . [they] were in the minority... and needed something that they could rally to, more than Sunday services.”¹²⁰ The stake presidents received an assurance from Elder Smith that the matter would be looked into. He then asked three of the stake presidents, Howard W. Hunter of the Pasadena Stake, Noble Waite of the South Los Angeles Stake, and Hugh C. Smith of the San Fernando Stake to begin preparatory work for starting a program in the fall of 1950.

Realizing released time was not an option, Church leaders began looking into the possibility of adapting the early morning classes held in Salt Lake City to provide a program for the membership in Southern California. Marion D. Hanks, a Salt Lake attorney previously held several successful early morning classes at West High. However, when Hanks was approached to go to California and start a similar program there, he turned the offer down, saying that he didn’t want to work for the Church full-time. Turned down by Hanks, Commissioner West instead asked Ray L. Jones, a seminary principal in Logan, if he would consider traveling to California to start the program. Comfortable in his assignment and settling into a newly purchased home, Jones also expressed doubt that he should be the man to start the program. Commissioner West, anxious for him to accept the assignment, made the suggestion that Jones might leave his wife and family in Logan and simply “commute” periodically to Los Angeles! Jones finally consented to fast and pray about the question. After some time in contemplation

¹²⁰ David B. Rimington, *Vistas on Visions: A Golden Anniversary History of Church Education in Southern California*, (Anaheim, CA: Shumway Family History Services, 1988), 21.

Jones decided to give up his home in Logan and move permanently to Los Angeles to ensure the launch of the program.¹²¹

Secure in his decision to move, Jones next sought guidance from Commissioner West about how to carry out his duties. His recollection of their conversation highlights the highly experimental nature of the program. Jones peppered West with questions, receiving few satisfying answers from West:

In what areas are classes to be organized? His response: I don't know, you'll have to determine that are you get to Southern California.

Where will the classes be held? His response: I don't know, perhaps in the living room of a private home, in rented halls or if you find the need we could provide a mobile classroom that could be moved from campus to campus.

Who will teach the classes? His response: I don't know, you'll have to make that decision after you get acquainted with the area and the people.

When should the classes be held? His response: I don't know. Many high schools are on double session and you may have to settle for getting students together for twenty to thirty minutes in the morning, or for half an hour in the afternoon.¹²²

Armed with only a vague notion of how to launch the new venture, Jones embarked for Southern California in earnest.

The Church provided no funds for his travel, so Jones secured transport to Southern California by hiring on as a “drover” on a cattle train transporting livestock from Utah to Buena Park, California. His only wages consisted of a ride in the caboose to California and a ride back to Utah. He made the first of several trips to California in May 1950. West's first two trips to California on the cattle train produced few results because he was unable to meet with the majority of the stake presidents, who were caught up negotiations over the purchase of a new

¹²¹ Wright, *Good Morning Los Angeles*, 225.

¹²² Ibid.

Church Welfare farm. Frustrated, Jones called Commissioner West for reinforcements. West used his connections among the Church leaders to solicit aid from Apostle Harold B. Lee, who was in Los Angeles to announce the purchase of the welfare farm. In the meeting to announce the purchase of the farm, Lee took five minutes to forcefully encourage the implementation of the seminary program. “Unless we teach our youth the principles of the gospel,” he stated, “there will be no need for Welfare work and other Church activities.”¹²³

The rest of the summer of 1950 filled up with furious preparations for the program’s initiation. Jones moved his family to Los Angeles, met with local leaders to sell the program, and worked out the numerous details before the launch in September. The first step was to organize the local priesthood leaders. A new regional board of education identified potential seminary classes in six stakes: Los Angeles, Inglewood, South Los Angeles, Pasadena, San Fernando, and East Los Angeles.¹²⁴ To work out the logistics of the program, Jones began meeting with parents and leaders. Typical of these meetings, he noted the following:

As we met with the parents, we talked about the different problems. One of them was, when can we meet? As we looked at the schedule the only time when we could get the students and the teachers together, since we were using teachers who were regularly employed, would have been early in the morning or late evening. The schools being on double schedule, you could not get your students immediately after school. So the only time that was really reasonable was before school in the morning. When we talked about that with the parents, they just shook their heads and said, “It will never work. We can’t get our kids to school on time at 8 o’clock and you want us to get them there at 6:30 or 6:00 in the morning! It will never work!”¹²⁵

Despite these daunting challenges, Jones nevertheless pressed ahead in his task.

Faced with difficulty in teacher selection, location, and student recruitment, Jones found innovative solutions to each of his problems. He chose not to have individuals simply called by

¹²³Rimington, *Vistas on Visions*, 26.

¹²⁴Wright, *Good Morning Los Angeles*, 227.

¹²⁵Rimington, *Vistas on Visions*, 27-28.

local bishops to teach the classes, feeling that such a practice might result in those who lacked sufficient interest or ability filling the positions. Instead, positions were filled through recruitment and local advertising, allowing qualified Church members to apply and compete for positions. Jones interviewed each applicant, but local priesthood leaders made the final decisions and appointments. Teachers received a small salary, differentiating the positions from regular, non-paid Church assignments. Jones noted the difficulty of finding the right teachers for the job. Only two qualified teachers could be found, with Jones and Church education employees taking the rest of the classes. One of the local stake presidents noted the struggle to find good teachers: “We also had a little trouble with teaching at first. It was very important that we had the right teachers. It wasn’t a matter of paying . . . It had to be a person who would have done it joyfully, without money . . . We had to find those dedicated types of people. This was a very challenging thing in some areas. But very successfully met, in most cases.”¹²⁶

Next, classroom space was found in local Church meetinghouses. Jones insisted that the classes be held in the Relief Society rooms, generally the nicest room in the building. When some members protested, Jones shot back, “What are you communicating to your kids?... I think we need an image that seminary is important. It is equally important, if not more important than high school.”¹²⁷ Jones took the same attitude towards the curriculum, and designed it with the intent of being as thorough and vigorous as the students’ high school courses. He noted, “We started out with the understanding that the students would be expected to study Church History just as thoroughly as they would any other high school subject. It would be just as rigorous. They would have periodic examinations, they would have class assignments, and would be

¹²⁶ Wright, *Good Morning Los Angeles*, 228.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 229

expected to meet our class criteria.”¹²⁸ Some members voiced opposition to this, feeling that the classes should be easier to allow students to devote their time to their high school studies. Jones noted that “This feeling was primarily among the parents. The students voiced no objection to it. Yes, it added an additional burden to them, additional time to their school day, but there were not any complaints from students that I can recall.”¹²⁹

When the program launched in September 1950, just five months after the stake presidents had met with Joseph Fielding Smith, it had an enrollment of 195 students in seven classes. The students, for the most part, responded enthusiastically to the program. Ina Easton, a local member, recalled, “It wasn’t the teacher. It was the attitude and the beauty of the young people. They wanted seminary to be good, and it was good . . . Most parents and Priesthood leaders were very supportive, but the kids really carried the program.”¹³⁰ There were also some who struggled with the new program as well. Easton also recalled, “[We] had some buckers, too. One was – well, I better not mention names, but he was the Bishop’s son . . . If his dad beat him out of bed, then we had a bad seminary. If he got up on the right foot, then we had a good seminary. We had problems. But most of the time, things went very, very smoothly.”¹³¹

Priesthood leaders gave the program high marks as well. Stake president E. Garrett Barlow said the following about the benefits, not only to his own family, but to his entire stake:

I knew what it was doing to my own family, and I had a testimony of the greatness of it from the very beginning . . . I feel in my own feelings, I’ve always felt, that the seminary program was inspired of the Lord, and the early morning program that fit into the only way we could do it down here, was given to us. We wondered how to do it; this idea came and it worked because of the dedication of hundreds of parents and a great group of dedicated teachers and high councilors, bishops, and Priesthood bearers . . . it created an identity for the LDS students on

¹²⁸Rimington, *Vistas on Visions*, 29-30.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 30.

¹³⁰Wright, *Good Morning Los Angeles*, 229-230.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 230.

the campuses of high schools. It gave them a little strength to say “yes” and “no,” and know why they were doing it.¹³²

Evaluating the success of the program at the end of its first year, Jones wrote to Commissioner West, “We have operated the program this year on an experimental basis and I believe have satisfactorily demonstrated the seminary program can be carried on very successfully in this area. As I have indicated to you in previous letters there seems to be every indication that we could place 50 or more teachers in this area next year and still hardly scratch the surface of future possibilities.” Jones was right about the potential of the program. By the end of five years, the program grew to almost twenty-five hundred students in ninety classes.¹³³

The early morning program in Southern California established a whole new model for Latter-day Saint education. Previous ventures into early morning religion classes were only seen as temporary deviations from the standard model of released time seminary. The work of Jones and his colleagues in Southern California established a model of seminary that could be adapted to meet the needs of LDS students wherever enough students lived of them to meet, even if there wasn't enough to justify a released time program. At high schools where only two or three LDS teens attended, a feasible alternative was early morning, because youth from several different schools could meet together and form a class. As the program grew, aspects of Jones' original model changed, most significantly that the majority of early morning teachers today receive their call from local ecclesiastical leaders and are unpaid for their efforts. These part-time teachers are usually overseen by a full-time professional teacher from the Church Educational System who works to provide training and supervision. This role, called a seminary coordinator, evolved largely based on the pattern set by Ray L. Jones in Southern California.

¹³²Rimington, *Vistas on Visions*, 32-33.

¹³³Wright, *Good Morning Los Angeles*, 233.

From simple beginnings in the six stakes of the Los Angeles area, the program spread to become the dominant delivery method for Church education today. Early morning was able to follow the currents of the Mormon out-migrations of the 20th century and meet the needs of LDS youth on a national level. Today this model has been adapted so that depending on the local circumstances, students may meet in the morning, afternoon, or evening for class and is called “daily seminary.” Students in this kind of program actually outnumber those in released time program. As of 2010, enrollment for daily seminary was 216,961 compared to 115,787 in released time.¹³⁴

Conclusions

Education has always been a dynamic and involved force in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. From the movement’s early beginnings in the Eastern United States, to its exodus into the West, to its expansion outside of the Intermountain West in the 20th century, Mormons have been tenacious and inventive in finding new ways to bring education to their youth. Not content at having their youth deprived of religious education when the public school system began to spread throughout the West, the first sought to duplicate it with their own system of Church academies, and then supplement it with the launch of the seminary and institute programs. The rise of seminary and institute programs at times caused concern among Church leaders, as the role of a corps of professional religion scholars and teachers was defined in a Church with a lay clergy. There were also legal concerns over the nature of the programs, particularly the released time seminary program, which at times brought the Church into conflict with local and state officials. A new variation of the program brought religious education to Latter-day Saints outside the Mormon-dominated regions of the Intermountain West in the form

¹³⁴Seminaries and Institutes of Religion Annual Report, 2010, 2.

of the early morning (now called daily) seminary program. This new method of seminary allowed LDS leaders to bring supplemental religious education into areas where released time could not be given legal sanction or the local population did not justify it.

The year 1950 signaled a major change in direction for Latter-day Saint educational programs with the launch of the early morning seminary program in Los Angeles, The following year another landmark event took place which would bring sweeping changes to Church education. On April 9, 1951 David O. McKay was sustained as president of the Church, the first professional educator to occupy the position. McKay's presidency, distinguished by a boom in Church membership and global expansion of the Latter-day Saint movement, would also bring the first widespread, coordinated efforts at building a global system of Church education.

CHAPTER THREE

CHURCH SCHOOLS - THE FIRST WAVE OF INTERNATIONAL EXPANSION

David O. McKay's Impact on Church Education

The era following World War II was one of unprecedented growth for Latter-day Saints. Led by President David O. McKay, the number of Latter-day Saints nearly tripled, growing from 1.1 to 2.9 million during his nineteen-year tenure as president. Much of the growth during the McKay era occurred internationally, as the LDS grew from being a regional faith confined largely to the Intermountain West, to a world-wide organization, with stakes scattered across the globe. In 1950, shortly before the beginning of McKay's administration, there were 1,111,314 Church members. Of this total, 914,400 (87 percent) lived in North America.¹ During McKay's presidency, the global membership of the Church expanded with McKay organizing the first stakes outside of North America. During McKay's presidency stakes were organized in Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, England, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, Mexico, Samoa, Scotland, Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala, Uruguay, Tonga, Peru, and Japan.² McKay's global outlook was also expressed in the educational policies initiated during his presidency. Under his direction, educational systems were set up in the South Pacific, Mexico, and later Chile. He also made efforts to expand Church schools within the United States. The international expansion of the seminary and institute programs, which began during the last two

¹ J. Matthew Shumway, "Distribution of World Membership (1992)," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed. S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard H. Jackson, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 130-131.

² James B. Allen, "David O. McKay," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (4 vols.), ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1991), 2:873.

years of McKay's presidency, also came as a direct response to the rapid international growth of the period.

Relation with the Church Schools

Born in 1873, David O. McKay's lifetime spanned McKay lived during a large portion of the history of organized Latter-day Saint educational efforts. McKay, the first professional educator to become the president of the Church, initiated policies directly reflecting his intense interest in education. He also brought a unique international perspective to his work. Part of this stemmed from his Church assignments over the years. For example, in 1919, he was appointed to serve as the Commissioner of Church education, serving along with two assistant commissioners, John A. Widtsoe and James E. Talmage. One of the painful ironies of this situation was that McKay, perhaps the strongest proponent of Church schools among the Church leadership, was asked by the Presidency to announce and oversee the dismantling of the Academy system. Despite his reservations, McKay conceded the financial infeasibility of maintaining the academies and engineered a compromise where most of the academies closed and a few schools, including his beloved Weber Academy, would be retained and upgraded to Junior Colleges "with the aim of giving first-class training to teachers."³ McKay was the lone dissenting voice in 1929 when the Church Board of Education voted to consider the closure or transfer of all of the Church schools. In 1929. That same year, the Church negotiated the transfer of the Church junior colleges, including Weber College, to state control. McKay was

³ Woodger, "David O. McKay, Father of the Church Educational System," 382.

deeply hurt at the loss of Weber. He later confided to several Church officials, “I was pretty close to Weber and thought the school would last. It hurt like everything to close Weber.”⁴

McKay favored Church schools as the best means possible to bring education to the people. After the 1929 decision was made, McKay worked to save the remaining schools within the system. For example, Ricks College in Idaho, continually faced the prospect of closure when a proposed transfer to state control was rejected several times by the state legislature.⁵ The school owed a great debt to McKay for interceding during this period on their behalf to save the school. Hyrum Manwaring, in a letter to McKay, thanked him for the role he played in saving the school:

When our counselors and we were doing everything in our power to save Ricks College for the saints of the great state of Idaho, it was your inspired mind and heart that spoke, and saved our wonderful school for the faithful people of this state. *History, if it speaks the truth, must record that President David O. McKay did more than any other one man to save our great school.*⁶

Though McKay managed to keep Ricks from closure, the financial tumult of the remainder of the 1930s, combined with the uncertainty of the 1940s brought on by World War II, kept the Church school system largely static. In the early 1950s, when McKay became president of the Church, he still maintained his strong feelings about education, and Church schools in particular. In McKay’s mind, religion and education entwined themselves were intertwined. “True education,” he wrote, “seeks to make men and women not only good mathematicians, proficient linguists, profound scientists, or brilliant literary lights, but also, honest men, with virtue, temperance, and brotherly love. It seeks to make men and women who prize truth, justice, wisdom benevolence

⁴ David O. McKay Diary, Dec. 28, 1958, David O. McKay Papers, MS 668, Box 40, Fd. 7, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah.

⁵ See David L. Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks: A History of Ricks College, 1888-1997*, (Rexburg, ID: Ricks College), 200-202, also Jerry C. Roundy, *Ricks College: A Struggle for Survival*, (Rexburg, ID: Ricks College Press, 1976).

⁶ Crowder, *The Spirit of Ricks*, 201-202, emphasis added.

and self-control as the choicest acquisitions of a successful life.” Critiquing the failures of secular education policies, he continued, “It is regrettable that modern education so little emphasizes these fundamental elements of true character.”⁷

International Vision: The Unified Church School System

Another unique perspective David O. McKay brought to the Church presidency stemmed from his far-ranging travels internationally on behalf of the Church. Only a year after the school closures, McKay departed on a world-wide tour of Church missions, a journey lasting over a year and taking him to more locations and further around the globe than any Church leader had previously ventured.⁸

McKay’s travels deeply impressed him. Typical of his experiences was a flag-raising ceremony he witnessed on the island of Oahu in town of Laie, where a small Church-owned elementary school was operated. Watching the group raising an American flag which consisted of Caucasians of Caucasian, Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese, Chinese, and Filipino children raising an American flag, McKay was struck with a vision of Laie becoming a multi-cultural, educational center for the Church in the Pacific. Later that day he recorded his feelings:

As I looked at that motley group of youngsters, and realized how far apart their parents are in hopes, aspirations, and ideals, and then thought of these boys and girls, the first generation of their children, all thrown into what Israel Zangwell had aptly called the ‘Melting Pot’ and coming out Americans, my bosom swelled with emotion and tears came to my eyes, and I felt like bowing in prayer and thanksgiving for the glorious country which is doing so much for all these nationalities. But more than that, when I realize that these same boys and girls have the opportunity of participating in all the blessings of the Gospel which will transform the American into a real citizen of the Kingdom of God, I feel to praise His name for the glorious privileges vouchsafed to this generation. We held

⁷ David O. McKay, *Treasures of Life*, comp. Clare Middlemiss from editorials published in *The Instructor*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1970), 472.

⁸ Richard O. Cowan, *The Latter-Day Saint Century*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999), 160-161.

short services in the school room in which all – American, Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino – participated as though they had belonged to one nation, one country, one tongue.

America and the Church of Christ will truly make of all nations one blood. May God hasten the day when this is accomplished.⁹

Perhaps no statement better captures the international perspective of David O. McKay than his memory of the flag raising at Laie. Utilizing the framework elucidated at the beginning of this study, we see both the “international” and “global” lenses applied toward the Church’s educational efforts. McKay saw the different nationalities one day interacting as “one nation, one country, one tongue,” denoting a truly globalized society of Latter-day Saints, one transcending national boundaries. But the last line of his statement also captures his “international” perspective. McKay saw America as just as important as the Church of Christ in creating this new society. The “global” community of Latter-day Saints would emerge under the leadership of America. McKay returned from the venture with a new perspective on the world-wide mission of Mormonism.

McKay fused his interests in Church schools and international expansion, creating in the early years of his presidency several different networks of schools which paralleled the development of the Church academy system of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His efforts had four main thrusts: the plan to create a junior college network, the rapid expansion of the Church schools in the Pacific, the creation of a network of schools in Latin America, specifically, Mexico and Chile, and the world-wide expansion of the Seminary and Institute programs. Before these new programs could emerge, McKay undertook a complete reorganization of the Church’s educational structure. His chief architect and closest compatriot

⁹ David O. McKay Diary, December 12, 1958, McKay papers, Box 40, Fd. 6, Special Collections, U of U, minor punctuation added.

in this effort, another colorful figure from the era, was Ernest L. Wilkinson, the head of the Church's educational system.

In September 1950 the Church announced that Ernest L. Wilkinson had been appointed to serve as the new president of Brigham Young University.¹⁰ Wilkinson, a lawyer by profession, came from an unconventional background and brought a unique range of experiences to the Church educational system. Originally from the outskirts of Ogden, in an area that was known to locals a "Hell's Half Acre" Wilkinson, by his own admission, was somewhat of a wayward youth. Growing up in an economically depressed area of the city he became involved in cock-fighting and other unsavory pursuits. Concerned over his spiritual well-being, Wilkinson's mother enrolled him at the Weber Academy, then a Church-operated school. Wilkinson cited the moment as one of the turning points of his life.¹¹ Because of his close ties with the school, Wilkinson later stated that he was "deeply shocked" when the Church transferred the school to state control in the 1930s.¹² Wilkinson's strong feelings for Weber may have helped him develop a close relationship with another distinguished alumnus of Weber, David O. McKay. During his time at BYU Wilkinson developed a close relationship with McKay, often taking his concerns directly to the Church president.¹³ Wilkinson also brought a forceful personality to the position. One of his associates referred to him as "an academic George S. Patton, unafraid to tell it like it is."¹⁴

¹⁰ Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 434.

¹¹ Ernest L. Wilkinson, "Up from Hell's Half Acre," in *Earnestly Yours: Selected Addresses of Dr. Ernest L. Wilkinson*, ed. Edwin J. Butterworth and David H. Yarn, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1971), 6.

¹² Wilkinson & Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*, p. 453-454.

¹³ Gary James Bergera and Ronald Priddis, *Brigham Young University: A House of Faith*, (Salt Lake: Signature Books, 1985), 25.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 24.

Wilkinson's vigorous leadership soon made BYU a showcase for the LDS educational system. In 1953 the Church announced that all Church schools (including the seminaries and institutes) would be consolidated under one administrator. Though he continued as President of BYU, Wilkinson was named as the administrator of what would eventually be called the Unified Church School System.¹⁵ The organization included BYU, Ricks College, LDS Business College, the McCune School of Music, the Juarez Academy in Mexico, 17 institutes of religion with a combined enrollment of 4,555, and 193 seminaries with a combined enrollment of 40,247.¹⁶

The concept of combining the Church schools and the Seminaries and Institutes under one umbrella was considered as early as 1938. Commissioner West had even prepared plans for both systems to be united under a single chancellor in 1942 and 1943. The plan was halted before it could be put into action, partly because Franklin S. Harris and Howard S. McDonald, the BYU presidents who preceded Wilkinson, felt that such a move might limit their access to Church leaders.¹⁷ In 1945, only eight years previous to unification, the First Presidency rejected another proposal to unify the Church educational system. The proposal brought before the Board pointed out that the public educational systems of California, Oregon, and Montana operated

¹⁵ The original name for the proposed school system was "The University of Deseret," with each different campus named after a different president of the Church. Wilkinson apparently drew these ideas from an 1850 prospectus on Church education authored by Orson Spencer, then chancellor of the University of Deseret, which eventually came under state control, becoming the University of Utah (see Woodruff J. Deem and Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President*, (Utah: Alice L. Wilkinson, 1982), 492). The Church Board of Education rejected this complicated proposal in favor of the more simple name eventually applied, see McKay Diary, July 1, 1953, Box 31, Fd. 2, Special Collections, U of U.

¹⁶ Wilkinson & Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 480. Three years after his appointment as president of BYU, Wilkinson replaced Franklin L. West as the head of the Church educational system, and the post of Church commissioner of education was discontinued. Privately, West felt he was retired prematurely from his post to make way for Wilkinson's programs, see Franklin L. West Oral History, in Mary L. Bradford Research Files, Accn. 1830, Box 3, Fd. 4, Special Collections, U of U, 6.

¹⁷ Ernest L. Wilkinson and W. Cleon Skousen, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 479.

under a similar model. A letter written to the Executive Committee of the Church Board of Education and signed by all three members of the First Presidency stated:

. . . We feel that the direction of our Church school system may not be wisely placed in one man, with the inevitable relinquishing of directing the schools by the Church Board of Education which would follow. We believe that the individual units of the Church school system – the Brigham Young University, the Ricks College, the LDS Business College, the Juarez Stake Academy, and the Institutes and Seminaries (the latter two constituting one unit) – should each be operated under a head and teaching staff that shall be independent of each and all of the others, and with supervision only from the Church Board of Education.¹⁸

Illustrating how sweeping the changes in the Church’s educational program became under the leadership of David O. McKay, the organization of the Unified Church School System completely reversed this earlier directive.

Where the earlier directive spoke of each unit in the Church having its own independent head and teaching staff, the new organization would instead tout the advantages and increased efficiency of a unified effort. Wilkinson, who was asked to prepare a summary of the advantages of the new program, pointed out that uniformity of religion courses at all of the schools, and in faculty hiring and retirement policies, could help decrease the rivalry sometimes displayed between the different units in the system. Another advantage was that unification would allow the development of a more long-range plan for the expansion of the educational programs of the Church. Wilkinson also wanted BYU to become the primary training ground for the spreading system of seminaries and institutes, with teachers in those organizations having access to and exchanging teachers with the Department of Religious Instruction on BYU campus.¹⁹

¹⁸ Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6:221.

¹⁹ Wilkinson & Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 479-480.

To achieve these ends the headquarters of the seminary and institute programs, located at Church headquarters in Salt Lake City since the inception of both programs, were relocated to BYU campus. William E. Berrett, a professor in the Religion department at BYU with extensive experience in the seminary and institute programs, was appointed as an academic vice-president, with a charge to coordinate and supervise all religious education in the new system. McKay aimed at nothing less than a total restructuring; bringing together the disparate elements of the Church educational program into a single cohesive organization. As radical as these changes seemed, they only marked the beginning of sweeping changes in Church education that would occur during the early years of McKay's presidency.

Attempts to Revive the Church Junior Colleges

Since 1930, the Church program in education concerned itself mainly with the operation of only a few schools, and the expansion of supplemental religious education. The Seminaries and Institutes continued to expand, allowing students to attend universities nearer to their homes while still participating in religion courses. With the new unified system, however, Wilkinson and McKay saw an opportunity to revive and expand the network of Church junior colleges which had been lost when the Church consolidated its educational programs twenty years earlier in 1930. Writing a letter to his predecessor, Howard S. McDonald, Wilkinson revealed the early conception of his plan. "The new plan of unification of the LDS Church Schools . . . contemplates that when we get a student body of around 12,000 at the University [BYU], which at our present rate of growth could be in five years, that we will eventually have junior colleges throughout the West. My thinking is that we ought to have one in Los Angeles."²⁰ Over the

²⁰ Wilkinson & Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 483.

next few years Wilkinson worked tirelessly to launch the program, contemplating the construction of system of colleges in Idaho Falls, Idaho; Portland, Oregon; Fremont, California; Phoenix, Arizona; a total of three different locations in Los Angeles, and a new LDS junior college in Salt Lake City.²¹

Wilkinson may have been inspired in his plan by circumstances which made possible the return of earlier colleges which had been transferred to state control back into Church hands. In 1951, Utah Governor J. Bracken Lee introduced a bill into the Utah Senate which would return control of Weber, Snow, and Dixie Colleges to Church control.²² Lee, a non-member, introduced the bill unprompted by the Church as part of his plan to reduce state spending.²³ Nevertheless, the bill represented a major opportunity to jump-start a junior college program for the Church. Though people in St. George and Ephraim generally favored the return of Dixie and Snow, the measure incited intense opposition in Ogden, the home of Weber College. The move was heavily debated for several years. Throughout the controversy, the Church maintained a policy of strict neutrality, though many throughout the state were aware of Wilkinson's plans and McKay's special fondness for Weber. In the summer before the issue came to a vote, the First Presidency gave some indications that they were in favor of the move, but not enough to indicate a definitive answer to the issue. When Governor Lee asked the First Presidency to answer a series of questions about the issue in the local newspaper, the answer to Lee's central question, "Will you please advise me as to whether you do or do not want Weber,

²¹ Wilkinson gives this list in an essay written for his biography, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President*, (Utah: Alice L. Wilkinson, 1982), 631-632. Curiously, Wilkinson did not list one of the most high-profile and controversial proposals, a college in Salt Lake City located near to the University of Utah campus. Several high profile announcements were made surrounding this college, see "LDS Buy Forest Dale, Plan Junior College," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 25, 1959, and "S.L. Junior College Campus Site Disclosed," *Deseret News-Church Section*, January 31, 1959.

²² Wilkinson and Skousen, 483.

²³ *Ibid.*

Snow, and Dixie Colleges returned to the Church?” was met with the answer, “We shall be pleased to have Weber, Snow, and Dixie Colleges returned to the Church, which is in a position to operate them in a first-class manner scholastically and otherwise.”²⁴

When the issue became the subject of statewide referendum, McKay took a more cautious posture. Pressed to make a more clear statement in the matter, President McKay eventually issued a statement taking a more neutral stance to the *Salt Lake Tribune*. “The Church is not campaigning for the colleges. Every voter is free to cast his vote for state retention of the colleges. This election is to determine whether the people of the state of Utah desire the state to continue to support the junior colleges. Only if they determine not to will the Church be willing to take over and continue the colleges.”²⁵ McKay wanted the schools back, but did not want to press too hard. When he was asked by Apostle Adam S. Bennion how he should tell the LDS members of the Utah Educational Association (UEA) to vote, McKay replied “They should use their own judgment . . . We are receptive if and when the State ceases to conduct these schools as state institutions; that we will accept them in accordance with our agreement and, furthermore, that we will make good schools of them; that everyone should vote just as he wishes to vote.”²⁶ Writing to a friend in Ogden, McKay stated, “Every person entitled to vote should express at the polls his or her honest convictions regarding this important matter. A vote cast for the state to do so [continue the support of the colleges] is not a vote against the Church.”²⁷ Without a strong show of support from the Church, the measure went down in defeat, by a margin of 60.2 percent of the vote to 39.8 percent. The measure was actually supported by the voters in the areas surrounding Dixie and Snow Colleges, but was strongly

²⁴ “Church Stand on Colleges Told to Lee,” *Deseret News*, May 28, 1954.

²⁵ Wilkinson & Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 485.

²⁶ McKay Diary, August 18, 1954, McKay Papers, Box 33, Fd. 5, Special Collections, U of U.

²⁷ Gregory A. Prince and William R. Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 186.

opposed in the larger counties of Northern Utah, particularly the areas surrounding Weber College.²⁸

Defeat of the referendum in Utah did not bring an end to Wilkinson's plans for a junior college system. Even while the debate over the schools was continuing, Wilkinson made proposals to purchase land in Los Angeles and Phoenix for future junior colleges.²⁹ Over the next few years the Church purchased several sites Utah, Arizona, California, and Oregon for future junior colleges. Wilkinson even proposed a highly controversial measure to move Ricks College from its home in Rexburg, Idaho to the larger nearby city of Idaho Falls.³⁰ The last measure incited widespread controversy and was eventually reversed by the First Presidency, but it did serve to demonstrate how Wilkinson's plan to restructure Church education reached nearly every part of the system. It is also important to note that the initiation of a system of Junior Colleges at this time would have vastly increased the amount of resources the Church was spending on education, hobbling any international efforts at education. Wilkinson himself acknowledged the cost for the junior college program would have exceeded the limits of Church resources and proposed to the First Presidency his plans were to "obtain large contributions to our educational system from members of the Church who could afford to give, rather than to rely entirely upon the tithing of the Church."³¹ In his arguments Wilkinson pointed to the fact that universities operated by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches received only a small portion of their operating budget from their sponsoring churches.³²

²⁸ Wilkinson & Skousen, *Brigham Young University*, 484.

²⁹ David O. McKay Diary, June 4, 1958, Box 11, Fd. 5, Special Collections, U of U, Wilkinson Diary, December 26, 1958, UA 1000, Box 100, Special Collections, BYU.

³⁰ An extensive summary of the entire episode surrounding Ricks College and its possible move to Rexburg may be found in Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, 159-198.

³¹ Wilkinson Diary, Dec. 18, 1953, Wilkinson Papers, UA 1000, Box 99, Special Collections, BYU.

³² *Ibid.*

The International Church School System: The Pacific

As the Church expanded internationally during McKay's presidency, members worldwide began wondering if a junior college system could be expanded beyond the borders of the United States to serve the needs of Church members. Saints in Britain, Denmark, and other countries during this period began requesting that the Church set up schools in their countries.³³ Even as late as 1964, the Church sent a representative to explore the possibilities of a Church college in Brazil.³⁴ Despite pleas from all these nations, the only actual junior college built during this period outside of the continental United States was constructed in Hawaii, called the Church College of Hawaii, later re-named BYU-Hawaii. Technically, the operation of this school was outside of the domain of the Unified Church School system. The school itself was designed to be the head of another great educational venture from the McKay years, the Church school system in the Pacific.

Latter-day Saint Education in the Pacific

The history of Latter-day Saint education in the Pacific stretches back nearly as far as LDS educational ventures the Intermountain West. The first LDS missionaries arrived in the Pacific in the mid-nineteenth century and they immediately began educational programs, including schools. These programs were primarily designed to help the natives learn to read so that they could understand the scriptures, and not necessarily to provide a complete education.

³³ David Cook Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1986-88, , The James A. Moyle Oral History Program, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, 175..

³⁴ Mark Grover, "Mormonism in Brazil: Religion and Dependency in Latin America," PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 1985, 217.

Schools were operated on a somewhat haphazard basis until the twentieth century, when David O. McKay launched a major effort to build a school system in the region.

The Church College of Hawaii. From a few examples, the general nature of the growth of the Church schools in the Pacific may be better understood. In Hawaii, for instance, LDS missionaries in 1853 determined that there were enough local members to justify the creation of their own schools. These schools were intended to offer an alternative to the Protestant and Catholic schools which existed in the islands and could offer impressionable converts a negative view of Mormonism. The exact nature of the LDS schools during this time were difficult to determine, but it is known that schools were operated on Oahu, Kauai, Maui, Molokai, and Lanai.³⁵

In 1865 Mildred E. Randall opened two small schools at Laie, one for *haole* (white) children and one for Hawaiians, the differences in the children's language abilities justifying two separate schools. The school fluctuated in its operations until 1887, when government help was secured, and then continually until 1927, when responsibility for its operations was assumed by the Hawaiian territorial government.³⁶ It was at the campus of this school where David O. McKay had the profound experience mentioned earlier during his world tour. It is fair to say that McKay's experience in Laie, along with several others during his world tour, imbued him with a sense of responsibility to provide a solid education for the Polynesian saints.

McKay's experience at Laie, along with the completion of a temple there in 1919, made it the likeliest spot for the establishment of an educational center. In the years following

³⁵ R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1986), 108.

³⁶ R. Lanier Britsch, "Latter-Day Saint Education in the Pacific Isles," in *New Views in Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington*, edited by Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 198.

McKay's world tour, Church leaders made continuous mentions of a Church schools being built in Laie. David O. McKay, while visiting the islands in 1936 and again in 1941, "encouraged stake and mission leaders in laying plans for the establishment of church school on Laie."³⁷

Plans for the school began moving forward rapidly after McKay became Church president. After some preliminary surveys, the First Presidency called for a board of education to be organized in Hawaii, and asked for the school to be ready to receive students by the fall of 1951. With the approval of the First Presidency, Wesley P. Lloyd, an official from BYU, conducted another survey and recommended the school be upgraded to a junior college. After several more evaluations, McKay brought before the First Presidency the question of the "choosing of an educator to go to Hawaii and take charge of preliminary preparations for the establishment of a school at Laie, and remodeling the town of Laie."³⁸

The man chosen to head up the school was Reuben D. Law, the head of the college of education at BYU. The official announcement came on July 21, 1954, calling the school "a long step forward in giving them [the Hawaiian Saints] educational opportunities of the same nature as are provided for members of the Church living on the mainland."³⁹ Within a year the site had been selected at Laie and ground was broken. Speaking at the dedication of the grounds, McKay laid out how the school fit into his vision of the international expansion of the Church:

. . . From this school, I'll tell you, will go men and women whose influence will be felt for good towards the establishment of peace internationally. Four hundred and fifty million people waiting to hear the message over in China, a noble race. I've met them. I don't know how many million over in Japan. You prepare to go and carry that message. Three hundred and fifty million down in India. We have scarcely touched these great nations, and they're calling today . . . This is a worldwide religion represented by a small group who, thirty-four years ago raised

³⁷ Reuben D. Law, *The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii* (St. George, UT: Dixie College Press, 1972), 37-43.

³⁸ McKay Diary, May 12, 1954, McKay Papers, MS 668, Box 33, Fd. 2, Special Collections, U of U.

³⁹ "Church to Establish College in Hawaii," *Deseret News*, July 21, 1954.

the stars and stripes, a symbol of individual liberty and freedom, and vowed allegiance to it and then entered into the house, under prayer, united in brotherhood in the Church of Jesus Christ.⁴⁰

The establishment of the Church College of Hawaii clearly showed McKay's international aspirations, and the role he intended Church education to play in it. The story of the school at Laie was repeated, on a smaller scale throughout the isles of the Pacific. The Laie school represented the pinnacle of the Church system in the Pacific, a college for students throughout the region to attend, while most of the other schools built in the area were elementary and secondary schools. In bringing education to the Hawaiian Isles, the school was a resounding success. Prior to its construction, only two to three percent of LDS students in Hawaii attended college. Within less than a decade after the school opened, the number rose to forty percent.⁴¹

The Church College of New Zealand. The construction of the Church College of New Zealand built on the lessons of the school in Hawaii and established a pattern used to construct schools throughout the Pacific. Successful proselyting in New Zealand, particularly among the Maori people, led to the establishment of missionary-run schools in the country in the late nineteenth century. The Maori Agricultural College, a secondary school, was established in 1913, with the aim "to teach the Maoris the principles of agriculture . . . to instruct them in the manual arts . . . to train them in the secular branches of education that they may cope successfully with their associates in the commercial and social world, and to furnish them with an opportunity to possess themselves of that education that will imbue them with a better understanding of the obligations of life and a higher appreciation of its opportunities."⁴²

⁴⁰ Law, *The Founding and Development of the Church College of Hawaii*, 67-68.

⁴¹ Leon Roundy Hartshorn, "Mormon Education in the Bold Years" (Stanford University, 1965).202.

⁴² Britsch, 1986, 292.

The school struggled throughout its existence because of opposition from the government of New Zealand towards its operations, who viewed the school's personnel as untrained missionaries, unfamiliar with formal educational pedagogy.⁴³ Just as it settled its differences with the government and enrollment began to rise, the school was threatened by the Church educational policy shifts of 1930. During the tumult, David O. McKay sent a letter of encouragement to the school, saying, "The boys surely look well in that excellent picture; they seem to be the finest type of young manhood and I am truly proud of them . . . I hope that the time will never come when we haven't one [Church school] in New Zealand."⁴⁴ Within a year after McKay's letter another came from the First Presidency announcing the closure of the school at the end of the 1930-31 school year. The coup de grace for the college came when a massive earthquake hit the area which on February 3, 1931, which rendered the buildings unsafe.⁴⁵ The site languished for nearly twenty years afterwards.

In 1948, the First Presidency, now led by George Albert Smith, with McKay as his second counselor, announced that a new secondary school would be built in New Zealand. A site was located near Hamilton, New Zealand and ground was broken. Concerned over the costs of the school's construction, McKay determined to personally visit the site during a tour through the South Seas in 1955.⁴⁶ When McKay visited the construction site in 1955 with the intention of curtailing the scope of the project, he was instead moved by the work and sacrifice of the local members who were constructing the facility. His diary notes that he "was not prepared for the surprise that awaited him at the school there," and he "doubted that there is another enterprise in

⁴³ Ibid., 294.

⁴⁴ Brian W. Hunt, *Zion in New Zealand: A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in New Zealand, 1854-1977* (Temple View, New Zealand: Church College of New Zealand, 1977), 510.

⁴⁵ Scott C. Esplin, "Closing the Church College of New Zealand: A Case Study in International Church Education Policy" in *Regional Studies in Latter-Day Saint Church History: The Pacific Isles*, ed. Reid L. Neilson (Provo: Religious Studies Center, 2008), 169.

⁴⁶ McKay Diary, December 31, 1954, Box 34, Fd. 2, Special Collections, U of U.

the Church that will compare with it.”⁴⁷ Instead of downsizing the project, McKay announced to the workers, “We will not curtail, we will enlarge this project.”⁴⁸

Creation of a System Throughout the Pacific

What impressed McKay so deeply was the approach of Wendell B. Mendenhall, a Church official who had taken over leadership of the construction of the school. Mendenhall had served his mission in New Zealand, and was an influential businessman in Stockton, California before he stumbled onto the project in 1953 during a trip to visit his son serving in the New Zealand mission. Originally, Mendenhall offered to use his business contacts to help the project procure the purchase of a sawmill and timber land. As he involved himself in the project, his enthusiasm grew. Mendenhall remained in New Zealand for two months assisting with the project, and then returned to California. With the approval of the Presiding Bishop of the Church, Joseph L. Wirthlin, Mendenhall then recruited eight experienced craftsmen from his home stake and sent them to New Zealand. This move eventually became the genesis of the building missionary program.

When McKay arrived and saw the efficiency of the project, he took Mendenhall aside and told him, “Brother Mendenhall, the Lord has blessed you with the vision of this program. From now on, I wish you to take over full supervision of both the college and temple projects under the direction of the First Presidency.”⁴⁹ Acting with McKay’s approval, Mendenhall launched a program to call volunteer workers as labor missionaries. By the end of his tour in New Zealand, McKay had also announced that a temple would be built near the site of the new

⁴⁷ McKay Diary, January 2, 1955 to February 15, 1955, Box 34, Fd. 3, Special Collections, U of U.

⁴⁸ David W. Cummings, *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific: The Building Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints - Its History, Scope and Significance* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 51.

⁴⁹ Cummings, *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific*, 53).

college, establishing it as both the spiritual and educational gathering place for the Church members in New Zealand and the nearby countries.⁵⁰

McKay returned to Salt Lake and gave an enthusiastic appraisal of the work to the other Church leaders. He signaled his approval in a meeting of the First Presidency:

We have a beautiful site available for a temple near Hamilton with plenty of acreage, and with a school established, the teachers, many of them, can be temple workers. President McKay recommended that we build a temple such as we contemplate in Bern, Switzerland . . . President McKay further explained that we own the site in a remarkable way. We have about 200 acres where the school is being built, and he said we haven't a project like it in the entire Church. The extra cost which we have been fearful about does not go into the school. It is in the houses, hard surface roads, clearing the property, etc. The school is being built very economically.⁵¹

Elated over the progress of the school in New Zealand, McKay gave Mendenhall the go ahead to take the labor missionary program to other parts of the region. As part of this effort, Mendenhall received authority to call as many experienced craftsmen and builders as he saw necessary, provide them with sustenance, and furnish travel for them and their families. This program operated in part by the sheer force of Mendenhall's personality. One Church official from the time described him as a "salesman of the first order with a boyish enthusiasm. He can carry large groups of people along with him on the crest of expectancy until the job is done."⁵² Another associate from the time said of Mendenhall, "if he saw something that needed to be done, it got done . . . once he was going to do it, it didn't make any difference what was in the way, he would do it."⁵³ Propelled by Mendenhall's drive and powered by the innovative program of calling labor missionaries, the educational program of the Church went on a spree throughout the South Pacific during the remainder of the 1950s and into the 1960s. Under his

⁵⁰ Ibid., 52.

⁵¹ McKay Diary, January 2 to February 15, 1955, Box 34, Fd. 3, Special Collections, U of U.

⁵² Cummings, 37.

⁵³ Prince and Wright, 205.

direction not only schools, but literally hundreds of chapels, dormitories, shops, houses, and the New Zealand temple were constructed by participants in the building program.⁵⁴ Schools were constructed in Hawaii, Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, Fiji, and New Zealand. At its apex, the Pacific Board oversaw the construction of 37 Church schools, a number which eclipsed the scale of the earlier Church academies in the Intermountain West.⁵⁵

Creating the Pacific Board of Education. In 1957 a separate board of education for the schools in the Pacific was created, with Mendenhall chosen as its head. A letter from the First Presidency gave the new Pacific Board of Education charge over the “Church College of Hawaii, the schools in Tonga, Samoa, New Zealand, and other Pacific schools as they may develop.”⁵⁶ In 1957 McKay informed Wendall Mendenhall he was to serve as the Chairman of the Pacific Board.⁵⁷ Why a separate board of education for the Pacific Schools? According to one administrator, the First Presidency felt that men who were familiar with the problems and needs of the Polynesians could effectively guide the educational needs of the schools. Owen J. Cook, the executive secretary of the board, stated two major objectives for the Pacific Schools, first, to teach the doctrine of the Church to the students, and second, to prepare leadership for the Church and for the societies in which the schools are located.⁵⁸

Bringing Teachers to Pacific Schools. The Pacific Board immediately began to encounter some tricky issues with the schools. Moving to increase the professionalism and efficiency of the schools, it moved away from using missionaries as teachers and began to hire professional educators to staff its institutions. Early on the Pacific board established a policy of

⁵⁴ Britsch, “Latter-day Saint Education in the Pacific,” 204

⁵⁵ Hartshorn, “Educational Institutions,” 144.

⁵⁶ Hartshorn, “Mormon Education in the Bold Years,” 187.

⁵⁷ McKay Diary, June 6, 1957, McKay Papers, Box 39, Special Collections, U of U.

⁵⁸ Hartshorn, “Mormon Education in the Bold Years,” 188.

giving first consideration to natives from the islands who held degrees in teaching, but a lack of qualified staff led to the hiring of many American teachers to staff the schools.⁵⁹ This in turn led to the sensitive issue of teachers' salaries. Missionary teachers were self-supporting, but Americans brought to the islands were reluctant to accept positions if it meant they would have to live on the local pay scale. At the same time, if local teachers were paid on the same scale they would become so much wealthier than their peers that problems within the Church would result. Church leaders realized quickly that the creation of economic inequality among the local Church membership, leading could lead to contention and division in the local congregations. The problem continued to agitate the system for some time. Eventually, the Pacific Board adopted the New Zealand Government Salary Scale with a slight increase for its native teachers, and paid the American teachers on a scale similar to what would have been earned in the States. This still resulted in some tension and inequity, but worked as a temporary solution.⁶⁰

Another issue with the schools was the curriculum, particularly the language in which the students would be taught. President McKay insisted that the curriculum be taught in the English language. Robert L. Simpson, a mission president in New Zealand during the period, noted, "David O. McKay stressed the importance of everyone learning English. If it was not their first language it should be their second language. Behind all this teaching in their schools which [were] established in Samoa, Tonga, New Zealand they were all using English as the language. He was very insistent about that."⁶¹ Keith Oakes, an administrator during this time remembered, "David O. McKay thought the students should be taught in English. He thought they should learn English. In fact, he felt that the gospel was revealed in English and should be taught in that

⁵⁹ Ibid., 187.

⁶⁰ Britsch, "Latter-day Saint Education in the Pacific," 205.

⁶¹ Woodger, "David O. McKay: Founding Father of LDS Pacific Education, 22.

language to these students. However, the local languages and culture were also to be kept in the curriculum.”⁶² Phil Boren, an American teacher brought to Samoa in the late 1960s recalled signs posted all over the schools reminding the students to speak English.⁶³

The Pacific Schools and the “International” Schools Model

The schools in the Pacific fit the parameters of an “international” effort established earlier in this study in that they were dominated by American personnel. A quick review of the faculties of the schools in the Pacific during the 1950s and 60s indicates that most faculties consisted primarily of American expatriates brought in to work in the schools.⁶⁴ One teacher at the Church College in Western Samoa recalled that almost all of the teachers were Americans, and a quick glance at a yearbook from as late as 1970, well over a decade after the schools were built, reveals that 30 out of the 40 faculty members were Americans.⁶⁵ One of the major challenges of operating the schools consisted of recruiting enough teachers to ensure the schools were staffed properly. Wendall Mendenhall reported to McKay in 1957 he had “combed” the Westernwestern United States searching for teachers, but most were “in a better position to stay here than to go under any salary we could pay them.”⁶⁶

⁶² Keith Oaks Interview, Interviewed by Mary Jane Woodger, in *Brigham Young University College of Education McKay Research Project*, edited by Mary Jane Woodger. Provo, UT, 1995, 1.

⁶³ Phil and Reesa Boren Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, transcript in author’s possession, 10.

⁶⁴ In his history of the LDS Church Schools, Harvey Taylor lists with fair consistency names of faculty members of each of the schools. While the names alone cannot be assured to indicate nationality, especially in a country like New Zealand with a large European population, it is telling to note the number of European last names among faculty members, compared to names more likely to be drawn from the local populace. For example, when Mapusaga High School in American Samoa was established in 1960, thirteen members of the fourteen person faculty had European last names. Only one, Faatamala Tuia, the math teachers, appears to have been a native Samoan. A photograph of the faculty on the accompanying page appears to support this hypothesis, see Taylor, *Story of the LDS Church Schools*, 1:38-39.

⁶⁵ Phil and Reesa Boren Oral History, 11-12. *Ata Lafoia Yearbook*, published by the Yearbook Club of the Church College of Western Samoa, 1970, 5-10.

⁶⁶ McKay Diary, September 9, 1957, McKay Papers, Box 39, Fd. 6.

McKay's policies in the Pacific represented a major shift in the direction of Church education, even the fundamental function of the Church itself. Since the closure of the majority of the Church schools in 1920, Church leaders had directed their educational efforts to work in concert with local governments. The school system developing in the Pacific represented a turn toward the Church establishing a separate educational program for its membership. This move grew partly out of necessity to provide for local members, given the inadequate resources of the local governments. But questions began to arise. Would the establishment of a Church school system become standard in *every* country with underdeveloped school systems? As the Church expanded globally, how much of its resources would be devoted to providing for the secular education of its members? One author from the period gushed, "Applying the same power of volunteer labor, and directed by the same sublime purpose of accelerating the progress of truth, the Building program is spreading to Mexico, South America, Europe, and the Orient. Envisioned in Millennial light, its ultimate scope will be – the world."⁶⁷

While the programs represented a new direction, they also hearkened back to the older Latter-day Saint practice of gathering. Throughout the 19th century, Latter-day Saints followed the practice of gathering to a central location, rather than remaining spread throughout their host societies. At its peak the practice brought thousands of Mormon converts to the American West. The practice came to an end in the early twentieth century, when Church leaders issued new directives for Church members not to emigrate, but rather stay in their homelands and build up the Church there. McKay's programs brought back an old practice, with a new twist. Instead: instead of gathering to Church headquarters, the school programs were part of establishing a gathering place in each nation. In Hawaii, New Zealand, and the other locations, the gathering

⁶⁷ Cummings, 1961, iii.

points began with a school and possibly even a temple. This practice worked well in the South Pacific, given the vast oceanic distances between the different communities of Church members. But would the program work in other nations? At the time it did indeed seem that Church schools would be the vehicle through which Latter-day Saint education would be taken outside of the United States. Following McKay's efforts in the Pacific, the next major movement in the educational program came in Mexico.

The International School System: Mexico

Like the Pacific, Latter-day Saint involvement in Mexico has a long history, leading back to the nineteenth century. During the struggles between the American government and the Church over the practice of plural marriage, several groups of Saints established a series of colonies in the northern part of Mexico. From 1885 to 1909, nine Mormon colonies were established,⁶⁸ though most of these communities were disbanded when the majority of the colonists left Mexico during the political upheavals which swept the country during the early twentieth century. The two strongest remaining colonies, Colonia Juarez and Colonia Dublan, remained home to a large number of LDS families and continue even until today. In order to educate the LDS youth in these communities, an academy was established in Colonia Juarez. Because of its close proximity to Colonia Juarez, students from Colonia Dublan also attended school at the Academy. As mentioned previously, when the majority of the Latter-day Saint academies were closed or transferred to state control, Colonia Juarez was allowed an exemption and continued to function. Historian Scott Esplin suggested that the academy in Juarez may

⁶⁸ The colonies, established in the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua were Colonia Morelos, Colonia Oaxaca, Colonia Pacheco, Colonia Garcia, Colonia Chuichupa, Colonia Juarez, Colonia Dublan, Colonia Diaz, and Ascension. The majority were abandoned near the beginning of the 20th century. Today only Colonia Juarez and Colonia Dublan maintain a strong connection to their Mormon roots. See LaMond Tullis, "Mormon Colonies in Mexico," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, 100-111.

have been kept because it was not working in competition with any existing public school system.⁶⁹ The school at Colonia Juarez continued to survive through a careful process of negotiation with the Mexican government, agreeing to comply with governmental standards and practices.⁷⁰

Development of Schools Among Mexican Members

Though the schools at Colonia Juarez established a LDS educational presence in Mexico, the Mormon colonies were still regarded largely as isolated outposts of American culture separate from the fabric of Mexican society. The development of a more homegrown LDS educational movement in the country actually found its origins much further to the south, in the village of San Marcos. A small village located just to the north of Mexico City, San Marcos held a strong congregation of Latter-day Saints. Requests from the region for the Church to organize some kind of school for the children of local converts date back as far as 1915. In the late 1930s, several local members began hiring faithful LDS teachers to instruct their children in their own homes. As the practice gained popularity, other families followed suit. In 1944 the program had grown large enough to make a formal application to the LDS Church School System for incorporation. All of these actions were taken with the approval of the director of the local government school.⁷¹ By 1954 the school held an enrollment of 104 students. Having met in an old Church meeting house meetinghouse prior to this time, the school heads now petitioned the Expenditures Committee of the Church for funds to build a new school building. The Church contributed funds and a new building was constructed. Though the Church contributed to the construction of the new school, whether or not the school at San Marcos could was officially be

⁶⁹ Esplin, "Education in Transition," 215-216.

⁷⁰ Clark V. Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico: The Rise of the Sociedad Educativa Y Cultural" (Brigham Young University, 1977)., 9-19.

⁷¹ Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 65-68.

designated as a Church school is questionable. A history of the school indicates that two members of the San Marcos branch, Bernarbe Parra and Benito Villalobos, paid teachers their salaries until 1961, when the school was officially brought into the Church school system. Though some funds came to the school from the Church, these were channeled through the local mission organization and not the Church Board of Education. The majority of the funds for the school were actually raised by the local members, who carried out a number of fund raising projects.⁷²

Expansion of the Mexican Schools

With Church membership increasingly rapidly throughout Mexico, Church leaders faced a dilemma over how to best provide education for the youth in the country. By the 1950s some Church leaders began to feel that certain promising students should be brought to Colonia Juarez to attend school at the Church academy. David S. Brown, a mission president in Mexico, wrote to Harvey L. Taylor, an educational administrator for the Church, that “there should be some way to help a limited number of top students, who have graduated from primary schools and have been active in Church work.”⁷³ Other members began to feel pressure to move to their families to the colonies so that their children could receive education in an LDS environment.

Recognizing these factors, the First Presidency formed a committee in 1957 to study the needs of the Church members in Mexico and prepare a plan of action. Among the committee members were Apostle Marion G. Romney and BYU comptroller Joseph T. Bentley, both natives of the LDS colonies in Mexico. The committee soon discovered the difficulties of setting up schools which would feature religious instruction in Mexico. Because of the

⁷² Ibid., 71-73.

⁷³ Ibid., 82.

domination of the Catholic Church in the past, Mexican laws placed strict limits on the rights of Church. In the political constitution of Mexico, the following law concerning Churches is written:

The religious institutions known as churches, irrespective of creed, may in no case acquire, hold or administer real property or hold mortgages thereon; property so held at present, either directly or through third parties, shall revert to the nation, any person whatsoever being authorized to denounce property so held. Strong presumptive proof shall suffice to declare the denouncement well-founded. Places of public worship are the property of the Nation, as represented by the Federal Government, which shall determine which of them may continue to be devoted to their present purposes. Bishoprics, rectories, seminaries, orphan asylums and schools belonging to religious orders, convents and any other buildings constructed or intended for the administration, propagation or teaching of any religious creed shall at once become, by inherent right, the property of the Nation, to be used exclusively for the public services of the Federal or State Governments, within their respective jurisdiction. All places of public worship erected hereafter shall be property of the Nation.⁷⁴

Though the language in the passage makes it clear that the framers were intending to curtail the influence of the Catholic Church, the effect was that no religious organization, including the LDS Church, could hold any real property of legal title. The ruling applied to Church -owned schools as well. In accordance with this law, the academy in Colonia Juarez had been turned over to official government control in 1935.⁷⁵ Some leeway had been allowed in the past for the teaching of religion classes, which had allowed the Juarez Academy to still teach subject relating to Church doctrine. There were other legal issues as well,; for example, Mexican law required all religion teachers to be native born.⁷⁶ In a memorandum that Joseph T. Bentley wrote to Ernest L. Wilkinson, he noted the difference between what the law dictated and what actually happened in practice.: “Technically it is against the law to teach religion in the schools, but practically the Mexican government recognizes the law of tolerance and, therefore practically all

⁷⁴ Ibid., 88-89

⁷⁵ Ibid., 47-48.

⁷⁶ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:5.

private schools are now teaching religion and the government officials have assured us [unofficially] that we have their permission to do so.”⁷⁷

Despite Bentley’s assurances, Church leaders remained cautious about moving ahead. Daniel P. Taylor, head of the Juarez Schools, sought out the counsel of a local attorney, Abelardo Casa, to confirm the restrictions. Casa frankly gave his opinion frankly that the any schools set up should not teach religion, noting “the tolerance of the present day and lack of application of the constitutional precepts cited in no way annul the Law, nor do they hinder its application to the detriment of the religious sects.”⁷⁸ Legal issues made the Church cautious, but the investigative committee also recognized the dire need to provide some kind of education for Church members in Mexico.

In December 1959, the investigative committee presented a detailed list of recommendations based on their study to the First Presidency. The report began as follows:

The Mexican government is having difficulty providing education facilities for its people. In 1950 some nine million Mexicans over six years of age could neither read nor write. It was ascertained during our tour of Mexico in 1958 that illiteracy was rising because the increase in population is greater than the advances in education. The Federal Department of Education indicated that it was in desperate need of more schools, particularly in the urban areas. Private schools are encouraged, especially on the elementary level.⁷⁹

The report went on to recommend that, by the fall of 1960, the Church should establish twelve to fifteen elementary schools in the larger congregations in Mexico, conducted in chapels and taught by members of the Church. The committee pointed out that a number of local members already qualified to teach elementary school would be happy to work on behalf of the Church in the schools. The committee went on to begin preparations for the establishment of a secondary

⁷⁷ Johnson, “Mormon Education in Mexico,” 85.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 90.

⁷⁹ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:8.

school in Mexico City, which would incorporate elements of a junior college, and a teacher training school. In the committee's proposal, Daniel P. Taylor, already head of the Juarez schools, would be hired as the superintendent of the new school system.⁸⁰

Launch of the "Sociedad Educativa y Cultural"

In answer to the legal questions surrounding the creation of the school system, Daniel P. Taylor suggested that the Church organize a private corporation with its own manager and board of directors. Titled the "Sociedad Educativa y Cultural," the organization was formally organized in 1961. Minutes from a meeting of Church education officials held on August 9, 1961, of that year note, "With authorization from Elder Marion G. Romney and President Ernest L. Wilkinson, the 'Sociedad Educativa y Cultural S.C.' has been formed for the titling of all school properties. The governing board of the society is as follows: Daniel P. Taylor, General Manager; Lenor Lozano, Claudius Bowman, Gonzalo Zaragoza, Candido Iniguez, and Alberto Lozano as founding members."⁸¹ In a letter to the First Presidency, the committee also noted that it would be legal to hold school in Church meeting houses because such structures were designated as community centers under Mexican law and the classes held there would be in harmony with the purposes for which the buildings were maintained.⁸²

Why establish a whole new system rather than just encourage members to send their children to Colonia Juarez? The committee gave several reasons for this decision:

Some of the advantages of taking these inexpensive schools to Mexican communities as opposed to trying to house and educate the children in Colonies or Mexico City are:

1. The students can live at home much more inexpensively.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 2:8-9.

⁸¹ Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico," 110.

⁸² Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:7.

2. The school program cost will be a great deal less.
3. Parents and other adults, by going to night school, can take advantage of the local school facilities.
4. Our Mexican Saints can be encouraged to look to Mexico City rather than to the Juarez Stake Academy or the United States for their higher education.
5. The program will give employment to many fine young Latter-day Saints, many of whom are returned missionaries. Many of these returned missionaries are already school teachers and some of them are well-educated.⁸³

The rationale used by the committee to explain this decision represents the growing cultural sensitivity of the Church as it expanded worldwide. In particular, it recognized the need for local members to look to their own nations for further educational opportunities. Members of the committee even felt like the model being established in Mexico might provide the pattern which the Church could follow in expanding its education programs worldwide. In conclusion of the same letter, the committee recognized that they might be setting precedent for a worldwide system:

The establishment of a high school and a junior college with a normal school on the property we now own in Mexico City, as contemplated in the long range planning suggested above, could well form the nucleus of a center not only for Mexico, but for all the Latin American missions where priesthood manuals and materials for Church auxiliaries could be prepared.

We have a great work yet to do in these lands, as well as in the German and other foreign speaking missions, developing programs around the native cultures. Stories and illustrations for Mexico should be taken from Mexican history and from the lives of Mexican heroes such as Benito Juarez and Hidalgo. Our M.I.A. activities should feature Indian and Mexican dances, folk lore, and music.⁸⁴

⁸³ Ibid., 2:10.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 2:11.

By the fall of 1960 five elementary schools had been organized.⁸⁵ By the following February, eight additional schools had followed. Most importantly, in 1963 ground was broken on the proposed secondary school which would serve as the center for the Church schools in Mexico.⁸⁶

The Central Hub of the Mexican Schools: “Benemerito de las Americas”

Rather than sending students to Colonia Juarez, a new school in the vicinity of Mexico City was designated to serve as the hub of the LDS Mexican school system. “Benemerito de las Americas” (translated: “Benefactor of the Americas”), as the proposed school was eventually known, became in many ways the crown jewel of LDS educational efforts in Mexico. Built on 300 acres of farm land located just outside of Mexico City, the master plan for the school was designed to accommodate approximately 3,000 students in four different schools: elementary (for students living close enough to commute), secondary, preparatory, and teacher training. Students in the latter three schools came from all over Mexico to attend the school. Wary that younger students away from families would need parental guidance, a series of cottage dormitories were built on the campus and students were organized into “families.” Under this system, sixteen students lived in a cottage and were supervised by a couple serving as parents. Students were treated as children in a real family and would participate in family activities, including family prayer, and family home evenings. Additionally, the student families would help prepare meals, perform household chores, and attend church together. Within a few years

⁸⁵ The schools organized in 1960 were Benito Juarez, Justo Sierra, Ignacio Zaragoza, Nicolas Bravo, Ninos Heroes. See Appendix B of this work for a complete list of the schools organized in Mexico and the year of their organization.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 2:12-17.

after the school's completion, fifty cottages of this nature had been built to accommodate the students, with fifty couples serving as foster parents.⁸⁷

Benemerito soon began attracting the attention of the Mexican federal officials. Manuel Lopez Davila, a former governor of the state of San Luis Potosi and official in the Federal Department of Education, wrote of the school, "The education labor of the Mormon community in Mexico must be considered as an effective assist in the development of education in our country . . . One of the educational institutions of major significance is, without doubt, that which the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural has created on the northern edge of Mexico City, near the village of Ticoman. The school center [Benemerito] well serves as an example to all schools in the Republic."⁸⁸

Establishment of Religious Education in Mexico

At the same time the schools were being constructed, seminaries were built next door in compliance with Mexican law. Students were then released from their studies throughout the day to attend religion classes, similar to their LDS counterparts in Utah. Following the directives of the law, only native teachers were hired to teach the religion courses. In the institute at Benemerito, for example, the Institute director, A. Kenyon Wagner, was an American, but the entire teaching staff consisted of native Mexicans. By the third year of the school's operation, Juan Peleaz, a local man, had taken over as director of the institute. Though the classes took place during the day, similar to Utah, they differed because religious education was offered not

⁸⁷ Paul J. Toscano, "Church Education in Mexico," *Ensign* 1972., 37.

⁸⁸ Toscano, "Church Education in Mexico," 37, Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:49.

only to secondary students, but also to elementary students, and to the adults who acted as house supervisors.⁸⁹

Successes and Challenges

Throughout the remainder of the 1960s, the Church school system in Mexico continued to expand rapidly. By the end of the decade, 33 primary schools and 4 secondary schools were in operation, in addition to the preparatory school and teacher training school at Benemerito. The Church Board of Education established a general policy that an elementary school could be organized when there were 70 or more students in a branch or ward.⁹⁰ The system, however, was not without problems. Like the earliest Church academies in the Intermountain West, the schools were limited geographically. In order to transport students to the schools, a large fleet of buses had to be purchased and maintained. One LDS administrator complained, “Some of the kids were on the bus from 7:00 in the morning until 9:00, and then from 3:00 in the afternoon until 5:00. They were spending four hours a day on the bus.”⁹¹ The schools were also expensive to run, especially as they grew larger.⁹² At the same time, the schools proved to be effective missionary tools. On average 20% of the students in the schools were non-members, with some schools averaging as high as 46% non-members in their student populations. Many of these non-members eventually joined the Church, and their presence provided positive public relations for the Church.⁹³

⁸⁹ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:41-42.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:46-47.

⁹¹ Dan Workman Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 27, 1991, 25.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:46-47.

Mexican Schools and the “International” Schools Model

The schools in Mexico represented an interesting twist on the “international” model set up in first in the Pacific schools. On the surface the schools appeared to be administered and staffed almost entirely by native Mexicans. At first, but a closer look revealed that the majority of leaders in the school system came from the Mormon Colonies in northern Mexico. Since their establishment, the colonies served as a kind of American enclave within Mexico. Most of the Latter-day Saints living in the colonies identified much more closely with American society than Mexican society. The language barrier meant most of the teachers needed in the schools could not be recruited from the United States, so most of the local teachers and leaders in the schools came from Mexico, even if the majority of the hierarchy of the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural came from the colonies and had American roots. Out of necessity, the schools in Mexico adopted a hybrid approach different from the American-dominated schools in the Pacific. The schools in Mexico, therefore, represented a step towards a global educational effort which spanned borders, with the leaders from the colonies acting as a unique link to the leaders within the United States.⁹⁴

The success and rapid expansion of the schools in Mexico lent further credence to the feeling that Church schools might be the way to bring education to the international Church. What started as a grass-roots movement had eventually grown into a well-organized and effective system. Mexico had the advantages of having a large Latter-day Saint population, particularly in the colonies, where seasoned members could be drawn upon fromasked to provide expertise and leadership, and an anxious flock of new converts, who were eager to receive any

⁹⁴ The most complete history of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico is Thomas C. Romney, *The Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), 2005. See also LaVon Brown Whetten, *Colonia Juarez: Commemorating 125 Years of the Mormon Colonies in Mexico*, (Salt Lake City: Authorhouse) 2010..

education the Church could offer. Was this the model for the worldwide expansion of the Church? In at least one other country, Chile, the local members saw the program in Mexico as an inspiration for their own designs.

The International School System: Chile

The Church schools which began in Chile in the 1960s were directly linked to the schools in Mexico. In 1961 A. Delbert Palmer was called to serve as the mission president in Chile. During Palmer's meeting with the First Presidency to be set apart for his calling, Henry D. Moyle, a member of the First Presidency, suggested that, in addition to focusing on missionary work, Palmer begin looking for ways the Church could help the country in general. To this end, he recommended that Palmer consider the possibility of implementing a few Church-sponsored schools in Chile. He even asked Palmer if he would stop in Mexico on his way to Chile to meet with Daniel Taylor and observe how the schools in Mexico operated. President Moyle suggested that if Church schools could be successfully established in Chile, the program could then spread to other countries throughout South America.⁹⁵ Following Moyle's instructions, Palmer spent two days with Taylor touring the schools in Mexico, an experience that left him with a strong impression that he needed to bring some kind of education to the Chilean LDS youth.⁹⁶

Reasons for a School System in Chile

When Palmer arrived in Chile, he found that A. Theodore Tuttle, the General Authority who supervised missionary work in all of South America, was also receptive to the idea of some kind of educational program being organized in Chile. Chile was similar to Mexico in many

⁹⁵ Mark L. Grover, *A Land of Promise and Prophecy: Elder Theodore A. Tuttle in South America, 1960-1965*, 364 vols. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008), 287-88.

⁹⁶ A. Delbert Palmer, "The Establishment of the LDS Church in Chile," M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979, 155.

respects and provided a suitable environment for Church schools. With the Church growing rapidly in the area, there began to be an increased need for the Church to provide some sort of educational support to the increasing LDS population. Palmer was also deeply concerned over increasing Communist activity within the country. In Palmer's mind, one of the most compelling reasons for the schools stemmed from his "feeling that having viable and progressive Church schools operating in Chile, with the encouragement and blessing of the government, could be of assistance to the whole Church program in the event that a Marxist government came to power."⁹⁷ Finally, Palmer felt that greater educational opportunities would assist new converts economically and socially, as well as removing younger LDS students from persecution they faced in public and private Catholic schools.⁹⁸

Americans and the Chilean Schools

Dale J. Harding, a Church member who was living with his family in Chile, became a close collaborator with Palmer and Elder Tuttle in establishing the Church schools in the country. Harding had come to the country as part of a Fulbright scholarship and was teaching for one year at the Nido de Aguilas School.⁹⁹ He also held a Bachelor's and Master's degree in education from BYU.¹⁰⁰

Harding remembered a key experience which moved Church leaders in Chile to start the program:

One night when I was in the mission home with President Palmer, a group of people came in from La Cisterna. It was about 15 people. They asked for an audience. He said, "Come in." They said that their children had been kicked out

⁹⁷ Ibid., 156.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 155.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 158.

¹⁰⁰ *Church News*, July 20, 1963, p. 3.

of their schools because they had joined the Church. They had no idea what to do because they wanted their children to have an education. They wanted to know if the Church, in any way, was thinking of starting a little school in that area to help them out. President Palmer turned to me and said, “You’re here. What do you think?” He asked me to write up a program, which I did. We sent it into Salt Lake, to the Brethren, and they accepted it.¹⁰¹

In May 1968, Elder Tuttle, hearing of conditions existing in Chile, wrote to the First Presidency requesting their permission to start two Church schools in Chile. He gave three reasons for his request, writing that Church schools were needed “(a) Toto free our members from the unjust persecution of the priests and nuns of the Catholic Church, (b) Toto provide leaders for the next generation, and (c) And to fulfill the promises of the Lord as recorded in the Book of Mormon concerning the discharge of our full obligations to his Lamanite children.”¹⁰² Reflecting on the need for the schools years later, Palmer repeated Tuttle’s reasons, but also added that at the time he felt that a strong system of Church schools, operating with the sanction of the government, could help protect the entire Church program if a Marxist government came to power. At the time, Salvadore Allende was leading a strong Marxist movement in Chile, and it was feared that if he came to power the Church, with its American ties, could face expulsion from the country.¹⁰³

On June 11, 1963, Palmer received a letter from the First Presidency authorizing him to begin work on the school project. The First Presidency again reiterated their hope that the schools might spread to other nations in South America, writing, “We pray that you will be guided in this new venture and are hopeful that it may be so successful as to justify similar projects in other South American missions.”¹⁰⁴ An official announcement in the *Church News* appearing at the end of June announced two schools, located in La Cesterna, a suburb of

¹⁰¹ Dale J. Harding Oral History, Interviewed by Mark Grover, February 6, 2001, copy in author’s possession, p. 2.

¹⁰² Letter reproduced in A. Delbert Palmer, “Church Schools in Chile, Why and How, MS 5607, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, p. 4.

¹⁰³ Palmer, “Establishment of the LDS Church in Chile,” p. 156.

¹⁰⁴ Palmer, “Church Schools in Chile, Why and How,” Church History Library, MS 5607.

Santiago, and the other in VinaViña del Mar.¹⁰⁵ The school year in Chile would begin the following March, leaving Harding less than a year to organize the schools and prepare them to open.

Harding immediately found himself scrambling to make the necessary preparations. He recalled, “It was a job to get those schools ready in one year. We had to build the furniture, write the curriculum, hire the teachers, and train the teachers. I suspect that I put in many twenty hour days, six days a week, to get that done.”¹⁰⁶ He also found himself frequently caught up in red tape, struggling to comply with government regulations. Frustrated, he contacted Elder Tuttle, who traveled to Chile to assist. Together, Harding and Tuttle met with the Juan Gomez en Vias, the Chilean Minister of Education. Harding remembered the meeting, saying, “I carefully explained to him what we were doing. He said, ‘Just go ahead and start your school. Don’t worry about it. We’ll get the legal aspects taken care of later.’”¹⁰⁷ After that meeting, Vias gave Harding his private number and personally intervened several times to help get the school off the ground. Harding felt that Vias’ enthusiasm towards the project stemmed from the fact that the schools didn’t cost the government any money and served to introduce new technologies and methodologies into the country.¹⁰⁸

Similar to Mexico, a new organization titled the “Asociacion Mormona Educacional y Cultural” was started to oversee the schools in Chile. Opening on schedule in March 1964, the two schools began with “one hundred fifty-eight students, six teachers, two lady missionaries, grades first through sixth, and a challenge to give the children experiences which would help

¹⁰⁵ *Church News*, June 29, 1963, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ Harding Oral History, 5.

¹⁰⁷ Harding Oral History, 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

them to realize their full potential.”¹⁰⁹ A number of factors conspired to almost prevent the opening of the schools. Two weeks before school was set to begin, Dale Harding was involved in a serious accident when a driver running a red light broad-sided his car. Even though the accident wasn’t his fault, Harding was placed in jail for five days, as was the custom under Chilean law. Rather than seeing his accident as a major setback, Harding instead viewed it as a learning opportunity, a chance to examine the ills of Chilean society up close. “While I was in there, I talked to these guys and it gave me the greatest insight on what I should be doing. It made me realize that I should teach these children in values and in real life experiences. . . . It’s funny how the Lord teaches us. I figured I knew it all. I figured I was the smartest guy in education that ever lived. I learned more on what I should be doing those five days in jail than any other time.”¹¹⁰

Successes and Challenges

Despite the adversity, the schools were a resounding success when they opened. In a report to the First Presidency, Harding noted:

By the end of our first school year in 1964, our schools had demonstrated many firsts in Chile. For example: school government, class organization, allowing students to participate in class duties, group and individual study instead of whole class teaching, allowing faster learners to advance more rapidly and yet fostering success experiences for slower learners, and above all developing a trust in the child as a responsible individual. . . . One hundred percent of our students past the valid government tests. A “First in Chile.”¹¹¹

Elated over the results, Elder Tuttle wrote to Palmer:

I was advised by telephone from Brother Dale Harding that the government inspectors had just completed their examinations of the students these schools. The results: every student passed the examinations!!!

¹⁰⁹ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:54.

¹¹⁰ Harding Oral History, 10.

¹¹¹ Taylor, *The Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:54.

While this may not be unusual in the United States, it was so phenomenal that the inspectors could not believe it. Never do all of the students in a school pass the examination! As a result of this, the inspectors stayed at the school for three hours trying to ascertain whether the examinations were valid, or if they could have possibly made any mistake. Finally, after they had been convinced, they wanted to know if Brother Dale Harding would conduct a seminar this summer for Chilean educators explaining our methods of education.¹¹²

Harding and his faculty pushed the boundaries of Chilean school practices in order to achieve results. He recalled, “The amazing thing was that we went all day. No one else does that. That was a major change. We went six hours a day instead of the regular four hours a day. We had two extra hours. We were also able to bring in overhead projectors, these little recorders, and science equipment. We brought in a lot of textbooks, which I translated and put into Spanish.”¹¹³

Despite their success, a number of physical challenges faced the schools. School was held in chapel classrooms, but the number of students who applied soon necessitated the construction of classroom buildings nearby.¹¹⁴ After the first year of school, another school was opened to accommodate the demand. Shortly after the beginning of the school year, a devastating earthquake struck Chile, damaging some of the buildings used for schools. The buildings were inspected and declared to be intact, and school resumed, in spite of the lack of several amenities. Harding recalled, “There was an earthquake that broke all the bathrooms down. We had to put a bucket in the lavatory just to urinate in. When it got about full, one of the sixth graders threw it out the window. It just happened the Branch President was coming by. It’s

¹¹² Palmer, “Establishing the LDS Church in Chile,” 160.

¹¹³ Harding Oral History, 13.

¹¹⁴ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:60.

probably the worst problem we ever had with the schools. I can still see him. He was so angry. That's just the way those schools were. You never knew what you'd find the next day."¹¹⁵

The Chilean Schools and the "International" Schools Model

Word of the success of the schools in Chile reached Church headquarters and began to generate excitement there. Hugh B. Brown, a member of the First Presidency, even began plans for similar schools to be launched in Peru, and then throughout the rest of South America.¹¹⁶ To assist in the growing school system, two principals from the schools in Mexico, Lino Alvarez and Gabriel Montessano, were brought in to provide leadership. Harding left to return to the United States in 1967. He was succeeded by another American, Lyle Loosle. Mirroring the development of the schools in Mexico, word was sent to Superintendent Loosle to begin searching for a suitable location to build a secondary school which would carry out a function similar to the Benemerito School in Mexico.¹¹⁷ It looked as if the school system in Mexico would be duplicated in Chile, with the process repeated in other South American countries. President McKay's vision of a world-wide network of Church schools appeared to be on the cusp of becoming a reality.

The schools in Chile represented a wholly different iteration on the "International" model previously established in the Pacific schools. Though the head administrator of the schools was typically an American, the schools were largely a local product created and staffed by the Chilean members of the Church. By its very nature Chile was markedly different the Pacific, where large numbers of American expatriates formed the backbone of the professional faculties, and Mexico, where a large and mature membership of the Church existed. By contrast, the first

¹¹⁵ Harding Oral History, 23.

¹¹⁶ Mark Grover, *A Land of Prophecy and Promise*, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008), 310.

¹¹⁷ Taylor, *Story of LDS Church Schools*, 2:58-62.

members in Chile had joined the Church less than a decade before. The Chilean schools were staffed mainly with fairly recent converts. In addition, the national government of Chile was much more unstable than any other region where Latter-day Saints schools had previously been established. All of these factors combined to give the Chilean schools the most truly “global” feel of the Church schools. With few American leaders and no equivalent to the LDS colonies in Mexico, the Chilean schools represented the most likely model for how K-12 schools would operate in the emerging global Church. Unfortunately, these factors also contributed toward giving the Chilean schools the most troubled history of any of the Church schools.

Conclusions

The presidency of David O. McKay saw a startling increase in the number of educational institutions sponsored by the Church. Under Ernest L. Wilkinson, BYU and the rest of the Church schools in the United States expanded rapidly. Wilkinson planned a satellite system of colleges, with BYU as its centerpiece, but the plans never fully came to fruition. In the meantime, under McKay’s direction, and in collaboration with men like Wendall Mendenhall, Joseph Bentley, Dale Harding, A. Delbert Palmer, and others, an expanding system of Church schools was set up internationally. Spread throughout the Pacific, Mexico, and Chile, many believed that these schools provided the model for future expansion of the Church Educational System. It seemed, at the time, that Church schools would become the major vehicle for the international education efforts of the Latter-day Saints.

By the end of McKay’s presidency, the number of Latter-day Saint schools located outside the United States increased rapidly. In the Pacific dozens of schools were constructed by

volunteer laborers and staffed by teachers from the United States.¹¹⁸ In addition, a number of already existing schools maintained by LDS missions received upgraded facilities and were staffed by professional educators.¹¹⁹ By January 1971, there were forty LDS schools in operation throughout Mexico.¹²⁰ The school system in Chile grew to eventually include thirteen different primary and secondary schools.¹²¹ For each of these educational entities governing education were created to supervise the work. The Pacific Board of Education oversaw the expansion of LDS schools throughout the region until 1965, when it was incorporated into the Unified Church School system.¹²² In Mexico the “Sociedad Educativa y Cultural” supervised the schools and worked to cultivate good relationships with the government.¹²³ In Chile the “Asociacion Mormona Educacional y Cultural” played largely the same role.¹²⁴

The first steps taken by the LDS Church to establish an international educational system represent a return to past practices. Instead of establishing supplementary religious education to work alongside local government programs, the Church built extensive school systems to provide for the needs of its members. In areas where the number of Church members could not justify the construction of schools, the question of how to best meet their needs still remained. Within the United States and Canada, supplemental religious education remained the preferred system for reaching Church members. During this same period the Seminary and Institute programs also underwent a major expansion. For example, the number of Institute programs exploded from just 15 to 193 between the years 1950 to 1965. Institute enrollment grew from

¹¹⁸ See the list of Pacific Schools in Appendix A of this work.

¹¹⁹ See Britsch, “Church Schools in the Pacific,” 204-205.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:14. See the list of Mexican schools in Appendix B of this work.

¹²¹ See Appendix C of this work. As will be discussed in a Chapter 6, some of these schools were kindergartens established for the purpose of allowing the Church to maintain control over its facilities.

¹²² Britsch, “Church Schools in the Pacific,” 206.

¹²³ Johnson, “Mormon Schools in Mexico,” 110.

¹²⁴ Taylor, 2:54.

4,309 students to 30,052. During the same time frame, seminary enrollment grew from 28,677 to 103,500. Most of this growth, however, took place within the boundaries of the United States and Canada.¹²⁵ As will be seen in the next chapter, during the 1960s another fundamental shift in the direction of Church education moved the global emphasis of its programs toward the Seminary and Institute systems.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPING POLICY FOR A GLOBAL SYSTEM

Expansion of Latter-day Saint Religious Education

While the Church schools spread internationally, the Seminary and Institute (S&I)¹ programs also underwent a massive domestic expansion. For example, the number of Institute programs grew from 15 to 193 between the years 1950 to 1965, and Institute enrollment skyrocketed from 4,309 to 30,052. During the same time, Seminary enrollment increased from 28,677 to 103,500. However, the majority of this growth took place within the boundaries of the United States and Canada.² Even when compared with the growth rate of the international educational programs of the Church, the expansion of the Seminary and Institute programs during this period was phenomenal. Eventually, the Seminary and Institute programs became the dominant method for bringing education to the global membership of the Church. A number of factors are associated with this change, beginning with the selection of William E. Berrett as the Academic Vice President in charge of Religious Education at BYU in 1953. Serving under

¹ The supplementary religious educational programs of the LDS Church have been referred to at various times by a number of different titles. For instance they have commonly been referred to as “CES” even though the religious education programs are only one component of the Church Educational System. A directive issued by CES officials in 2008 gave the official title as “Seminaries and Institutes of Religion.” Recognizing this as the current official name, these organizations will be referred to as “Seminaries and Institutes,” or “S&I” throughout the remainder of this study.

² William E. Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, (Salt Lake: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988), 224-227, 245. It should be noted that while this work focuses on the creation of an international educational system, LDS education held a long presence in two other countries besides the United States, specifically Canada and Mexico, where Latter-day Saint Colonies have existed since the end of the 19th century. In LDS enclaves in both countries, Church academies existed. Two LDS seminaries were established in Canada in 1948, at Cardston and Raymond, respectively. Because these programs represented a unique case and not an organized attempt to build a global educational system, they have been grouped along with programs established in the United States. See A. Theodore Tuttle, “Released Time Religious Education Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” M.A. Thesis, Stanford University, 1949, 73.

Ernest L. Wilkinson, Berrett took charge of all the religious education programs in the Unified Church School system.

Prior to this time opinion about the usefulness of the Seminary and Institute programs among the leaders of the Church was widely varied. Some General Authorities, particularly President J. Reuben Clark, viewed the programs with some caution, wary of having a corps of professional religion teachers in a Church governed by a lay clergy. Berrett worked tirelessly to build trust between the leadership of the Church and the leaders of the religious education programs. During his time, he gained several strong advocates among the Church leadership, particularly Elder Harold B. Lee, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. Elder Lee played a key role in the global restructuring of the Church from the 1950s to the 1970s. Two other influential Church leaders during this period, Boyd K. Packer and A. Theodore Tuttle, served on Berrett's staff before becoming general authorities. Both became key advocates for the Seminary and Institute programs among the hierarchy of the Church. The relationship between Lee, Packer, and Tuttle in particular became critically important in developing a cohesive global vision for the educational programs of the Church. Their work complimented the earlier work carried initiated by David O. McKay in bringing education to the global membership of the Church. Where President McKay provided the zeal and largesse to spread Church education abroad, Lee, Packer, Tuttle and others provided the practical means to fulfill that vision. Since understanding how the Seminary and Institute systems became a trusted, rather than an uncertain part of the educational program, it is important to understand the ideological shift guiding the religious educational programs of the Church, which took place during the Berrett administration.

Addressing Conflicts between Religious Educations and the Church Authorities

Prior to Berrett's administration, the relationship between Church leaders and the teachers and administrators in the religious education programs of the Church was somewhat unsettled. It was perhaps natural that in a Church led by lay clergy that there would be some misgivings regarding those who served as professional religious educators, even if a teacher's employment wasn't directly linked to any ecclesiastical position. Some general authorities felt that at times the seminary and institute teachers focused too much on scholarship, giving a lesser place to the development of faith and testimony. President J. Reuben Clark, a counselor in the First Presidency, even went so far as to threaten a return to Church schools if conditions did not change. Speaking to the Church's religious educators in 1938 he warned, "If we cannot teach the gospel, the doctrines of the Church, and the standard works of the Church, all of them, on "released time" in our seminaries and institutes, then we must face giving up 'released time' and try to work out some other plan of carrying on the gospel work in those institutions."³

The influence of the training of faculty by the Chicago Divinity School and a perceived rise in secularism in the 1930s and 40s among Institute teachers had caused a series of confrontations between Church leaders and teachers within the system. Administrators within the Church Department of Education described the relationship between Commissioner West and President Clark as "strained" and "tenuous" at times.⁴ Several other apostles, such as Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, were alarmed over statements made by teachers in the S&I programs. After hearing an address one institute teacher gave on the theory of evolution, Elder Smith wrote to West that "if the views of these men become dominant in the Church, then we may just as well

³ J. Reuben Clark, "The Charted Course of the Church in Education," in *J. Reuben Clark: Selected Papers on Religion, Education, and Youth*, ed. David H. Yarn, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1984), 254.

⁴ M. Lynn Bennion, *Recollections of a School Man: The Autobiography of M. Lynn Bennion*, (Salt Lake: Western Epics, 1987), 121.

close up shop and say to the world that Mormonism is a failure.”⁵ Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, President Clark, Elder Smith, and a number of general authorities remained concerned. Even Church leaders with academic backgrounds were alarmed. Elder Joseph F. Merrill, an advocate of seminaries and institutes wrote to a friend that he was wary of “teachers who have seemed to be unwilling to accept wholeheartedly the teachings of Mormonism.”⁶ During these years Franklin L. West, the Church Commissioner of Education, walked a fine line between allowing academic freedom for seminary and institute teachers and following the directives of Church leaders.

Reforming Religious Education: William E. Berrett

When Ernest L. Wilkinson reorganized the Church’s educational programs of in 1953, West would be retired. With West’s departure, the position of Church Commissioner of Education ended and Wilkinson took over the head of the Unified Church School System. Wilkinson appointed William E. Berrett as an academic Vice-President in charge of religious education, officially making Berrett the head administrator of the seminary and institute programs.⁷ Berrett brought a different approach to the S&I programs than any leader prior to his time. Previous heads of the program like Adam S. Bennion, Joseph F. Merrill, John A. Widtsoe, and Franklin L. West all came from academic backgrounds. Berrett became the first leader of Seminaries and Institutes have a background in LDS religious education. Except for a brief stint as an assistant attorney general in Alaska, Berrett had spent all of his professional life writing and teaching in the seminary and institute programs. During the 1930s, while he was working as

⁵ Richard Sherlock, “Faith and History: The Snell Controversy,” *Dialogue*, 12:1, 21.

⁶ Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years, ed. Ernest L. Wilkinson, (4 vols.), (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 2:385.

⁷ As discussed in Chapter 3 of this work, at this time Ernest L. Wilkinson was serving as the president of BYU and also as the head of the Unified Church School system. Therefore, the administrators serving under his leadership at BYU, also headed various parts of the entire educational system of the Church.

a curriculum writer for the Church, he taught at the mission home, a training center for LDS missionaries, in Salt Lake City. While here Berrett consequently developed a close relationship with some members of the Church hierarchy and as a result, saw the importance of relationships with Church leaders to the success of his administration.⁸

One of the steps early in Berrett's administration was to reinstitute a summer school program for all Church religion teachers.⁹ This was similar an earlier program, which had existed under the leadership of Adam S. Bennion and Joseph F. Merrill. The first summer programs the 1930s began with general authorities teaching the classes. However, when Joseph F. Merrill became the Commissioner he invited biblical scholars from the University of Chicago, and LDS religion teachers with advanced degrees to teach the courses. Berrett wanted a return to having general authorities instruct the educators.... To this end, he invited Harold B. Lee, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve to be an instructor. For five weeks, Lee led the class, supplementing his teaching with guest lecturers from among the general authorities. The program appeared instituted in part to train the teachers, and in part to settle the concerns some Church leaders had over the program s. Some of the speakers included those who had expressed the most concerns about the S&I programs over the years, including J. Reuben Clark and Joseph Fielding Smith.¹⁰

⁸ The best source on William E. Berrett's background in Church education is found in William E. Berrett, *My Story*, unpublished manuscript, 1974, courtesy of S&I Research Library. A copy of this history may also be found in Special Collections at BYU, MSS SC 2517.

⁹ The summer programs continued through the 1930s, but appear to have been ended in the early 1940s. Berrett speaks of having to reinsitute the summer schools, see Berrett, *My Story*, 77. No records of any organized summer meetings exist within the S&I archives. Why the summer trainings ended is not known, but a likely explanation may be that the travel restrictions instituted by the U.S. government during World War II made it difficult for all of the teachers in the system to gather together during the 1940s.

¹⁰ Seminary and Institute Summer School Materials, unpublished document, S&I Research Library, 1.

The classes taught by Lee took a different direction from earlier trainings, focusing less on scriptural scholarship and more of what Church leaders felt the agenda of the religious education programs should be. Lee's outline for the first day of class listed five objectives for the Church school system:

1. To teach knowledge to enable students to be free from darkness, tradition, vain philosophy and untried theories of science.
2. To educate youth, not only for time, but for all eternity.
3. To so teach the gospel that youth will not be led away by false teachings.
4. To prepare the students to live a well-rounded life.
5. To help the youth to gain a testimony that God lives and that his work is divine.¹¹

Where the summer schools of the 1930s had focused on biblical archaeology, theology, and scriptural exegesis, Lee focused instead on faith and testimony. He counseled teachers not to speculate, to bear their testimonies often in class, and say "I don't know" rather than giving an answer they were not sure of. Rather than emphasizing the scholarship of the teachers, Lee placed the emphasis on protecting the faith of the students. The notes from his first lecture contained a quote from Lee saying, "As a young man, I was anxious to display my great intelligence, but as I grew older, I am anxious to hide my ignorance."¹²

Despite the controversy, the summer schools continued and served to build a bridge between the leaders of the Church and the teachers in the Seminary and Institute program. One of Berrett's associates from the period described the summer schools as "a definite attempt on our part to bring the Brethren and the teachers closer together. There was some criticism of Church policy or practice, and our attempt was to bring these brethren into communication so that the whole Church and the whole educational system would be moving down the road

¹¹ Harold B. Lee lecture notes, S&I Summer School Materials, 2.

¹² Ibid., 2.

together in the same direction and in step.”¹³ Despite the initial controversy surrounding these changes, Berrett grew into one of the most beloved leaders in the educational system. One of his staff described him as “a man it was easy to be loyal to.”¹⁴

Broadening the Influence: A. Theodore Tuttle and Boyd K. Packer

The events of the 1954 Summer School sent ripples throughout the Seminary and Institute System. Partly because of his experience at the summer school, and his prior relationship with Seminaries and Institutes, Harold B. Lee developed a close relationship with Berrett and his assistants. Berrett recalled Lee counseling him that he “should break away from the previous policies of the Department of Education and should select a new assistant,” specifically to replace Joy Dunyon.¹⁵ The Seminaries and Institutes prior to Berrett’s appointment were directed by two assistant supervisors, Dunyon and Karl Wood. Wood was close to retirement, and Berrett felt Dunyon’s display of disloyalty in going over his head to President McKay indicated he would be difficult to work with in the future.¹⁶

Berrett first replaced Wood with A. Theodore Tuttle, an institute director in Reno, Nevada. Tuttle in turn suggested Boyd K. Packer, a young seminary principal in Brigham City and a pioneer in taking seminary to Native American students. Berrett didn’t know either man personally, but discussed his choices Harold B. Lee, who approved of both. The selection of Tuttle and Packer proved pivotal in shifting the direction of the Seminary and Institute program. Berrett later described Tuttle and Packer as “a David and Jonathan combination, they were closer

¹³ A Theodore Tuttle Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, OH 360, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, 124.

¹⁴ Marshall Burton Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, February 3, 2011, transcript in author’s possession.

¹⁵ Berrett, *My Story*, 77.

¹⁶ Wilkinson Diary, June 10, 1955, Wilkinson Papers, Box 99, Fd. 2, Special Collections, BYU.

than brothers.” Tuttle and Packer quickly established the theme of their leadership as “Follow the Brethren.” Both Tuttle and Packer held graduate degrees, but they also felt that faith and loyalty to the Church played an important role in the selection of religion teachers within the Church. Packer summarized the view in saying, “It is an easy thing for a man with extensive academic training to try and measure the Church with the principles he has been taught in his professional training. In my mind it ought to be the other way around. A member of the Church ought always to judge the professions of men against the revealed word of the Lord.”¹⁷

Packer and Tuttle worked diligently to build or repair relationships with ecclesiastical leaders. They arranged conventions where all of the local Church leaders attended a temple session with the seminary and institute teachers who served their local units. The next day the group attended meetings dealing with the programs. Packer and Tuttle often timed these meetings to coincide with the visits of general authorities, and secured the endorsement of the visiting authority for the programs. Tuttle recalled, “In those days the most powerful supporters were President [Henry D.] Moyle and President [Harold B.] Lee. They really took an interest in it and pushed it. And you know that one word from them equaled a thousand from anybody else. So these seminary conventions, really, I think for the first time, welded the professional arm of the Church, seminary and institute brethren, with the ecclesiastical officers of the Church responsible for all these students.”¹⁸

The two men gained a particularly close relationship with Harold B. Lee, whom Tuttle described as “a great counselor and a special friend.”¹⁹ Lee took a special interest in the Seminary and Institute programs, and the influential apostle acted as a mentor to the two

¹⁷ Quoted in Lucille C. Tate, *Boyd K. Packer: A Watchmen on the Tower*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1995), 121-122.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁹ Tuttle Oral History, 206.

supervisors. Lee became an important ally especially. Tuttle described him having “a tremendous influence as a member of the Twelve, [he] seemed to be a senior member all his life, because of the great influence he had on so many things.”²⁰ The two supervisors met more often with Lee than any of the General Authorities, and Elder Lee, in turn, influenced the direction of the S&I programs.

In April 1958, A. Theodore Tuttle received a call to serve as a member of the First Council of the Seventy. Three years later he was called to a three-year assignment to move to Montevideo, Uruguay to supervise the Church throughout South America. As noted earlier, during his service in South America Tuttle played an important role in establishing the Church Schools in Chile.²¹ The same month Tuttle left for his assignment, Packer received an appointment to serve as a member of the Administrative Council of BYU,²² placing him in a crucial position to influence the direction of Church education.²³ His influence increased further when Packer became a general authority a few months later, receiving a call to serve as an assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve. The call of the two men, particularly Packer, eventually made a tremendous impact on the development of the Church educational policy. Shortly after Packer’s call, a number of critical issues in the educational program came to a head, resulting in crucial policy battles, with Packer finding himself directly in the middle of a number of important discussions about where the educational resources of the Church would be best utilized.

²⁰ Tuttle Oral History, 206.

²¹ One mission president, A Delbert Palmer, identified A. Theodore Tuttle’s time in South America as the crucial period in sparking a rapid expansion of the Church in the region. For a thorough account of this, see Mark Grover, *A Land of Prophecy and Promise*, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008).

²² The Administrative Council of BYU is a subsidiary of the Church Board of Education assigned specifically to oversee Brigham Young University, see Leon R. Hartshorn, “Mormon Education in the Bold Years,” Stanford University, PhD diss., 1965, 44-48.

²³ Tate, *Boyd K. Packer*, 123.

Discussions over the Mission of Church Education

By the early 1960s the issues surrounding the rapidly ballooning Church budget in education and other areas became a source of concern for many Church leaders. Throughout the previous decade, Ernest L. Wilkinson enjoyed strong support for his educational initiatives, particularly from the First Presidency. David O. McKay, along with his two counselors, Stephen L Richards and J. Reuben Clark, heavily favored Wilkinson's approach to Church education.²⁴ Supported by the First Presidency, Wilkinson gradually purchased and amassed several key real estate holdings throughout the Western United States, with the intent to build a network of junior colleges designed as feeder schools for Brigham Young University. Support for Wilkinson's proposed school system began to erode with the death of Stephen L Richards in 1959. Richards' replacement in the First Presidency, Henry D. Moyle saw the proposed junior college system as too expensive and unsupportable given the current state of Church finances.²⁵

Debating Allocation of Educational Resources

In April 1960, the Executive Committee of BYU approved a fifteen-year plan for the junior college system, a major victory for Wilkinson. However, only a few months later, in September, in a meeting with Church Board of Education, the plan was nearly ended outright. President McKay's counselors, Moyle and Clark, were particularly opposed to it. Wilkinson saved the proposal, but noted in his diary, "Had I not been willing to stand up against the two counselors for an hour of running duel, this matter would have gone over for a year and might have meant the end of the program."²⁶

²⁴ Deem and Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson*, 632.

²⁶ Wilkinson Diary, September 7, 1960, Wilkinson Papers, Box 100.

Wilkinson recorded a particularly tense exchange between himself and Moyle in 1961. In a meeting with a wide-ranging agenda, Wilkinson sensed Moyle was about to criticize the junior college program and attempted to head him off by referring to an earlier meeting where President McKay instructed Wilkinson to not let the enrollment at BYU grow larger than 12,000 students, prompting McKay to give instructions to proceed immediately with the junior college program. Hearing this, Moyle thumped his hand on his desk and say, “We can’t do that.” Moyle said the Church was overextended financially in other fields and that funds for the junior college program were not available. He then told Wilkinson that the Church would never build the junior colleges, “in your lifetime or mine.”²⁷ It is possible President Moyle felt the sting of the Church’s budget crunch more acutely than other General Authorities because he previously served as the director of the Church building program, one of the programs causing massive expenditures and the resulting budget woes.²⁸ Moyle told Wilkinson that if Church expenditures went much further, the Church would have to start borrowing to meet its obligations.²⁹

Other General Authorities began expressing concern over the program as well. After a meeting of the BYU Executive Committee, Wilkinson noted in his diary, “It was apparent from the meeting that Brother [Harold B.] Lee is very much opposed to the junior college program.”³⁰ Wilkinson may have worsened his situation by alienating the supporters of the Seminary and Institute programs by emphasizing attendance at BYU over other educational options. A statement drafted by Wilkinson in 1953 announced a policy of “encouraging Latter-day Saint boys and girls to attend our Church schools—that is, Brigham Young University and Ricks

²⁷ Memorandum of Conference with President Henry D. Moyle, May 11, 1961, Box 271, Fd. 10, Wilkinson Papers, UA 1000, Special Collections, BYU.

²⁸ For a more extensive account of Henry D. Moyle and the Church budget crisis of this era, see Prince and Wright, *David O. McKay and Rise of Modern Mormonism*, 199-226.

²⁹ Memorandum of Meeting, May 11, 1960, Wilkinson Papers, Box 271, Fd. 10.

³⁰ Wilkinson Diary, August 16, 1962, Wilkinson Papers, Box 101, Fd. 1.

College, except where there are definite reasons for them attending other universities.”

Wilkinson provided several reasons for this policy ranging from the academic: “In our Church schools, the teaching of religion is not confined merely to classes in religion,” to the more practical: “There is much more opportunity for the proper mating of students at Church Schools.”³¹ The option of attending a local university and participating in the Institute program was given secondary importance. The policy increased attendance at BYU but caused a difficult dilemma for some LDS families. Paul H. Dunn, an institute director in Southern California during this time noted, “We had parents who were going into financial debt to get their kid up to the ‘Y’ when they could go to a junior college in California, which, in those days was darned near free.”³²

Shifting the Focus of Church Education

When Wilkinson announced in January 1963 to the stake presidents in Southern California that groundbreaking for a Church junior college in Anaheim, California would take place in December 1963 or January 1964, Boyd K. Packer was prompted to send a letter to the First Presidency addressing his concerns over the junior college program. In his letter Packer stated, “Should the Church forgo the opportunity to build the presently proposed junior colleges, no member of the Church would be deprived of the opportunity to obtain a junior college education; nor would it be made more difficult or convenient. In fact, in some instances to build them would make it less convenient and in most cases it would increase the financial burden

³¹ The full text of this policy statement may be found in Leon R. Hartshorn, “Mormon Education in the Bold Years,” PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1965, 59-60, or Berrett and Burton, *Readings in LDS Church History*, 3:448.

³² Quoted in Prince & Wright, 166. Paul H. Dunn later became a General Authority and a member of the Church Board of Education, and worried openly in a meeting of the Church Board “what could be done for students who are not attending BYU – the impression prevailed throughout the Church that they were not first class citizens.” See Confidential Memorandum, October 5, 1966, Box 271, Fd. 7, Wilkinson Papers, BYU.

upon the individual Church member and his family.”³³ Packer continued by pointing out the abundance of junior colleges already existing in California and Arizona, the two states most likely to receive Church junior colleges, and argued that “the establishment of junior colleges by the Church in these areas will constitute a duplication of facilities which already exist and represent a program that will be more costly and less convenient to the student members of the Church.”³⁴ He continued, “Should the Church forgo the opportunity to establish junior colleges, no member of the Church need be deprived of the daily religious instruction under Church sponsorship and control. Nor need they be deprived of religious activity and spiritual welfare while living away from home and attending school.” Packer went on to describe the Institute program throughout Southern California, still flourishing in spite of “intensive campaigns to have LDS youth leave California and attend BYU.”

In many ways, Packer was arguing against the centralizing tendency which Church schools encouraged. Rather than bring students to a central hub, he argued for the virtue of allowing students to remain near their homes and build up the Church locally. Wilkinson’s policies, he argued, encouraged the more strong and active youth to “come to Provo leaving their fellow student members without the benefit of their strength and influence.” He continued, “When I hear that we have 2,520 returned missionaries attending BYU, I must admit to a feeling of misgiving, and recognize in it a most unfortunate deployment of strength. Merely a few capable, spiritually secure returned missionaries at each Institute would provide a nucleus of

³³ Boyd K. Packer to President David O. McKay and Counselors, Salt Lake City, February 18, 1963. A complete copy of this letter is found in McKay Diary, March 5, 1963, Box 53, Fd. 7, McKay Papers, Special Collections, U of U, emphasis in original, referred to afterward as Boyd K. Packer February 1963 letter.

³⁴ Ibid.

strength around which the student ward bishop and the institute director could build a program to secure the more wayward.”³⁵

Packer argued that the clear alternative to more Church schools came in the supplementary programs of Seminary and Institute, which he argued constituted a “tested and effective means to being religious instruction” to the membership of the Church. Chief among the attractions of supplemental education was the cost. Packer continued, “It is already known that this religious training can be achieved without the staggering expense of duplicating the whole secular curriculum. The present cost per student at Brigham Young University is approximately \$875.00 a year, over eleven times the approximately \$77.00 per year for an institute student.”³⁶ The arguments closely paralleled the arguments used by Adam S. Bennion and others during the 1920s to justify the closure of the Church Academies in favor of the seminary system.³⁷

Packer concluded the letter requesting the Church leadership to shift their concern away from the more affluent American membership of the Church:

There is another expression far more important than all I have said with regard to this matter. I confess to a deep yearning concern for the underprivileged youth of the Church, particularly those of Lamanite descent, and find myself restlessly hoping that something may be done to provide even a meager education. I have visited in Mexico and know something of our school program there. In Mexico illiteracy is on the increase. But we are able to provide a year’s elementary education to these poor youngsters for only \$100.14.

Somehow to commit hundreds of millions of dollars to provide the well-privileged youth of the Church with an education they will achieve anyway with less expense and more convenience than if we provide it seems unfortunate stewardship of our educational resources.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See Esplin, “Education in Transition.”

Is it an error to suggest that the testimony of the Book of Mormon for these underprivileged children in Latin America and elsewhere is predicated upon their ability at least to read?³⁸

Packer's arguments essentially asked for the leaders of the Church to begin looking at their educational programs with a global perspective. A system of junior colleges would serve the American membership of the Church, but what of the needs of the global membership of the Church? The new perspective raised the question of equity in a worldwide Church. Was it fair for the American youth, already having access to a wide range of educational options, to have a new system of Church junior colleges, while LDS youth in other countries struggled to receive even an elementary level education?

Focusing on Global Concerns

On March 1, a resolution was signed by the six Apostles on the Executive Committee of the Board of Education stating the committee's united that "the Church should not at this time embark upon a program to build junior colleges" and that "no further expenditures be directed toward the planning of junior colleges or buildings." Citing their reasons, the resolution explains in a meeting of the committee "the fear was expressed that the present estimate of costs for a junior college program would be far exceeded and that to commit the Church presently to the program may eventually preclude bringing educational opportunities to member of the Church residing in other areas of the world." The resolution continued, "It was the feeling of those present that a full exploration of the potential of the Institutes of Religion to achieve Church Educational objective be made."³⁹

³⁸ Boyd K. Packer February 1963 letter.

³⁹ A copy of this resolution may be found in the McKay Diaries, March 5, 1963, Box 53, Fd. 7. The signers of the document included Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Delbert L. Stapley, LeGrand Richards, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Boyd K. Packer.

Packer's letter and the resolution occasioned a crucial meeting of the Church Board of Education several days later. Everyone present in the meeting, with the exception of Boyd K. Packer, was a member of the First Presidency or the Quorum of the Twelve.⁴⁰ Notably, Ernest L. Wilkinson was not in attendance at the meeting. Joseph Fielding Smith, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, presented the problems for discussion, along with Packer. David O. McKay immediately asked if Wilkinson knew about the meeting and was informed that the answer was no, the meeting was an executive session of the Executive Committee and did not require his presence.

McKay then proceeded to ask those present to review the status of the junior college properties in Anaheim and in Arizona. He was answered by several members of the board who replied, in effect, that each property was still open but no concrete action had been taken toward building either school. McKay revealed his intentions behind the questions when he asked if the Church was committed to such an extent with the school in Arizona that it was not too late to withdraw honorably. He was answered in the affirmative. Addressing the questions of availability of other schools, Packer pointed out the presence of at least thirty other junior colleges in the Los Angeles area. Harold B. Lee joined in, stating there was no place where the membership of the Church had more access to state education than in California and Arizona. He continued further, adding his analysis of Wilkinson's figures, and suggesting the shift towards supplementary education in the 1930s was still sound policy, that the Church can "offer institute and seminary instruction where we have sufficient members to justify it."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Excerpts from the minutes of the Church Board of Education are found in David O. McKay's diary. The minutes note the attendees at the meeting as the First Presidency, consisting of David O. McKay, Henry D. Moyle, and Hugh B. Brown, along with Joseph Fielding Smith, Harold B. Lee, Delbert L. Stapley, Marion G. Romney, LeGrand Richards, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, and Boyd K. Packer. McKay papers, Box 53, Fd. 7, Special Collections, U of U.

⁴¹ Ibid.

At this point in the conversation, President McKay hearkened back to the discussion over Church policy held in the 1930s, when Joseph F. Merrill proposed the closure or transfer of all the remaining Church schools. He spoke of the value of teaching theology in *all* classes, not just religion course and cited the Brigham Young adage, “Don’t teach arithmetic without the Spirit of the Lord.” McKay continued, stating his feelings about the value of a Church school, and his opposition to their closure. But McKay conceded that the key question before the Board consisted of determining whether a junior college is worth the extra cost to teach religion with all the secular subjects or whether institute could provide sufficient training for the youth of the Church.

Marion G. Romney joined the discussion, stating his support for Packer’s conclusions. He argued that “he would favor the junior college where Latter-day Saint teachers could be used in every class, but he felt that the cost would be prohibitive to furnish college work to all the Church.”⁴² In addition, Romney spoke of a more global perspective for the educational plan offering concern for “the thousands of our people in foreign countries who need the opportunity for education.” Romney argued that if the resources earmarked for the junior colleges went to members outside the United States it would be “more profitably spent in furthering the kingdom.”⁴³

McKay still felt some reservations over the Seminary and Institute programs, citing a letter he received from the mother of student attending a seminary near a local high school in Salt Lake City, speaking about her concerns over a seminary teacher who apparently told her the teachers could not teach doctrine in their classes because of non-members attending classes. She also told McKay the seminary held “how do you feel” meetings instead of “testimony” meetings.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

Lee pointed out the letter could have just as easily been about a teacher at BYU, such attitudes about academic freedom existed throughout the system. McKay cautiously added if such a switch to the S&I programs took place “the value of the religious training would depend wholly upon the man who has charge of the work,” perhaps expressing worry over the lack of orthodoxy present in the S&I programs in previous years. Lee responded by pointing out the recent implementation of the Book of Mormon as part of the seminary curriculum, even though no high school credit was offered, proving “the teaching of the Book of Mormon was more important than the academic credit.” Packer joined Lee in pointing out that certain seminary courses were taught in a non-sectarian manner because it was believed seminary would have low enrollment without course credit. Packer felt the early morning seminary program now proved credit was not necessary to motivate the youth to attend seminary.⁴⁴

In a move most likely designed to remove the lopsided focus on BYU, Lee argued the size of the Church School System now necessitated a Chancellor who was neither the president of BYU, nor the head of the S&I programs. McKay reluctantly admitted the need for the move to the supplemental system to accomplish the educational mission of the Church. The minutes from the meeting read:

President McKay said he could not see that we could do anything else, that we have discussed the matter and have come to the conclusion that the seminaries and institutes can do the religious work. He said that furthermore we should encourage the BYU to prepare our teachers to fill these positions as institute and seminary instructors because the value of institute depends upon the character and the ability and the faith of the men who teach those classes.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The issue of secularization of religion classes in order to receive school credit appears to have played a significant role in David O. McKay’s hesitancy regarding the seminary program. Credit for classes in Biblical studies continued until 1978, when an ACLU lawsuit ended the practice. See Casey Paul Griffiths, “The Seminary System on Trial: The 1978 Lanner v. Wimmer Lawsuit,” *Journal of Mormon History*, 37:2 (2011), 146-183.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Before the meeting concluded, Gordon B. Hinckley prudently observed that Wilkinson should be informed of the Executive Committee's decision before it was presented to the entire Board the next day. The meeting concluded with Lee making an official motion for the Board to take steps to discontinue any actions towards the establishment of further Church junior colleges. The motion was seconded by Henry D. Moyle, and unanimously approved by the rest of the committee.

Shifting to a Global Perspective

The meeting caused a seismic shift in the direction of Church education. On the surface, the discussion centered on the proposed junior colleges, but the issues which arose during the discussion were really about the fundamental direction of the Church's educational program. Similar to the policy shifts of the late 1920s and early 1930s, the discussion moved the Church away from Church schools towards supplemental religious education. As in the earlier discussion, the lower cost of the Seminary and Institute programs played a key role in the decision. As in the 1920s a Church budgetary crisis provided the motivation to take a serious look at the fundamental nature of Church education. At the same time, while the issues raised mirrored many of the earlier debates from the 1920s, it also introduced the new elements surrounding the growing global Church. The discussion in the meeting signaled that the leaders of the Church were now thinking on a global level, allocating funds for a Church which had transcended national boundaries. One of the chief arguments against the junior college system was that it would basically only benefit American members of the Church. In the emerging global Church, resources needed to be allocated to benefit members throughout the world.

When Wilkinson was informed of the meeting and Packer's letter, he moved to swing the momentum back toward the junior college program. On March 11, President McKay and

Wilkinson met privately to discuss the Board's decision. Wilkinson's diary records, "President McKay informed me that the Church felt that it was necessary to enlarge the elementary school program in Mexico and also to extend it to a number of countries in South America." McKay wanted Church schools in those countries, and revealed further reservations about the S&I programs by informing Wilkinson that he wanted him to directly head the programs. McKay continued, telling Wilkinson one of the great functions of BYU in the future would be to prepare seminary and institute teachers.⁴⁶ In a follow up letter to the meeting, Wilkinson requested all of the information offered by Boyd K. Packer in the meeting of the Executive committee and began intense preparations to defend the junior college proposal.⁴⁷

Despite the mounting opposition, Wilkinson appeared before the Church Board a few days later. In a presentation lasting two and half hours, Wilkinson laid out a complex defense for the junior college program with no questions permitted until after his presentation.⁴⁸ Wilkinson offered a highly modified plan with four junior colleges to be built between 1964 and 1970, specifically (1) the completion of Ricks College, (2) A teacher training school in Mexico City, (3) a school in Anaheim, California with emphasis on vocational training, and (4) a school in Phoenix, Arizona, to provide for Indian Students and others students who could not attend BYU.

⁴⁶ A memorandum of this meeting is found in McKay Diary, Box 53, Fd. 7.

⁴⁷ Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, March 11, 1963, Provo, Utah, a copy of this letter may be found in the Box 53, Fd. 7 of the McKay Papers.

⁴⁸ The minutes of the Church Board are not available for this meeting, though it is thoroughly documented in Wilkinson's Diary. The most complete account of the meeting is found in Wilkinson's papers, Box 271, Fd. 9, UA 1000, Special Collections, BYU. Those present at the meeting appear to be the three members of the First Presidency, David O. McKay, Henry D. Moyle, and Hugh B. Brown, Apostles Joseph Fielding Smith, Spencer W. Kimball, Ezra Taft Benson, Delbert L. Stapley, Marion G. Romney, LeGrand Richards, Richard L. Evans, Howard W. Hunter, Gordon B. Hinckley, N. Eldon Tanner. The presiding Bishop, John H. Vanderberg, and Boyd K. Packer, an assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve, also attended, along with Clyde Sandgren, Wilkinson's secretary, and Joseph T. Bentley and Henry Aldous Dixon, two officials in the Wilkinson administration. It is notable that Harold B. Lee was not present, though not by any design of Wilkinson, who requested that McKay postpone the meeting due to Lee's absence. According to Wilkinson, McKay elected to go ahead without Lee present. See Wilkinson Diary, June 27-July 3, 1963, Box 101, Fd. 2, Wilkinson Papers.

Wilkinson argued that “the proposed program is necessary if the Church is to continue to give a complete Church School education, as distinguished from Institute classes alone.”⁴⁹

After his presentation, in the discussion Apostle Ezra Taft Benson spoke in favor of the junior colleges, stating he felt private schools would be the salvation of the country. LeGrand Richards also favored the schools but only if they could be financed. Delbert L. Stapley, Marion G. Romney, and N. Eldon Tanner expressed similar views, and Wilkinson argued in return that the junior colleges would not draw a larger percentage of the Church budget than what had been previously received. Henry D. Moyle and Boyd K. Packer vigorously denounced the program. Moyle and N. Eldon Tanner argued in favor of using the funds to advance the education of members in South American and Europe. In reply, Howard W. Hunter pointed out that there were more Church members in Southern California than South American and Europe combined.

Delbert L. Stapley inquired whether as a permanent Church policy a percentage of the anticipated Church income could be arrived at to pay for the educational system, and asked Wilkinson about increasing tuition, which Wilkinson replied would happen in the next school year. Other members of the Board expressed confidence, along with Wilkinson of private donations from members in the areas where the schools would be built to offset the cost.

N. Eldon Tanner then suggested a compromise, calling for an extension of the institute program, consideration of the needs of members in foreign countries, and then if the Church could still afford it, the construction of the junior colleges. Howard W. Hunter argued in response that the Church needed to build for the greatest centers of population. At this point, Joseph Fielding Smith motioned to keep the property in Phoenix, Arizona designated for a junior college. McKay replied that keeping the land entailed building a junior college on the property, which Smith replied was his understanding and intention. When McKay asked for a second,

⁴⁹ Wilkinson Meeting Minutes, Box 271, Fd. 9, Wilkinson Papers, 3.

strangely, Moyle offered his support, stating he was in favor of the program as a measure for helping American Indians. The motion passed unanimously, with Boyd K. Packer abstaining.⁵⁰

The victory was a pyrrhic one for Wilkinson. Ricks College was enlarged and the Benemerito School in Mexico City was built, but the two schools in California and Arizona never even began construction. The most serious blow to Wilkinson's proposed junior college system was self-inflicted. On November 24, 1963, Wilkinson announced to the Executive Committee of BYU his plans to seek the Republican nomination for U.S. Senate.⁵¹ Two months later, on January 9, 1964, he resigned as the president of BYU and Chancellor of the Church School System.⁵² Church leaders decided to split Wilkinson's duties between two men. Harvey Taylor took over as Chancellor of the Church School System, taking overall control of BYU, the Church Schools, and Seminaries and Institutes. Earl C. Crocket became acting president of BYU. The move accomplished Harold B. Lee's earlier desire to have the Chancellor of the system separate from one particular educational entity. In the meantime, Wilkinson's unsuccessful Senate campaign consumed nearly all of his time over the ensuing year. Illustrating this, Wilkinson's diary, usually filled with copious notes, contains almost no entries for over half a year, March 20 to November 30, 1964. While Wilkinson was absent, support for the junior college proposal began to wane.⁵³

⁵⁰ According to Wilkinson, Packer even approached Wilkinson before the meeting, informing him that he was praying for him to fail. Wilkinson acknowledged Packer's disappointment at the reversal but wrote privately that Packer "brought this upon himself by writing a letter to the First Presidency." Wilkinson Diary, June 27-July 3, 1963, Box 101, Fd. 2, Wilkinson Papers.

⁵¹ McKay Diary, Nov. 21, 1963, McKay Papers, Box 75, Fd. 7.

⁵² Wilkinson's title was changed from "Administrator" to "Chancellor" of the Church School System in 1960. McKay Diary, August 25, 1961, McKay Papers, Box 48, Fd. 3. See also Wilkinson Diary, April 28, 1960, Wilkinson Papers, UA 1000, Box 100.

⁵³ Wilkinson kept a detailed diary and extensive records of all of his dealings. Unfortunately, one of the consequences of his departure to run for Senate is the level of detail behind the development of Church educational policies becomes much more difficult to determine, since the Minutes of the Church Board of Education are restricted for research. The diary and papers of President David O. McKay also become less detailed after this point, most likely as a consequence of President McKay's increasing age and declining health.

Another significant event occurred in September 1963, when Henry D. Moyle passed away and was replaced in the First Presidency by N. Eldon Tanner.⁵⁴ Tanner, upon meeting with the leaders of the Church Budget Committee and Financial Department, became aware that Church expenditures were reaching dangerous levels and began an overhaul of Church finances.⁵⁵ Tanner in effect launched an effort to move Church finances to a more exacting corporate finance model, even placing a moratorium on brick and mortar construction (including delaying the construction of the new Church Office Building) until the Building Committee's budget could be stabilized and controlled.⁵⁶

At a meeting of the Church Board of Education in October 1964, a motion passed to begin limiting enrollment at the Church colleges. At a meeting the following month, the Board discussed the possibility of limiting enrollment at BYU by encouraging students throughout the country to attend local colleges, state institutions, Ricks College, or Institutes of Religion, particularly during the first two years of college work. Under this plan, BYU was elevated to become a largely upper-division and graduate school, with local members attending nearby schools at a lower cost.⁵⁷ A letter implementing the change was sent to leaders throughout the Church:

The Church has long encouraged its members, and especially its youth, to study at institutions of higher education. We now reaffirm and emphasize that admonition. We suggest that you counsel the youth of your stake upon graduation from high school to seek the type of educational program for which they are best

⁵⁴ G. Homer Durham, *N. Eldon Tanner: His Life and Service*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1982), 197-198.

⁵⁵ During this period, N. Eldon Tanner had an intense discussion with President McKay over the state of Church expenditures and called for a complete restructuring of Church finances. A complete transcript of Tanner's confrontation with McKay may be found in McKay Diary, Box 53, Fd. 7, McKay papers, U of U.⁵⁵

⁵⁶ John P. Livingstone, "N. Eldon Tanner and Church Administration," in *A Firm Foundation: Church Organization and Administration*, ed. David J. Whittaker and Arnold K. Garr, (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2011), 497-498.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Brigham Young University Board of Trustees, October 7, 1964, quoted in J. Elliot Cameron, "A Survey of Basic Educational Opportunities Available to Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," PhD Diss., Brigham Young University, 1966, 45.

suited and which will best prepare them for service in the Church and the community.

Obviously, all Latter-day Saint students of college age cannot enroll in one of our Church schools. We have now established 185 full- or part-time Institutes of Religion at colleges and universities throughout the United States and Canada. Additional institutes will be established as sufficient numbers of (Church) students become available. We strongly urge all students who are not attending Brigham Young University, Ricks College, or the Church College of Hawaii to enroll in classes at the institutes (where they are available near the students' home) so they can augment their secular learning with a religious education and spiritual experiences.

As you counsel the youth of your stake, we feel you should take into consideration the special needs of the individual students. Many unhappy situations develop because our youth leave the influence and guidance of their parents too early in life. When a (Latter-day Saint) Institute of Religion is available at a nearby college, we believe that in many cases it would be wise for the students to complete his freshman year where the influence of the home could be a supportive factor.

May the Lord continue to bless you in your work so that the youth of Zion might be guided and strengthened.

Sincerely,
THE FIRST PRESIDENCY⁵⁸

The letter signaled a clear shift toward the Seminary and Institute programs, increasing their importance in the Church's educational program. Even more importantly, the intense policy discussions of 1963–64 brought into focus the need for a clearer overall vision of the future of Church education. The records of these meetings show an increasing awareness of the global responsibilities of the Church, and need to look beyond the borders of the United States. As a result of this shift in perspective, thoughtful consideration began of how best to meet the needs of the global membership of the Church.

Seeking an Informed Perspective

Perhaps the most valuable outcome of the debate over the junior college program was that it prompted a seriously reevaluation of the educational program of the Church. During the

⁵⁸ Letter reproduced in Cameron, "A Survey of Basic Educational Needs," 45-46.

1950s, the Church program expanded rapidly, moving to follow the membership of the Church as it expanded outside of Utah. The Church has successfully met the needs and developed programs to reach its membership within the United States, but the development of a program to meet the needs of the growing global Church, a serious and careful examination of the educational needs of the Church was necessary. It is not difficult to imagine that Wilkinson's commanding grasp on the facts and figures for his proposals brought to the forefront the need to know more about the educational needs of the entire Church before any major new program could be launched.

J. Elliot Cameron's Study on the Educational Needs of the Global Church

During the same meeting in which the Church Board of Education hammered out the principles in the above letter, a sub-committee was formed to explore the basic educational needs of Church members throughout the world. Harold B. Lee was appointed as Chairman of the committee, with six other General Authorities filling out the committee.⁵⁹ J. Elliot Cameron, the Dean of Students at BYU, was asked by the group to serve as the primary researcher for the study. Cameron recalled his selection for the study, "I went in and really unloaded on the Brethren with respect to my feelings about the Church Educational System... Elder Lee was there, and the Executive Committee included four members of the Twelve, the Presiding Bishopric, the Relief Society President at that time they were all in this room."⁶⁰ He then remembered, "when I got all through unloading with all of this stuff about the Church Educational System, Elder Lee said, 'Now, I'm sure that you didn't come here knowing that we

⁵⁹ The other committee members were Apostles Spencer W. Kimball, Marion G. Romney, Richard L. Evans, Howard W. Hunter, and Gordon B. Hinckley, and the presiding Bishop of the Church, John H. Vandenburg. See Cameron, "Survey of Basic Educational Needs," 47.

⁶⁰ J. Elliot Cameron Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, October 22, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 11.

were going to let you talk to us and then leave.’ He said, ‘If you’ll step outside for a few minutes, I’ll call you back in.’ So he called me back into the office, and he said, ‘we are asking you to do an educational study of educational opportunities available to the Church on a worldwide basis.’”⁶¹

Cameron took a leave of absence from BYU, relocating to Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. Over the next year, he was given complete access to Church records and the worldwide leadership of the Church. Cameron worked closely with Harold B. Lee and Boyd K. Packer during the course of the study.⁶² Cameron was also given direct access to the members of the presidency of the Seventy stationed throughout different parts of the world. Completed in 1966, the work produced a massive document consisting of three volumes, nearly 1,100 pages long, with several hundred more pages of accompanying tables and appendices.⁶³ The work was perhaps the first detailed review of the history of the administration of the Church educational program from its beginning to Cameron’s appointment. After a detailed history drawn directly from the minutes of the Church Board of Education, the study then proceeded to give a description, state by state, of the educational opportunities within the United States. It continues with detailed statistical analyses of Church membership around the globe, concluding with a series of recommendations.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Cameron Oral History, 17.

⁶³ J. Elliot Cameron, “A Survey of Basic Educational Opportunities Available to Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” 3 vols., unpublished. A shortened version of the study cut down to 200 pages and submitted by Cameron as his PhD dissertation, may be found in the Harold B. Lee library. The full three volume work may be located at the Church History Library in Salt Lake City, CR 102 34. A full copy of the study was given by J. Elliot Cameron to the author in 2010. The full version of the study is hereafter referred to as the Cameron Report. Though the full study exists in three volumes, it was continuously paginated from volume to volume.

Findings

The study provided data for many of the assumptions already asserted in the meetings of the Church board. For example, information received from the Superintendent of Church schools in Mexico, Daniel P. Taylor, painted a grim picture of educational opportunity in that country. According to Taylor, in Mexico about 80 percent of LDS families sent their children to elementary schools, but only 5 percent of the membership took part in any secondary schooling.⁶⁴ The report estimated that even in Britain only 10% of Church members could afford to have their children attend school beyond the elementary and secondary grades.⁶⁵ Not far away from Britain, in Denmark, the mission president reported that “Education in the land of Denmark seems to be adequate in every category.”⁶⁶ The data from Brazil reported that, for all practical purposes, 100 percent of Church members received elementary education, but only 5 to 10 percent could attend a university. The president of the Andes mission (covering Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador) was concerned because he felt discrimination against LDS students directly contributed to the high rate of inactivity in the region.⁶⁷ Bruce R. McConkie, the former mission president in Australia, reported adequate secular schooling in that country, but a desperate need for seminary, especially in the Cook Islands and other areas of the Pacific.⁶⁸ The mission president in Western Samoa was satisfied with the work performed by the Church schools, but called for more adult education, writing, “Many of our Church leaders cannot read their own language efficiently. Almost none at all can read the English language.”⁶⁹ The mission president in Tonga called the Liahona High School there “an excellent institution” but

⁶⁴ Cameron Report, 815. It is apparent from the report that these numbers represent the total population of Mexico, and not just the membership of the Church.

⁶⁵ Cameron Report, 728-729.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 760.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 868.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 883.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 892.

pointed toward flaws in the schools' curriculum. "Students who have graduated from Liahona High School are geared towards one, and only one thing: to become a teacher... soon we will be saturated with teachers, while other serious needs of the people are being neglected."⁷⁰ Some leaders provided pages of data for the report, such as letters from members pleading for more opportunities, while others offered little information. The entire report on South Africa barely filled a page, with the mission president repeating in all categories, "The opportunities are good."⁷¹ Meanwhile, in Korea the mission president reported, "Parents are known to sell their suits, overcoats, and furniture, and other article in order to gain the funds necessary to education their children."⁷²

Different regions of the world faced different challenges which called for different solutions. Leaders in South America called for LDS schools to free the membership of having to attend Catholic schools.⁷³ Leaders in Korea asked for programs to provide vocational education.⁷⁴ Leaders in Japan indicated no needs for secular educational programs but asked for seminary programs for their youth.⁷⁵ A mission president in New Zealand gave religious education his top priority, but wrote, "Few high schools in New Zealand contain enough LDS students to accommodate a seminary program."⁷⁶ In Taiwan a request was made to investigate the possibility of establishing a business college.⁷⁷ Theodore M. Burton, president of the European mission, advised against the building of a Church university in Europe because of the excessive costs involved. In his report he continued, "There is no place nor need for junior

⁷⁰ Ibid., 898.

⁷¹ Ibid., 906.

⁷² Ibid., 909.

⁷³ Ibid., 880.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 911.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 915.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 902.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 919.

colleges since these are strictly American in nature and do not apply in Europe. After all, there is very little difference, as the charts will show, in the interest in a central university and the interest in a Church institute at an established university. In fact, the latter, if anything is preferred.”⁷⁸

In the face of the complexity and variety of needs and wants from the global membership of the Church, the report did indicate a few definite conclusions. “Critical needs exist for members of the Church in basic elementary and secondary education which must be met before consideration is given to junior colleges. The atmosphere on a Church-school campus is unique in all the world. It would be desirable, if funds were available, to provide higher education to all LDS youth. There are currently, however, more basic needs which must be considered in the expenditure of the Church’s educational dollar.”⁷⁹

The report also highlighted the massive increases in Church spending in education, increasing almost seven-fold from \$3,903,000 in 1954 to \$20,035,000 in 1964. It noted, “the increase in the number of schools has been a primary factor in the percentage increase of expenditures.”⁸⁰ Funding for the Seminary and Institute programs also increased rapidly during the 1954-64 decade, rising from \$1,257,000 to \$6,113,000.⁸¹ Despite a similar increase in the amount of spending on both Church schools and Seminaries and Institutes, the discrepancy in cost between the two systems was stark when examined on level of the individual student. Costs for educating a student in the Church schools ranged from the high of \$1,058 for a student at the

⁷⁸ Ibid., 750.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 977.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 929.

⁸¹ Ibid., 932.

Church College of Hawaii to a low of \$173 in the Mexico schools. By comparison, on average it cost \$50 per student in the Seminary program and \$60 for each student in the Institute program.⁸²

Recommendations

The report concluded with a detailed set of recommendations for the development of a worldwide educational program. First, it called for a complete reorganization of the entire Church school system under one of the General Authorities. Giving the reasons for this change the report stated, “Education cannot be divorced from any of the existing Priesthood programs. Each one embodies education. Therefore, the person immediately responsible for the schools, by direct assignment from the First Presidency, should be one of the General Authorities. He, in turn, should surround himself with well qualified, professionally trained educational administrators, who recognize and understand the Priesthood correlation program and who can, under his direction, efficiently administer the Church schools.”⁸³

In regards to secular schools, the report stated, “In many areas of the world sufficient opportunities for secular education exist. The obligation of the Church to provide secular education is limited to geographical areas where such opportunities are not available to Church members, or where such training can be received only by compromising gospel principles, or to such specialized schools as may be required to further the kingdom.”⁸⁴ The report did not call for an end to Church schools altogether but called for a fundamental reevaluation of the criteria for Church schools in the global perspective:

Present Church schools will not accommodate the great number of LDS students who can qualify to attend. Financial resources of the Church are not sufficient to provide secular education for all members. Indeed it is not necessary.

⁸² Ibid., 947.

⁸³ Ibid., 1006.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 1073.

There are currently sufficient public schools available in the United States, Canada, Europe, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Japan and the Northern Far East Mission area, Taiwan, and the Philippines to provide elementary, secondary, vocational and technical, and college training for all Church members who can qualify to attend.

There are, however, some localities (Mexico and Central America, all South American countries, Korea, Hong Kong, and many Islands of the Pacific) where educational opportunities in basic secular education on some levels will not be available unless provided by the Church.⁸⁵

Regarding new schools within the United States the report continued, “It is now neither educationally sound nor economically feasible for the Church to consider building additional institutions of higher learning in the United States. This, of course, does not preclude such consideration in future years.”⁸⁶

In regards to religious education, the report called Church schools “a supplement to the home,”⁸⁷ but also stated “the obligation of Church is to provide spiritual education rather than secular.”⁸⁸ It continued, “Success in the spiritual life of secondary and college students comes not so much from the formal religious education program offered as from the influence of the home. If parents urge attendance at week-day religious classes, indeed require it of their children while they are residing at home, a counselor for spiritual affairs to supplement the influence of the home is available.”⁸⁹

While advocating the strength of the home, the report also called for the students to intermingle with members of other faiths and philosophies. “LDS students should not be withdrawn from contact with other young men and women in our expanding society. Students must learn to ‘be in the world but not of the world.’ State schools provide a great laboratory

⁸⁵ Ibid., 1074.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 1075.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1076.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 1072.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 1076.

experience for young Church members. Wise counselors in Seminaries and Institutes of Religion aid students to learn early the lessons of ‘being in the world but not of the world.’”⁹⁰

The report advocated a reallocation of resources based on a global perspective. “One segment of the Church must not be left to starve while another segment feasts on educational opportunities.”⁹¹ It called for no further school construction within the United States, and schools for Latin America, the Pacific, and parts of Asia.⁹² One of the strongest recommendations asked for priorities in educational spending, specifically “that the resources of the Church for educational purposes be directed first toward week-day religious instruction programs for all LDS youth and then toward secular education.”⁹³ The report recommended the establishment of seminaries to “be provided in all countries where legal requirements will permit.”⁹⁴ The tenets of the report, if adopted, laid the groundwork for a worldwide system to reach every Church member in some way or another.

Reactions

Ernest Wilkinson lost his Senate race in November 1964, the month after the Committee on basic educational needs convened. Later that month President McKay offered to have Wilkinson return as president of BYU and Chancellor of the Church School System.⁹⁵ Wilkinson recorded in his diary, “I told him [McKay] that if he wanted me to return as chancellor and president, I would do so provided he presented the matters to the Board of Education and the Board of Trustees and they made it plain they wanted me back. I did not want

⁹⁰ Ibid., 1077.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 1080.

⁹³ Ibid., 1085.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ McKay Diary, Nov. 30, 1964, Box 76, Fd. 1.

to go back unless I had a vote of confidence of these two Boards.”⁹⁶ A few days later the Church announced his return to both positions.⁹⁷

By the end of the month, Wilkinson began inquiring about the content of the coming report, then being written by Cameron. At a meeting of the Executive Committee a week later, with Wilkinson present, an action was taken to appoint Wilkinson as president of BYU, but keep Harvey Taylor as the administrator of the remainder of the system.”⁹⁸ Since President McKay was absent from the meeting, the proposal pended his approval. A month later approval for the change came from McKay.⁹⁹ Wilkinson accepted the move stoically, recording in his diary no bitterness against McKay for the move and writing, “As far as I am personally concerned, it will probably be a much more tranquil life for me to be just President of BYU.”¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson was allowed to finally give input to the Committee of Basic Educational Needs the next month, meeting with J. Elliot Cameron for over three hours to air his views.¹⁰¹

In September 1965 the Cameron report was completed and presented to the First Presidency in McKay’s apartment at the Hotel Utah. Cameron recalled of the meeting, “President McKay invited everybody to sit down. He would never sit until everybody was comfortable and then he asked me about the study. At that point, Harold B. Lee said, ‘We’ll take about 45 minutes, President.’ He said, ‘Okay, you can go until I tell you to stop.’ We spent about three hours in his apartment! At the conclusion of that meeting he stood up, took me by the hand, and said, ‘I want to talk with you right here together.’ He must have held my hand at least 5 minutes longer. As we said he talked about the study, the significance of it and so on.

⁹⁶ Wilkinson Diary, Nov. 30, 1964, Box 101, Fd. 2.

⁹⁷ McKay Diary, Dec. 2, 1964, Box 76, Fd. 1.

⁹⁸ Wilkinson Diary, January 6, 1955, Box 101, Fd. 5.

⁹⁹ McKay Diary, Feb. 2, 1965, Box 76, Fd. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Wilkinson Diary, Feb. 3, 1965, Box 101, Fd. 5.

¹⁰¹ Wilkinson Diary, March 10, 1963, Box 101, Fd. 5.

When he concluded he just expressed appreciation.”¹⁰² McKay never recorded in his diary his impressions of the report, but according to Cameron “He [McKay] supported it all the way, and was very verbal about it.”¹⁰³ McKay ordered 48 copies of the massive report printed, enough for every General Authority to have one.¹⁰⁴

When Wilkinson received the Cameron report, he made an intensive study of it. The views expressed in the report caused a certain degree of tension between the two, especially after the latter returned to BYU following his sabbatical to write the report. Cameron recalled one day returning to his office and finding out from his secretary that someone had stopped by in his absence and requested a copy of his vita. Upon further investigation, Cameron discovered Wilkinson was planning to remove him from his position and was searching for a new place for Cameron to work. Cameron related what happened next: “So I went up to Ernest’s office and he was in the office, his secretary was there, I could see through the screen, I didn’t even wait I just went in and closed the door and said to him, ‘I understand you want to get rid of me.’ And I said, ‘If you want to get rid of me, I’ll quit. But I’m not going to give an individual my vita so that you can move me out somewhere. If you want me to quit, you tell me and I’ll resign.’ That was the kind of relationship that he and I had.”¹⁰⁵ Wilkinson relented and Cameron remained in his position. The two men even remained friends for the rest of Wilkinson’s life. Cameron recalled, “He was very direct, but he was one of the most tender-hearted individuals I ever met in my life. . . I don’t think he ever did forgive me for this study, because it cooled the whole junior college thing.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Cameron Oral History, 23.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 24.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 17.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 18.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 19, 14.

Impact

Despite some resentment on the part of Wilkinson, the Cameron study, written under the direction of Harold B. Lee, finally provided a cohesive, strategic vision for the creation of global educational system. When Cameron was interviewed in 2010 he gave no indication that he was simply a ghostwriter for the opinions of any Church official or attempted to write what he thought some leaders wanted to hear. The Cameron report did strongly favor the movement toward Church correlation, a program Lee advocate passionately. Simply put, Church correlation was a movement to bring all of the disparate programs of the Church under the unified control of the priesthood leaders. A. Theodore Tuttle, as a close protégé of Lee's explained the problems leading to this movement:

We could see the auxiliaries running the Church, as it were.... We had no Priesthood board but they had large and talented and powerful Mutual boards and Sunday School boards and Relief Society boards and Primary Boards. And they scattered throughout the Church teaching their message, and they were talented people and taught so well that the auxiliaries of the Church were far more effective and powerful in the members' idea and view than were the Priesthood quorums.... So I would say, to characterize the Church prior to Correlation, that the auxiliaries ran it and everything took second place to them.¹⁰⁷

Tuttle's assessment applied just as well to Church educational programs as it did to the auxiliaries mentioned. For decades separate educational entities—Church colleges, K–12 Schools, and Church religious education programs—had worked separately to achieve their own goals. The Cameron report called for the different entities to work in concert toward a concrete set of goals with a clear end in mind. Prior to this time, Wilkinson and his team had already made tremendous strides in expanding and strengthening the educational programs of the Church, but often did so without a unified, strategic global vision.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in Prince & Wright, 143.

The Cameron report provided an avalanche of raw data demonstrating the need for a major shift in the way education was conducted within the Church. The infighting among different educational entities led to inequity in the use of Church resources, and the neglect of membership in certain parts of the world. If there was one point upon which even Lee and Wilkinson could agree, it was that the worldwide educational programs of the Church lacked a cohesive vision. After a meeting between the two in 1959, Wilkinson recorded in his diary

I told him [Lee] I was disturbed over the fact that the Church, with respect to its educational system, was getting in the same position as it was before we had the Unified Church School System, that since the action of the Board of Education in creating a Unified Church School System the schools in the Pacific had been set up under a Pacific Board of Education. The Brethren were going ahead and arranging for a high school in old Mexico under apparently Brother Romney, and that I now understood they were to have some schools in China under Brother Peterson. Brother Lee thought that was entirely wrong, but said only one man could change it and that would be the President.¹⁰⁸

The entry captures the growing concerns branching into the two opposing directions, the desire to bring education wherever possible, and the concerns over doing so with a unified vision, which defined this period in Church education. It also highlights a remarkable quality both men held, namely a profound respect for the Church president. It is clear that at times Lee and Wilkinson held strong opinions about the future of Church education, but both remained submissive to his judgment and direction. Indeed, the entire battle over domestic and global school policy highlights the sometimes paradoxical nature of the workings of Church government and the profound reverence held for the position of the Church president.

Conclusions

With several major issues of Church educational policy resolved, the way was open for a new kind of international expansion. Educational programs outside of the United States and

¹⁰⁸ Wilkinson Diary, Aug. 13, 1959, Box 100.

Canada prior to the 1965 presentation of the Cameron report overwhelmingly favored the use of Church schools. One particular admonition of the Cameron report stood out: “The Church is obligated, by commandment, to provide instruction in the general truths of salvation. This part of the education of Church members cannot be left for the world to provide.”¹⁰⁹

The Cameron report became the foundation for a firm and more coherent set of Church policies to facilitate the spread of the Church educational system. Over the ensuing years Church leaders, particularly Harold B. Lee, stressed the findings of the report to the administrators of the Church educational system as they searched for ways to meet the challenges presented within the pages of Cameron’s findings. When Neal A. Maxwell and a new team of officials took over the head of the Church’s educational programs a few years later, Harold B. Lee made it clear that he wanted the information in the Cameron report to be carefully considered before any major decisions were made. One administrator from Maxwell’s team recalled a meeting with Lee:

Brother Lee had received a copy of that document [the Cameron Report], and he had gone through it very carefully, and written in the margins his notes and his thoughts and his feelings, such as, this ought not to be, this doesn’t sound right, we ought to do a little better on this, this is very good, you know, that kind of thing. . . soon after we were appointed . . . Brother Lee took those volumes of study and shoved them across the desk to us, and said, “Read that. You will find my comments and observations in that document. I want you two to travel as extensively as you can and tell me if what I think is right, or tell me what you find.”¹¹⁰

With the Cameron Report serving as a rough blueprint, the time was ripe for the creation of a system to meet the needs of all the members of the Church, regardless of how small or scattered the group. Concerns over access to education for all Church members still existed, but teaching what only the Church could teach, the Gospel, became a top priority. Finding a way for religious

¹⁰⁹Cameron Report, 1073.

¹¹⁰Dee Anderson Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, September 20, 2010, transcript in author’s possession, 4.

education to reach the global population of the Church became the next great challenge for the leaders and teachers of the Church educational program

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SECOND WAVE OF INTERNATIONAL EXPANSION

Motives for Bringing Religious Education to the Global Church

While the policy discussions of the early 1960s paved the way toward establishing a viable system of global education capable of reaching all members of the Church, many questions remained unanswered. Policies to govern the system were still in the formative stages. As to the questions of exactly how to bring religious education to the global population of the Church, there remained some gaps in capability. Released-time seminary, the largest, oldest, and most well developed method, worked only in areas with predominantly LDS populations in the Intermountain West and parts of Canada.¹ While early morning seminary and smaller institute programs proved effective in areas like Southern California, where small groups of LDS students met outside of the regular school day, and early morning and Institute programs might find success outside the United States and Canada in some countries, many more areas existed where student numbers remained small, and it simply wasn't feasible to gather a class together on a daily basis. By the mid-1960s, the need to bring some form of religious education to members outside the United States was clear, but many questions remained over the most effective way to deliver the message. Launching a system designed to reach across national boundaries brought

¹ Seminaries and Institutes were established in parts of Canada in the late 1940s. In 1948, two seminaries were built in Cardston and Raymond, both cities in Alberta, Canada. These seminaries operated in Latter-day Saint colonies with large LDS populations. Both operated on a released time basis, and though they were technically international programs, they offered few solutions to the challenges facing the launch of a global system. See A. Theodore Tuttle, "The Released Time Religious Education Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," M.A. Thesis, Stanford University, 1949, 73, 76.

many difficult challenges. What was the best way to adapt the seminary program to areas with very few LDS youth? How could the materials be translated and adapted to meet the needs of a diverse array of cultures? How would they find teachers in these areas, where the majority of members were recent converts? How could students gather for seminary classes on a regular basis when they were spread over such wide geographical areas? Developing the approaches to meet these needs fell largely to William E. Berrett and the administrative staff of the Seminaries and Institutes.

Global Requests for Religious Education

As early as 1962, priesthood leaders from international areas began sending letters to the Church Board of Education requesting religious education programs for the youth in their areas. The earliest known request came in 1961, when the president of the Brisbane Stake sent a letter to David O. McKay asking for the inauguration of a seminary program in Australia. McKay and Wilkinson both considered the letter, but McKay felt the seminary program wasn't yet ready to expand beyond the borders of the United States.² McKay's existing papers give no reasons why Church leaders felt the program was not ready to move into the global arena. Released-time seminaries were well developed but required a sizable LDS population. Early morning seminaries programs were growing, but still required a group of youth in a close enough proximity to gather together daily. The desire among the Church leadership existed to establish the programs, but many felt the Church was still too underdeveloped in most countries to consider moving forward. A letter written in December 1964 from Apostle Delbert L. Stapley to Gordon B. Hinckley, another Apostle, captures some of the reservations Church leaders felt at the time. Stapley wrote:

² David O. McKay Diary, April 20, 1961, David O. McKay Papers, MS 668, Box 46, Fd. 5., Special Collections, University of Utah.

I reported today in the temple meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve that none of the stakes or missions in Australia are able to carry forward the Church Seminary program. We have very few college students, so institutes are far to the future. It seems in connection with seminary that we do not have a concentrated group of students in any given area nor do we have qualified instructors to successfully carry forward the seminary program. I am sure that stakes and missions are conscious of a seminary program, but I think we should forget it until a renewed interest among the leaders there causes it to bring it to our attention again.³

As time progressed, the calls to Church headquarters for additional religious education programs to strengthen LDS youth in global areas continued to multiply.

Advocates for Global Religious Education: Tuttle and Packer

One of the most outspoken voices for Seminary and Institute programs outside of North America came from A. Theodore Tuttle, Berrett's former assistant, now a General Authority and supervising the Church in South America. Less than two months after Tuttle's arrival in Montevideo, Uruguay in 1961 to head up the Church in that region, he began writing Berrett to request permission to set up seminaries in Uruguay.⁴ Requests for seminary from the mission presidents working under Tuttle's supervision multiplied during the five years of Tuttle's tenure in South America. During this time Boyd K. Packer through his work with the Church Board of Education during this time and A. Theodore Tuttle, encouraging requests for seminary from South America together formed an effective two-pronged assault to encourage the launch of international religious education programs.⁵ Packer and Tuttle both saw religious training as the top priority of the Church's educational programs.

³ Delbert L. Stapley to Gordon B. Hinckley, Dec. 11, 1964, Salt Lake City, CR 102 125, Church Educational System Administrative Files, Box 10, Fd 8, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

⁴ Grover, *A Land of Prophecy and Promise*, 86-87. Minutes of a Meeting with Ernest L. Wilkinson and William E. Berrett, June 1, 1961, Church Educational System Administrative Files, CR 102 125, Box 11, Fd. 10, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

⁵ The Church Educational System (CES) administrative files from this period show an abundant amount of numerous requests for Seminary and Institute programs from Latin American, some written by Tuttle himself, and

In certain areas, schools were established, but religion programs separate from the schools did not exist, perhaps most prominently in Mexico. Packer later recalled

When we opened the schools in Mexico—we once had about eighty-some-odd schools in Mexico—I was sent down there to get in to see what we could do, and I found out that they weren't teaching religion. These schools were teaching secular subjects, and they weren't introducing any religion into it, the theory being that if the Church sponsored the school and the teacher was a member of the Church and a faithful member, the students would get automatically some feeling for the gospel, without being taught it directly. They were *our* schools, we were paying for them, and there was almost a prohibition about talking about the gospel in the classes. So that changed. We pointed out that there was no reason they couldn't have a prayer, and there was no reason they couldn't talk about the history of the Church and about the Church.⁶

Seminary classes had always existed in the schools in the LDS colonies of Northern Mexico, but partly because of Packer's influence seminary classes began at the Benemerito School in 1966. Since these classes only served the LDS youth who could attend the schools, the larger question of reaching all of the LDS students not attending Church schools still remained.⁷

Advocates from the Global Church

As Packer and Tuttle acted as advocates within the Church hierarchy, voices also sounded the call from the general Church membership abroad. Most Church members outside of the United States and Canada knew little about the religious education programs, but American military personnel stationed around the globe formed another vocal group requesting Church education. A letter written to Berrett in 1963 reads

coinciding with the five year period Tuttle supervised the work in the region. Requests for the programs in Guatemala, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and the Andes Mission (Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia) may be found in the records from this period. CES Administrative Files, Box 11, Fds.8-10, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

⁶ Boyd K. Packer Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, Dec. 10, 2004, OH 3879, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, 19.

⁷ Harold Brown, "Narrative Report and Comments on Religious Education in Mexico as part of the School Systems of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," October 20, 1969, CR 102 125, Box 11, Fd. 7, Church History Library.

Dear Brother Berrett:
HELP!

You may recall my writing to you from Leavenworth, Kansas, this spring to the effect that I was being assigned to Germany and inquiring . . . [about] . . . as to the extreme of Seminary for my two teen-agers. You replied May 16th to the effect that there were no seminaries overseas but that I should keep in touch with you.

On arrival I scouted the situation and now find myself appointed by President Burton as head of the Education Committee for Servicemen in the West German Mission and other areas in Europe where there is a concentration of U.S. personnel. My immediate charge is to get a Seminary off the ground here in Frankfurt area this fall with direction to see what must be done to become more fully organized as soon as possible. I am proceeding with the local seminary to include President Burton's son, (ex) President Dyer's son and my own two teenaged sons. The total of firm students as of now is ten with no publicity.

So - - - - - HELP!⁸

Other requests came from American military personnel in Japan.⁹ In addition to these calls from military personnel, Church members serving in the US diplomatic corps began to request S&I programs for the areas they served in.¹⁰ Berrett received permission in 1963 from the Church Board of Education to organize seminary classes on American military bases abroad. Shortly thereafter, four classes began, two in Germany, at Heidelberg and Frankfurt, and two more in Japan, at airbases in Zama and Tachikawa.¹¹ The classes began in earnest, but Berrett struggled to gauge the success of the work because of the frequent rotation of members in and out of the bases.¹²

⁸ Lt. Col. A. E. Haines to William E. Berrett, September 1, 1963, New York, New York, CES Administrative Files, Box 10, Fd. 10.

⁹ Harrison T. Price to William E. Berrett, June 5, 1967, San Francisco, CA, William E. Berrett papers, MSS 1955, Box 5, Fd. 4, Special Collections, BYU.

¹⁰ C. Burrell Merrell to William E. Berrett, August 9, 1966, La Paz Bolivia, Berrett Papers, Box 5, Fd. 4, Special Collections, BYU.

¹¹ Cameron Report, 741.

¹² William E. Berrett Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 6, 1991, transcript in author's possession.

Investigation of an International Religious Education Program

As the requests continued to multiply, investigations began into the feasibility of launching international programs. In 1963, Ernest L. Wilkinson spoke with Berrett about the possibility of establishing seminaries outside of North America and asked him to make a trip to Europe to gain first-hand knowledge of the possibility of establishing seminaries and institutes in those countries.¹³ Berrett decided to combine an already planned vacation to the continent with a fact-finding mission, spending several weeks working closely with the leader of the Church in Europe, Theodore M. Burton. When Berrett reported to the Church Board in the fall of 1963, he painted a stark picture of the possibilities of establishing any kind of religious education programs in Europe at the time.¹⁴ Berrett noted several problems impacting the growth of the Church in the area, specifically the lack of trained and seasoned leadership. He wrote, “Members of the Church are of necessity placed in important Church positions without adequate understanding of the Gospel or of Church leadership problems.... Inadequate and poor leadership has led to wide inactivity in the Church except for those who have been fully converted. The inactivity of people baptized before they were ready is appalling.”¹⁵

Clearly, a strong religious education program would benefit the Church in Europe, but the challenges in establishing it were daunting. The programs faced small numbers of students, lack of adequate transportation, and a serious deficit of skilled teachers. Berrett noted, “Only a few wards and large branches have enough members of high school age to constitute a seminary

¹³ Berrett 1991 Oral History, 5.

¹⁴ Berrett’s report is dated October 9, 1963. The full text of the report may be found in the Cameron Report, 740-750.

¹⁵ Cameron Report, 743. It should be noted that Berrett’s visit to Europe occurred immediately after the infamous episode of “baseball baptisms” which occurred in the late 1950s and early 1960s. For a more detailed look in the events leading to the problems Berrett describes during this period see Prince & Wright, *David O. McKay*, 227-255. Berrett himself refers to these problems in his 1991 oral history, 5-6.

class of even 15 members, and these are highly scattered geographically.”¹⁶ Berrett attended a conference in Vienna with all of the presidents of the European missions and had a chance to speak with and receive reports from each of them. Based on his conversations with these leaders, Berrett told the Church board that only Berlin, Hamburg, and Copenhagen could suitably sustain any kind of seminary classes.¹⁷ Berrett and Burton both proposed the idea of establishing an “Internot,” a facility combining an institute, dormitory, cafeteria, and chapel near a major European University. The program imitated “internots” already established in Europe by several other denominations, and mostly utilized for the training of clergy.¹⁸ The “internot,” however, suffered from the same centralizing tendencies as a Church school and would fail to serve the younger seminary students. Like the Church schools, the reach of an “internot” was geographically limited. It could only serve the students with resources to attend the school where it was located and could not reach the entire Church membership.

Berrett returned to England for three weeks in the summer of 1965 to further investigate the problem, but he still struggled to find a way to overcome the difficulties involved in launching the new venture.¹⁹ Berrett reflected on the challenges years later:

We didn’t have enough students in any secondary schools. Early morning seminaries were impossible because English schools started early in the morning and to hold seminary classes prior to their opening would mean that students would be riding their bicycles in those narrow English lanes before daylight and it would be too dangerous. So I said that until we could come up with a new program we could not extend the seminary program into England and other foreign countries.²⁰

¹⁶ Ibid., 744.

¹⁷ Ibid., 742.

¹⁸ Ibid., 804.

¹⁹ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 160.

²⁰ William E. Berrett Oral History, Interviewed by Thomas E. Cheney, January 27, 1982, UA OH 69, Special Collections, BYU. See also Berrett 1991 Oral History, 5.

The will to open some kind of education program in Europe existed, but the way forward was not yet clear. The challenges of distance, finding qualified teachers, and reaching students in such diverse circumstances still seemed to have no solution.

The Creation of Home Study Seminary

Development of S&I programs outside the United States and Canada came to standstill after Berrett's 1963 report and remained fairly static for the next two years.²¹ The primary reason for the standstill appears to have stemmed from the time necessary to compile the information in J. Elliot Cameron's report and then allow the Church leadership to digest it. This is shown in 1966, where Berrett wrote in reply to a request for S&I programs from J. Avril Jespersen, the president of the Andes mission, "At the present time it appears that we are not in a position to act in setting up Seminaries in any of the South American countries until the First Presidency shall have reacted to a report made by Dr. Elliot Cameron... as soon as we have the green light we will move to establish Seminaries in any of the South American countries where conditions are favorable."²²

The First Outline of the Home Study Program

Different paths began leading toward a solution. The initial idea to solve the challenges involved launching a global program came from Donald Wilson, a young seminary teacher in Cardston, Canada. Wilson, a former missionary in Great Britain, grew up in an area with only a

²¹ Construction on a seminary near the Benemerito School in Mexico City began in 1964, it opened in 1966, and operated on a released time basis, but it appears to be the only seminary program established outside the United States and Canada during this period. See "Learning to Love the Lord and His Gospel (Seminaries in Mexico)" and Harold Brown, "Narrative Report and Comments on Religious Education in Mexico as a part of The School Systems of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," October 20, 1969, CES Administrative Files, CR 102 125, Box 11 Fd. 7, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

²² William E. Berrett to J. Avril Jespersen, September 23, 1966, Provo, UT, CES Administrative Files, Box 10, Fd. 10.

handful of fellow Latter-day Saints. He recalled, “As a youth growing up in the Canadian Mission, I always felt I missed something not being able to participate in the Church Seminary program. I still remember reading articles about Seminary activities in the Church News and how I envied those who were part of them.”²³ Wilson’s thinking on the matter crystallized into the rough outline of how the new method might be attempted:

If a seminary instructor could be placed in a central large city, in one of these new stakes (I thought of London) he might be able to build a modified seminary program for the youth in the area. He could teach an early morning class where most could gather. A correspondence course could be developed and sent out to the youth of the outlying areas. These lessons would have to include involvement questions; significant, relevant issues as well as factual material, all of which must involve the student with the teacher in a learning process that would encourage spiritual growth. It wasn’t certain how this aspect could be best achieved . . .

Finally, the students could meet once or twice a month at a central place, have a tutorial session when some of the important concepts could be discussed, analyzed, and evaluated in a spiritual environment. At the conclusion of the class, there would be time for socializing together and thereby meet and associate with other Latter-day Saint youth.²⁴

Eventually, Wilson presented his idea to Ernest Eberhard, Jr., the head of Seminary curriculum. Eberhard encouraged Wilson to prepare a proposal to take before the Church Board and began encouraging the men working in curriculum to think of how to best refine the new method.

Wilson continued to develop his ideas, even meeting with Harvey Taylor, head of the Church School System, during one of Taylor’s visits to Cardston. Wilson recalled meeting with Taylor in his hotel room: “I met with President Taylor, spread out my maps, explained my proposal and suggested how it might work. As President Taylor listened, he seemed fascinated by the concept. I remember him saying that it reminded him of the lone scout program whereby the Boy Scout Association reached boys who lived in isolated areas. He was encouraging in his

²³ Donald Wilson, *History of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program*, unpublished document, MS 4941, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, 1.

²⁴ Wilson, 1-2.

response and suggested that further research and information would be needed before he could present it to the Church Board of Education for further consideration.”²⁵ A few months later, Wilson met with Berrett and Chancellor Taylor to further explain the concept. Berrett, in particular, was taken with the idea, later stating, “The way he described it, it wouldn’t quite work, but the minute he said that, I had a revelation that we could find a home study plan that would work.”²⁶

Refinement of the Concept

In the meantime, Ernest Eberhard continued to push the S&I curriculum staff for a solution to the problem. He often took his writers on trips outside of the curriculum office to help them gain perspective from a ground’s eye level. During these trips, Eberhard engaged his staff in discussions about how the best methods for an independent or home study program. Often taking the staff to Indian reservations, the setting drove home the need for a new innovation. During this period Seminaries and Institutes offered special programs designed to reach out to Native American students. In many important ways the conditions on the Indian reservations mirrored those of the youth in areas outside of the United States and Canada. They were widely scattered, with limited transportation, and lacked qualified teachers.²⁷ One staff member, Don Jessee recalled, “I often thought that the only reason he took us on these trips to the reservation was to drive home the point that, ‘Hey, you have some isolated Indians out here. What can we do for them?’ I don’t think he felt like we could relate to that, if we were just sitting in the

²⁵ Ibid., 3.

²⁶ Berrett 1991 Oral History, 6.

²⁷ For background on the Indian Seminary Program (also known as the Lamanite Seminaries) see Boyd K. Packer, “A History of the Indian Seminaries of the Department of Education, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” June 1962, William E. Berrett Collection, MSS 1955, Box 1, Fd. 1, Special Collections, BYU.

curriculum office... it really did drive the point home.”²⁸ In 1967 Seminaries and Institutes launched a special home study program for the Indian seminaries, designed to reach students who could not attend seminary classes.²⁹

Eberhard assigned Arnold Stringham, a curriculum writer, to work with Mack Palmer, head of the Home Study department at BYU, to develop a home study course for regular seminary. Palmer candidly informed Stringham “that BYU made a lot of money with their home study courses” because so few students completed them.³⁰ Examining a few of these college courses, Stringham concluded that the existing material “taught me more about what not to do than anything else. They consisted of page after page of small print words, tons of them and then a few questions. I doubted *adults* could complete such massive excursions through uninspired, unexciting, and boring words.”³¹ Stringham attempted to rewrite the courses for high school students, “I came up with some rules: White space was more important than black space. Black was print. Graphics were more important than words. Turning the page was more important than conserving space.... I want them turning pages... every time you turn a page you get a shot of endorphins!”³² Stringham, working with Tom Tyler as the graphic designer and Don Jessee as the head of production and shipping, developed the curriculum and general outline of the program.³³ Each student would receive four booklets, one for each week of the month. A local member called to coordinate the program, would meet with the students once a week to ensure

²⁸ Don Jessee Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, July 5, 1991, manuscript in author’s possession, 8.

²⁹ See J. Edwin Baird, “Indian Home Study Seminary Program,” 1967, BX 8608 .A1a no. 7753, Special Collections, BYU.

³⁰ Arnold Stringham, *My Experience in Seminary Curriculum*, unpublished document, manuscript in author’s possession, 2.

³¹ Stringham, *My Experience*, 2.

³² Arnold Stringham Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, February 18, 2011, manuscript in author’s possession.

³³ Stringham Oral History,

they completed their assignments. Then once a month the students and the teacher would meet with a full-time teacher for a lesson and a social activity.³⁴ If properly implemented, the plan provided accountability in the learning process and social interaction, with a minimum amount of travel.

The Pilot Program

With a rough outline of the program, the time was right for a field test. An area in the midwestern United States was selected for a pilot program, and a young teacher named Don Bond was sent to Iowa. Berrett didn't have formal written permission from the Board to conduct the pilot, but felt so strongly about the idea's merit he went ahead anyway. He later noted, "I don't know whether I really had full permission to ride that. They didn't exactly turn it down, but the minutes don't show they approved it."³⁵ The whole venture was a gamble, but Berrett and his team felt it was one worth taking.

Donald R. Bond was only a fourth-year teacher when he was selected to pilot the program in the Midwest. Working part-time as a curriculum writer, he volunteered to head the experiment. Bond was an ideal candidate because his wife was from the Midwest and, prior to his marriage, he had served in the area as a missionary. Bond was a convert to the Church who possessed an infectious enthusiasm for the work. His upbringing outside the faith contributed to his openness about the new method he was pioneering. He recalled, "Because I hadn't been raised in the Church, I wasn't even familiar with what seminary was, and it was exciting and refreshing to see the Church's outreach to help the youth."³⁶ Working part time as a curriculum

³⁴ Stringham, *My Experience*, 3. See also Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 161-162.

³⁵ Berrett 1991 Oral History, 9.

³⁶ Donald R. Bond Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 13, 1991, transcript in author's possession, 3.

writer, Bond heard about the new project and volunteered to head the pilot.³⁷ Meeting with Berrett and the curriculum team for only a few days, Bond and Berrett chose three central locations with clusters of branches for the pilot.³⁸

In July 1967, less than a month after first hearing about the new venture, Bond moved his family to Davenport, Iowa to launch the program. Berrett worked behind the scenes to coordinate with the Mission and District presidents in the region. From the beginning, Bond felt full support from the local ecclesiastical leaders. “It was not difficult at all to talk with these men about this program, because they felt that for the first time something was being designed for them, and if anything had to be adapted to make it work anywhere else, it would have to be adapted to make it work back in Utah. They were really excited about it and made it a special emphasis.”³⁹ One district president, Donald G. Wooley, even took a few days off from work to drive Bond personally to the home of each branch president to introduce the program.⁴⁰

Bond faced the challenge of not only training and recruiting the teachers for the program, but of constantly working to develop the curriculum as well. Frequent phone conversations with Ernest Eberhard took place as the realities of the program set in. Both men felt strongly an adult leader was needed within each ward or branch to guide and provide accountability for the students in the classes. Bond noted, “We felt like they just couldn't wait a month to meet with somebody, and they needed more motivation, and more role models.”⁴¹ Despite the challenges, the program moved forward with astonishing speed and was ready for launch by September

³⁷ Bond 1991 Oral History, 6.

³⁸ Donald R. Bond, “A New Type of Seminary: A Grain of Mustard Seed,” unpublished document, manuscript in author’s possession, 2. The three areas selected for the pilot were Des Moines and Davenport, Iowa, and Vincennes, Indiana.

³⁹ Bond 1991 Oral History, 17.

⁴⁰ Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 3.

⁴¹ Bond 1991 Oral History, 19.

1967. According to Bond, “In June, the idea was crystallized. In July, we went out and found the audience, and in August, we trained the audience. In September, it was underway.”⁴²

Home Study: Successes and Challenges

Meanwhile, back in Utah, the curriculum team scrambled to prepare the necessary materials for the program. The pilot launched without the program of study prepared beforehand, so the team finished the materials and shipped them to the field often in the nick of time. Don Jessee remembered

We would put these lessons together and have them on Ernie's desk on Monday. We had to mail them out on Thursday so they could teach them on Saturday. So we were writing lessons on Monday, and refining them on Tuesday and Wednesday . . . we crashed these lessons out, took them up to the airport and put them on a flight Thursday night. Then Don Bond would pick them up on Friday and unwrap them and take them out and distribute them to the teachers Friday night, and they were out teaching Saturday morning. I don't remember going to bed for about a year or two years during that process. It was hectic. . . We would start at 6:30 in the morning and we would be lucky to get out at eleven some of those weeks!⁴³

Anxious to gather feedback on the curriculum, Eberhard personally visited Bond in the field, taking Arnold Stringham along with him to gauge the effectiveness of the new program. The nature of the visits reflects the harried nature of the program in its first year. Eberhard and Stringham would arrive at a meeting, observe Bond teaching, gather feedback from the students and teacher present, and then all three drove together to the next meeting. Stringham recalled, “Don and Ernie would sit in the front seat and they would chat a lot, and I would be in the back seat writing next month’s lesson!”⁴⁴ The pace was so hectic; Bond often didn’t have time to see the curriculum himself before distributing it to the teachers.⁴⁵

⁴² Ibid., 26.

⁴³ Jessee 1991 Oral History, 18-19, 21.

⁴⁴ Stringham 2011 Oral History.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Despite the challenges, the evaluations of the program arriving at Eberhard's office rang with praise. One evaluation complimented the course as "a practical type of experience which can be equated to daily problems without having the effect of being preached to."⁴⁶ The branch president from Nauvoo, Illinois praised the program for giving the youth "some responsibility of their own as to when and how much they are going to do."⁴⁷ In an interesting reflection of the period, one branch president, stated, "This program gives them the cause of the Gospel, and there can be no better. I only wish that those young people on the 'lunatic fringe'—the Hippies, draft card burners, protesters, etc., could catch a glimpse of this seminary program."⁴⁸ Nearly all of the evaluations sent to Eberhard mentioned increased Church attendance and unity among the youth in the branches with the program.⁴⁹ One teacher summed up the advantages of the program, "The students as a whole have become much more conversant about their personal problems of reverence, spirituality, and morality; they will talk of their testimonies and beliefs which were previously dormant."⁵⁰ The only complaint sent to the Central Office about the program during his first year came from a Branch president in Evansville, Indiana, who wrote that "there were several individuals in the branch, three of them recent converts, who were aggravated because the age for seminary participation did not include them."⁵¹

⁴⁶ Curt R. Woller to Ernest Eberhard, Jr., December 27, 1967, Davenport, Iowa, copy in author's possession.

⁴⁷ Orville R. Hale to Ernest Eberhard, Jr., Dec. 26, 1967, Nauvoo, Illinois, copy in author's possession.

⁴⁸ R. Wayne Linke to Ernest Eberhard, Jr., Dec. 20, 1967, Marshalltown, Iowa, copy in author's possession.

⁴⁹ Out of six evaluations in Eberhard's papers, five mentioned increased attendance and unity. Files in author's possession.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Bond, "A New Type of Seminary," 4.

⁵¹ Hubert B. Fluckiger to Ernest Eberhard, Jr., Dec. 26, 1967, Evansville, Indiana, copy in author's possession.

Approval to Test International Religious Education

The next challenge the new program faced was securing the approval of the Church Board to take the program outside of the U.S. and Canada. Don Jessee recalls, “William E. Berrett was very intrigued by the concept and very supportive. He had more of an international vision of all of this because he saw more than the northern part of the continent.”⁵² Arnold Stringham remembered from his meetings at the time, “One thing became apparent to me, President Berrett had one primary goal in life, as far as home study was concerned, that he really personally wanted, and that was that we would get to England.”⁵³ Berrett was so enthusiastic over the response received by the program he took a proposal before the Church Board in January 1968, just four months after the pilot study began.⁵⁴

To Berrett’s dismay, the Board initially rejected the proposal to launch the program internationally. In his later recollections, Berrett softened the blow, simply stating that “some of the Board members were hesitant.”⁵⁵ Don Jessee recalled, “I remember when we made it in the Board of Education meeting, President Berrett came back afterwards and said that it had been turned down. Both he and Ernie were extremely disappointed.”⁵⁶ Berrett recalled, “The Brethren were very uncertain at first. They said, ‘We have just launched the home teaching program, and put new emphasis on home teaching, and we’re afraid that this might interfere with that if these students have a separate program they’re following in the homes.’”⁵⁷ Don Jessee felt that the initial rejection

⁵² Jessee 1991 Oral History, 10.

⁵³ Stringham 2011 Oral History.

⁵⁴ Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 5.

⁵⁵ Berrett, *My Story*, 82.

⁵⁶ Jessee 1991 Oral History, 11.

⁵⁷ Berrett 1982 Oral History, 17. In Berrett’s memoir, he also cited concern over affecting Family Home Evening as a reason for the initial rejection of the program, see Berrett, *My Story*, 82. Although family home evenings had been introduced in 1915 by President Joseph F. Smith, in 1965 President David O. McKay established it as a church program with Monday evenings being set aside for holding family home evenings. Home teaching,

caused Berrett to lose much of his enthusiasm for the project. Don Bond recalled a phone conversation with Eberhard during this period where he was told, “Well done. I think maybe you had better think about packing up. There's a chance you might come back.”⁵⁸

Berrett accepted the rejection, but Ernest Eberhard continued to press on to gain the Board’s approval. Eberhard approached Boyd K. Packer for help. Don Jessee recalls

Ernie was obsessed with the fact that this was a major, major contribution to the youth of the Church and that it had to go. So he went back to Elder Packer, and I think Elder Packer gave him some insights as to why it wasn't approved. But Ernie single-handedly went around and got appointments with the members of the Board of Education. He talked to them, and found that individually, all of them would approve it. I don't know why they turned it down collectively, but they were willing to bring it back up for a vote.⁵⁹

According to Jessee, Packer played a key role in persuading the Church Board to reconsider the program. He notes, “Had the Twelve not had the influence of Elder Packer, I'm sure that it would have probably never come up for another vote because President Berrett had no intention of ever going back. He was priesthood-broke with the Board, and when the Board said no, he wasn't about to go back and ask why.”⁶⁰ According to Jessee, “Elder Packer is a consensus man. He’ll never take anything in to the Brethren unless he has done his homework... he’d bring them aboard before the final vote is ever taken, so that when it’s taken it’s a slam dunk.”⁶¹

During this same time, Marion G. Romney, the Apostle in charge of the Home Teaching program, began his own investigation into the effectiveness of the home study pilot. Romney made

which had been practiced since the early history of the Church, was also given new emphasis and a change of name from the former ward teaching program.

⁵⁸ Bond 1991 Oral History, 46.

⁵⁹ Jessee Oral History, 12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶¹ Don Jessee Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, May 20, 2011, notes in author’s possession.

several calls personally to Don Bond to ask about the status of the program⁶² and asked for a directory of local leaders to send a questionnaire assessing their feelings on the program. Don Bond recalled, “how exciting it was to prepare that directory because I knew each of the leaders personally, and I was aware of how pleased they were about the home-study seminary.”⁶³

Romney’s study produced another enthusiastic endorsement for the program. According to William Berrett, Romney “reported with excitement that the program was actually *increasing* the effectiveness of family home evening and home teaching.”⁶⁴ One father had written to Romney, saying, “I was going to sell my home and I was moving back to Utah because of my children. They were not in seminary. We did not have seminary here.” When home study seminary came to his branch, he said, “I am the branch president and I am the seminary teacher, and I am staying here because my children now have seminary.”⁶⁵

The proposal to launch the home study program internationally came before the Board a second time in May 1968. No available records detail the proceedings of the meeting, but Don Bond, still in Iowa, vividly recalled his feelings on that day:

President Berrett had informed me that the results of Elder Romney's questionnaire in correlation with you would be considered in the board meeting at 9 a.m. on Friday. I vividly recall my private prayerful input to that meeting. I was in route to Vincennes, Indiana. I pulled off the highway, found a secluded place where I knelt by the roadside, and bore my solemn witness of the powerful impact I had personally felt from the students, that they had regularly associated with this daily scripture and gospel study. I prayed that this influence would be felt by the Brethren in the ongoing meeting being held at Church Headquarters in Salt Lake City. As I pulled back on the interstate, I had a feeling of certainty that

⁶² Phone conversation with Don Bond and Casey Paul Griffiths, May 24, 2011, see also Berrett, *My Story*, 82, Berrett 1991 Oral History, 8, Berrett 1981 Oral History, 17. William Berrett asserted that Romney had personally visited the Midwest to assess the effectiveness of the program. Don Bond, however, described extensive communication with Romney, but taking place over the phone.

⁶³ Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 5.

⁶⁴ Berrett, *A Miracle in Week-day Religious Education*, 162.

⁶⁵ Bond 1991 Oral History, 42.

President Tanner would see seminary in England within a few months. Sure enough, Elder Romney's report was given with an excitement of how the program was actually increasing the effectiveness of home evening and home teaching.⁶⁶

With the support of Romney who was “like a Gibraltar”⁶⁷ in his support of the program, the proposal passed and approval was given to launch the program in thirteen additional states, England, and Australia for the 1968-69 school year.⁶⁸ With the Board’s approval, Berrett felt the home study gamble had paid off. He recalled, “I had jumped the gun in having our brethren already working on a course of study. So when he [Romney] came back, we didn’t have to wait another year. We were ready to go by the fall of 1968.”⁶⁹

The First International Efforts in England and Australia

Shortly after the Board gave its approval, Berrett’s staff began searching for teachers to leave the U.S. and set up the International programs. John Madsen, a twenty-nine year old seminary teacher in Salt Lake City, was the first teacher selected to go to England. A few weeks later, J.L. Jaussi, a fifty-year-old veteran of the seminary program, was asked to be the first teacher to take the program to Australia. Jaussi was already serving as an area coordinator⁷⁰ in the Midwest, directly supervising Don Bond when the home study pilot was launched. Jaussi, recalling Berrett’s casual invitation to leave the country, said, “In the summer of 1968, when we came back to Provo, Utah, I walked into President Berrett's office and he said to me, ‘How would

⁶⁶ Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 5.

⁶⁷ Bond 1991 Oral History, 41.

⁶⁸ Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 6, It is likely that England and Australia were selected first for the programs because of their similarities in language and culture to the United States.

⁶⁹ Berrett 1991 Oral History, 9.

⁷⁰ During this time, an Area Coordinator in Seminaries and Institutes served as an administrator over a designated geographical area. The areas could range in size from small portions of Utah, or to large parts of the country. At this time Jaussi supervised the better part of the American Midwest. See J.J.L. Jaussi Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 28, 1991, manuscript in author’s possession, 7

you like to go to Australia?’ I said, ‘Just fine. When do I leave?’ He said, ‘How soon can you pack your bags?’”⁷¹

The First Pioneers: John Madsen and J.L. Jaussi

The two men were a study in contrasts. The Madsens were fairly new to the S&I program, newlyweds, and had only one child. When they left to travel to England, Diane Madsen was pregnant with their second daughter. The Jaussi’s were in their fifties, and all their children gone from home, save an 18-year-old daughter who traveled to Australia along with them. John Madsen was a former missionary from the British Isles whose lifelong dream was to teach in the seminary program. J.L. Jaussi was a World War II veteran, never serving as a missionary because of the war, but spent forty-one months with the U.S. Marines in the South Pacific. He enjoyed a long and fruitful career in public education before Boyd K. Packer recruited him into the seminary program in 1961. Both served as coordinators outside of Utah, Madsen in Washington state and Jaussi in Indiana.⁷²

Don Bond returned to Utah in the summer of 1968 to train the new recruits in the basics of the home study program. Madsen recalled, “Brother Don Bond gave instructions regarding the details of the home study program, as to how it functioned in Iowa where he had introduced it the year before. . . . We saw samples of the course materials that we would be using in the British Isles. We had no formal training other than that single meeting.”⁷³ After allowing a summer to prepare, in August 1968 the Madsens embarked for England, with the Jaussi’s leaving for Australia in

⁷¹ Ibid..

⁷² John Madsen Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, August 8, 1991, manuscript in author’s possession, 16. Jaussi Oral History

⁷³ Madsen 1991 Oral History, 34.

September.⁷⁴ John Madsen recalled the electric atmosphere of the time: “There was a sense of adventure, and in a very real way, a kind of a pioneering feeling. . . . It really touched my heart deeply that we should be privileged to be involved with this great work, and that's how we felt. It was a sacred privilege, a sacred trust.”⁷⁵

Madsen in England. William Berrett personally accompanied the Madsens to Great Britain to meet with local priesthood leaders and introduce the new program. They immediately met with the leadership of the Glasgow, Manchester, Leeds, and Leicester stakes. Madsen recalled Berrett’s influence on the local leadership, “President Berrett was masterful in dealing with these wonderful priesthood leaders. He was a man who looked like a prophet, and who had the bearing of true patriarch. . . these marvelous brethren listened as he described what the systematic study of the gospel would do for their young people, and without hesitation or question, these presidencies would unanimously and immediately say, ‘Oh, yes, that’s what we want.’”⁷⁶ Berrett’s presence undoubtedly helped smooth the reception of the program. Diane Madsen gushed, “He was majestic, and I like that word because they love the king and the queen, they love regal things, and President Berrett was all of that.”⁷⁷

Jaussi in Australia. Contrasting the Madsen’s warm reception in Britain, the Jaussi’s arrived in Australia with little fanfare. Arriving in Brisbane, their prospective area, Marilyn Jaussi remembered the confusions surrounding their arrival:

When we arrived in Brisbane, we really felt like we were in a foreign country. We got off the plane and everything was backwards. I think the telephone even dialed the opposite way. . . . We couldn't understand the terminology. No one was there to meet us. . . no one came. We were completely on our own. So we stood there by a

⁷⁴ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 162-163.

⁷⁵ Madsen Oral History, 40.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

telephone trying to figure out how to dial it. The airplane pilot came past and showed us how to dial the phone and how to call for a taxi.⁷⁸

When the Jaussi's contacted the local stake president, he instructed them to find a hotel and meet him after the weekend was over. Jaussi remembered the anxiety surrounding his arrival in the new country: "I had very little money at that time because I had run out on the way... I had enough for two nights at the motel. We didn't know what to do. I got up early the next morning, picked up the phone book, started to look around, and couldn't find what I wanted. So I asked the clerk at the motel, 'Is there a Mormon church around here any place?'"⁷⁹ The hotel clerk directed them to a nearby chapel, and the next day they met with a local bishop who made arrangements for the members of his ward to assist the Jaussi family in finding accommodations. The episode illustrates how dependent the teachers initially sent out were on the help of the local membership. Marilyn Jaussi recalled how important the help of the local members was during their arrival:

We were really treated well there at the ward. As soon as they found out who we were and what we were there for, we were welcomed. The Relief Society President came with me to our flat. We finally found a fairly nice flat to live in. She walked in, looked around, and made a mental note of everything that we needed, then went back to the church to the Relief Society room and gathered up pots and pans and sheets and pillowcases and towels and all the things that we needed to begin with.⁸⁰

With the Madsens in England, and the Jaussis in Australia, the stage was set for the first attempts to launch the programs outside the United States.

Preparations for Launch

Berrett flew home from England just over a week after arriving with the Madsens.

Watching Berrett depart, John Madsen remembered his feelings: "as [Berrett] flew out of sight we suddenly felt the full weight of the responsibilities, and challenges that were ahead." Remembering

⁷⁸ J.L. and Marilyn Jaussi Oral History, 15.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 16.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 17.

some of the last instructions Berrett gave, Madsen felt overwhelmed by the responsibility he was about to undertake, "President Berrett had indicated that the success, the future success of the educational program of the Church rested squarely on the reception of this program by the leadership in the British Isles. If we failed in this mission, we would set the Church program back at least ten years."⁸¹

With strong support secured from the local leadership, Madsen at once set to work to organize the first class. As he began, one of his biggest worries came from the lack of materials. Madsen recalled, "The thing we were anxious about was that the curriculum had not even been written yet. It was still in the process of being written and printed. So we had nothing to take with us. We had no samples of what we were going to be doing. Rather, we just had a concept and were assured that by the time the first classes would be held in October, that materials would be in our hands."⁸² He continues

To get the first major shipment, I had to go down to the London Heathrow Airport and virtually walk those seminary supplies through the customs process, because they said these materials were illegal. "You cannot bring printed materials into this country. They have to be printed in our own country in order to be used here." And I had to convince them, by some miracle, to allow these religious materials to be used in an educational program that only involved and benefitted their British people. It was a challenge that made me feel like Moses before the Pharaoh, because they weren't going to budge and it was against their regulations, and it was strange and foreign to them. They had to take every little item apart, and they would question this and that and say, "This cannot be." But somehow, they finally yielded and allowed me to bring those materials in.⁸³

Not only did Madsen have to go through this process month by month to bring the materials into the country, he also spend days traveling around the countryside to make sure every teacher had the materials. He recalls, "It was necessary to personally deliver them to the home of every teacher

⁸¹ Madsen Oral History, 40.

⁸² Ibid., 36.

⁸³ Ibid., 74.

because there wasn't time to mail them. So I had to drive through Leicester, Manchester, and the Leeds Stakes, virtually every month in order to get the materials into the hands of the students on time. Miraculously, they were always on time.”⁸⁴

In Australia, J.L. Jausi biggest challenge came in winning the support of the local priesthood to the program. Unlike in England, William E. Berrett was unable to accompany Jausi during his arrival in the country, and the presentation of the program to the local priesthood fell squarely on Jausi’s shoulders. The president of the Brisbane stake, William Proctor, and Jausi locked horns several times over how to implement the seminary system. Proctor was a Scottish convert to the Church, a transplant to Australia who became stake president the year before Jausi’s arrival. Only a few months after he became stake president, Proctor wrote a letter to the First Presidency requesting some kind of religious education program for his stake. His concerns grew out of the practice of several local secondary schools in providing religious instruction through a new program, and the LDS students in the area began requesting for a study group of their own. Proctor suggested to the First Presidency that retired members of the local priesthood could travel from school to school, acting as instructors to the youth.⁸⁵

Proctor’s plea for help resulted in Jausi’s assignment to the Brisbane stake, but his disapproval seems to have stemmed from a desire to have local control over the program. Proctor strongly favored an educational program, but was leery of having an American, rather than a local member, take the lead. Jausi later reflected, “President Proctor, I suppose, felt that I was a threat to him because I came out of ‘Zion’ as he used to call it.”⁸⁶ Both men undoubtedly wanted the best for the youth of the Brisbane Stake, but their interaction highlights the potential for conflict between a

⁸⁴ Ibid., 74.

⁸⁵ Lionel Walters, “The Church Educational System in Australia, 1969-2004, unpublished document, copy in author’s possession, 29-30.

⁸⁶ Jausi Oral History, 21.

professional Church employee in a non-ecclesiastical position in a Church led by lay ecclesiastical leaders. Jaussi recalled a few of these conflicts, “All the stake presidents would say, ‘Show it to me in the handbook.’ It wasn't in the handbook at that time, and that is what President Proctor said. ‘Show it to me in the handbook.’ That is what made our work hard. It wasn't in the handbook.”⁸⁷

At one meeting in particular the tension boiled to the surface. Jaussi remembered the conflict:

In the Brisbane Second Ward, I believe there were well over sixty young people that were seminary age, but we only had twenty-four students attending seminary. We only had eleven in the Brisbane Ward and we found that each ward was that way. Brother Norton, the Regional Representative, came out and invited me to meet with the stake president and the bishops and review the program with them. When I met with them and reviewed the program, I mentioned the figures that I just mentioned to you. It was going well, but we didn't have the numbers that we should have had, and I said, "We need more support and help from the bishops." I said to them, "Bishops, we need those students to come in. Have you interviewed them?" Two of the bishops stood right up and said, "They won't come." I guess I kind of got out of line, even though I didn't think I did at the time. I said, "Bishops, you don't have the right to tell me they won't come. Your obligation is to present the program to the students and let them make up their minds. They should be presented with the program and see if they will come." President Proctor jumped right up and said, "Brother Jaussi, don't you tell my bishops how to do their job. I am the stake president and they do as I say." As soon as he sat down, Brother Norton, the Regional Representative, jumped up and he said, "President Proctor, Brother Jaussi is right. Those bishops are to call all those students in, and interview them and offer them the opportunity of taking seminary."⁸⁸

Jaussi later noted curtly, “We had a bit of a conflict as we started in the Brisbane Stake.... It turned out to be a wonderful experience there in Brisbane. The program went well. President Proctor finally came around and started to help.”⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Ibid., 19-20.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 21.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Successful Launches

Despite the challenges, the seminary program successfully launched in both Britain and Australia less than a few months after Madsen and Jaussi's arrival. John Madsen's intense preparations paid off and the first seminary class in Great Britain convened at 7:00 am on August 19, 1968, in the Glasgow ward of the Glasgow stake in Scotland, only 15 days after John Madsen's arrival in the country. The first teacher was Arthur Herbertson, a member of the Glasgow Stake Presidency, with nineteen students attending.⁹⁰ Within a few weeks home study work began. The first series of monthly meetings for home study, dubbed "Super Saturdays" by the local membership were held in October.⁹¹ As word of the program spread, enrollment grew. John Madsen reported, "The initial enrollment efforts resulted in 237 home study seminary students, with 97, 79, and 61 students in the Leicester, Leeds, and Manchester Stakes respectively. Enrollment in early morning seminary totaled 80 students, 26 of whom were in the Glasgow Stakes along with 54 in the London Stake."⁹² Madsen later noted, "The universal complaint, voiced by parents and leaders when they heard the program described and saw samples of the materials was, 'why can't we have seminary too?'"⁹³

In March 1969, Madsen met with Spencer W. Kimball of the Quorum of the Twelve, who was visiting a local stake conference. In advance of the meeting, Kimball instructed Madsen to bring a map of the stakes in the British Isles and a report of the potential students in each stake and mission district. Madsen recalled, "When I met with Elder Kimball in the Central British Mission Home, I opened that map to his gaze, and he poured over it like a field general and was

⁹⁰ John Madsen, "A Brief Account of the Introduction of the Church Education Program in Great Britain," unpublished document, 4.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 5.

⁹³ Ibid., 3.

tremendously interested and curious to know where the strength was and what the potential was. After discussing this information, he asked, ‘If an additional man were to be sent, where would you place him?’”⁹⁴ With Kimball’s enthusiastic endorsement to the Church Board, approval was given for three additional men, J. Wesley Christensen, James R. Moss, and David P. Parkinson, to come to England for the 1969–70 school year.

In Australia, J.L. Jaussi had more time to set up the program, with the school year beginning later in the year. By February 1969, 143 students were enrolled in the program. Even before the seminary programs launched, Jaussi started two institute classes, one on Wednesday night and another on Thursday morning.⁹⁵ He later noted the advantage in this approach. “When we signed up our first institute class at Brisbane, we had seventy-five students in one class and sixteen in an early morning institute class. We had one evening class and one early morning for those who couldn’t make the evening class.... Most of our seminary teachers also came to the institute classes. We invited them in so that they could get a feel of the program and begin to get a depth of the training and the teachings that we had.”⁹⁶ Jaussi selected a twenty four year old student, John R. Gibson to be the teacher of the first early morning seminary class in Australia.⁹⁷ Success in these early classes led to word of mouth spreading throughout the country. Jaussi recalled, “These young people would go down to Sydney or to Melbourne to these youth conferences for the whole country of Australia and, of course, the only thing the kids from Brisbane talked about was their institute.... Then the stake presidents immediately wrote to President William E. Berrett and said, ‘We want this program. Why can’t we have this program? We need it down here.’”⁹⁸

Bookending his trip to England at the first of school year, Berrett traveled to Australia in June 1969 to directly observe the progress of the programs. Jaussi arranged for Berrett to speak to

⁹⁴ Madsen Oral History, 63-64.

⁹⁵ Walters, “The Church Educational System in Australia,” 30.

⁹⁶ Jaussi Oral History, 29-30

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 32-33.

his institute class, all of his teachers, and the local youth. Berrett's charisma shined just as it had the previous August in England. Jaussi remembered, "He really thrilled them."⁹⁹ Anxious to maintain his momentum, Jaussi arranged for Berrett to tour the country, speaking with members and leaders in Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth, visiting every stake in the country.¹⁰⁰ Berrett was so pleased with the response to the program he arranged for two additional men, Gail W. Ockey and Paul Hokanson, to come to the country to set up programs for the next school year.¹⁰¹

Evaluations of Challenges and Successes in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand

On his way home from Australia, Berrett stopped in New Zealand and toured the country, meeting with local priesthood leaders to stir up support for the program. Meeting with an enthusiastic response, in September 1969 Berrett sent Rhett James, an institute teacher from Arizona, to New Zealand to begin the program there.¹⁰² James was eventually joined by four other teachers and their families from the United States. In England, seven additional teachers¹⁰³ from the states joined John Madsen in England, and six¹⁰⁴ joined J.L. Jaussi in Australia. Each teacher brought along a family with them who shared in the new experience.

This initial wave of American personnel forms a unique data set in the international expansion. Acting as the formative team to set up the programs, they pioneered the practices which eventually developed into the governing policies in other nations. The efforts in these three countries set the tone for the efforts in other countries. No other countries received American

⁹⁹ Ibid., 33.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., see also Walters, "The Church Educational System in Australia," 31.

¹⁰¹ Walters, 31.

¹⁰² According to a survey prepared by E. Dale LeBaron, the American personnel who joined James in New Zealand and the duration of their service were Robert Brennan (Sept. 1970 – May 1973), Glen Huber (Aug. 1971 – June 1974), Roger Connors (Sept. 1971 – July 1974), and Aaron Hatch (Aug. 1972 – June 1974). Each teacher brought his family along with him.

¹⁰³ The American personnel who served in England during this time were Wes Christensen (Aug. 1969 – July 1971), David Parkinson (Aug. 1969 – July 1972), James Moss (July 1969 – June 1973), Ken Meyers (Aug. 1970 – July 1971), Richard Linford (June 1971 – Dec. 1973), and Richard Russell (July 1971 – Aug. 1973).

¹⁰⁴ The teachers who joined Jaussi in Australia were Paul Hokanson (Oct. 1969 – May 1973), Gail Ockey (Nov. 1969 – July 1972), Mervin Adair (Sept. 1970 – May 1973), Douglas Williams (June 1972 – June 1974), Wayne May (July 1971 – Aug. 1975), and Richard Morley (exact term of service unknown).

personnel in such large numbers as these first three. As the vanguard of the effort to expand outside of the United States and Canada, the efforts in these three countries became a set of testing grounds where the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of certain practices aided in the creation of efficient policy. Recognizing this, the study will briefly leave the chronology followed thus far and engage in a review of some of the issues faced by these early pioneers.

Working with Local Priesthood

The men sent to Australia, Britain, and New Zealand to establish the S&I programs spent as much time, if not more, working with local ecclesiastical leaders than they did teaching classes. The range of responses from local leadership of the first three men in each country illustrates how wide the spectrum of response was to the program's introduction. In the case of John Madsen in England, most priesthood leaders enthusiastically accepted the program. In Australia, J.L. Jaussi initially received a much more frigid reception, stemming from the dynamic of a professional Church employee from a different country bringing a program to a local, lay leadership. In New Zealand, Rhett James arrived in New Zealand anxious to work with priesthood leaders, and in less than a year he was called as a stake president and faced the challenge of working on both sides of the table! Some tensions between the ecclesiastical and professional arms of the Church were inevitable, but for the most part, the response from the expatriate teachers paints a picture of mutual cooperation.

The first duty of any teacher assigned to open the programs in a new area became visiting and speaking with priesthood leaders and local members. One supervisor in England noted this critical function: "It was a kind of a public relations challenge, because in essence you had to go in and convert the members of the Church to the thoughts and ideas of seminary. So you were selling

the program, and selling it to the priesthood leaders.”¹⁰⁵ Recognizing the importance of the relationship with local leaders, administrators at Church headquarters began emphasizing the building of these ties in their trainings to the international personnel. Before he embarked to Australia, Douglas Williams remembers specific counsel from a senior administrator, Frank Day. “First of all, he said, ‘Your first responsibility is to get along with priesthood leaders. You just make sure you get along with the priesthood leader. At any cost, you get along with the priesthood leader.’”¹⁰⁶ Priesthood support was vital in recruiting students and promoting the program. Even though in many cases the American expatriates sent to start the programs possessed greater experience and knowledge than the local priesthood leadership, they still functioned in a subservient role to the priesthood.

Choosing Volunteer Teachers

Perhaps the most critical role played by the local priesthood in the programs came in selecting teachers for the classes. The American supervisors provided training and materials and taught some of the institute courses, but the heavy lifting of the program was provided by teachers called by the local priesthood in wards and stakes. These teachers received a small stipend to compensate them for travel, but for the most part they were unpaid. Training local priesthood leaders to select the right kind of teacher was critical to the success of the programs. In teacher selection, spiritual qualities were more desirable than academic qualifications. J.L. Jaussi remembered the process, “I had to rely on the bishop and the mission president to select the people, and they didn't select them as far as education was concerned, but according to their worthiness to teach the young people. We had all the teachers approved by the bishops and the stake president

¹⁰⁵ Ken Meyers Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 20, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 13-14.

¹⁰⁶ Douglas Williams Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, August 1, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 32-33.

and the mission president. Then I interviewed them, talked with them, discussed the program, told them what was expected and what opportunities there were and what they could do. . . . We just got some tremendous teachers down there to handle these programs.”¹⁰⁷ In New Zealand, Rhett James spoke highly of the dedicated men and women selected to teach: “The teachers, in a very British way, were very methodical about doing all the lessons themselves. They were very dedicated. And the priesthood leaders actually released them from other callings, and generally permitted them to just serve as seminary teachers.”¹⁰⁸

Cooperation with priesthood leaders resulted in the selection of some of the strongest members as teachers. Helen Christiansen, the wife of James Christiansen, a teacher in England noted that a large part of her husband’s work was to convince priesthood leaders to select the right people: “He was able to convince these priesthood leaders of the significance of the teacher, so they really called their best people to be seminary teachers. They were outstanding. As I traveled with Jim later on and met some of the people they made the teachers, I just thought, ‘No wonder it was successful.’ They were all marvelous. And all with strong testimonies. That's why it was so successful.”¹⁰⁹

Teacher turnover was a struggle in some cases because strong members were often needed in other callings. Ken Meyers recalled, “We did have some turn-over. Some of that was because we weren't getting the support of the priesthood in the sense that they would call them into different assignments. But once again you are looking at branches that were struggling and they needed their support and help elsewhere, so you would call one of them to be an Elder's quorum president and all

¹⁰⁷ Jaussi Oral History, 28-29.

¹⁰⁸ Rhett James Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 5, 1991, manuscript in author’s possession, 108.

¹⁰⁹ Helen Christiansen Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 12, 1992, manuscript in author’s possession, 44-45.

of the sudden you lost your teacher. But they would also back us up and get somebody else called quickly.”¹¹⁰ John Madsen remembered, “The teachers, in some instances, were priesthood leaders, but there were also parents and others called as teachers. There really began to be tremendous interest in the program.”¹¹¹

Improving Relationships between Professionals and Local Leaders

Despite some early hesitation in a few areas, for the most part priesthood leaders became enthusiastic advocates of the programs. In England, Richard Linford reported, “I found, as a general rule, that the stake presidents were behind it a thousand percent. You could not have asked for finer support from every stake president. They could see the benefit of the program and some of them even had their children in the program. Some of the stake presidency were even administrators in the program.”¹¹² Even William Proctor, the stake president who initially clashed with J.L. Jaussi over the nature of the program, came to have a good working relationship with the S&I man in his stake. Douglas Williams, who served with Proctor reported, “I think back on Brother Frank Day's challenge to get along with the priesthood leader. I really did get along with President Proctor. Loved the man, respected him, and we just had a great relationship.”¹¹³

In many cases the Americans sent to begin the program became important ecclesiastical leaders themselves. Before he had even secured a permanent residence in England, John Madsen was called to serve on the Leicester Stake high council. Shortly after his arrival in New Zealand, Rhett James was likewise placed on a high council, and a year later received a call to serve as a

¹¹⁰ Ken Meyers Oral History, 37.

¹¹¹ Madsen Oral History, 62.

¹¹² Richard Linford Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, July 31, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 25.

¹¹³ Douglas Williams Oral History, 54, Frank Day was serving as a Zone Administrator over CES programs in Asia.

Stake President.¹¹⁴ Mary Parkinson, in England, later commented that she felt like she was living in a fishbowl at times: “We were Americans. We were members of the Church. We were employees of the Church. We were expected to know everything.”¹¹⁵

In the majority of cases, the work between the American supervisors and the local priesthood was mutually beneficial. The seasoned American personnel helped provide leadership and training in the international stakes, and the priesthood assisted in recruitment. In a moving passage from his journal, James Moss recorded his interaction with a young stake president in Birmingham:

Sunday, February 20, 1971 - . . . I traveled to Birmingham in a rainstorm . . . Upon my arrival, I found the chapel to be the oldest one still standing that had been built by the Church in the British Isles and had been the site of the mission headquarters during the time that Heber J. Grant had been mission president . . . I found the stake president, a young man who had been called while still in his late twenties as stake president, and at that time not yet thirty. I was myself not yet thirty also, and as we walked to his office in an adjoining building, I thought to myself how interesting it was that two of us so young in years had such responsible positions in the Church. We met by candlelight in his office, interviewed a fine man and called him as the seminary supervisor, then set him apart. As we went to leave, I was struck by the significance of the occasion. I thought of other beginnings of movements and events in the Church--even the beginnings of the Church itself began small, seemingly inauspicious beginnings, often involving relatively young and inexperienced men willing to move as directed by the Spirit.¹¹⁶

Distributing Curriculum Globally

One of the challenges mentioned most frequently by all of the Americans sent to the three countries was the hectic and harried nature of obtaining and distributing materials. The structure of the home study program meant massive amounts of materials constantly needed to be delivered to students in order to keep them continuing in the program. Materials were shipped from the United

¹¹⁴ Rhett James Oral History, 60.

¹¹⁵ Mary Etta Parkinson Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 24, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 51.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in LaVelle Moss Oral History, 32-33

States, picked up by the American supervisors, taken to the local teachers, and then given to the students. For the most part, the supervisors handed out the booklets at the monthly seminary meetings, but circumstances often required adaptation. The process of shipping items from the United States was slow and costly, leading to a scramble by the in-country supervisors to distribute materials. Jim Moss, a supervisor in Britain, recorded in his journal how frustrating the experience could sometimes be: “September 23, 1969—Took seminary textbooks to Cardiff, Wales, and the Bristol for the students in those areas. This was one of the biggest problems in our first year of operation here, getting the study materials out to the students. We seemed habitually to operate on the thin edge of disaster, having the things often arrive the day before they were needed, or on the very day.”¹¹⁷ Jess Christensen, another teacher supervising in Britain remembered, “They couldn't get the materials to us in time. For instance, Old Testament would come up, and they wouldn't have it all finished or something. Finally, we would get it as soon as we could. We were always behind the eight ball trying to get it out so the kids wouldn't have to wait a couple of weeks and get way behind.”¹¹⁸

Eventually, the wait for materials to come from Salt Lake became too long and the men in the field began printing the materials locally, after receiving the initials drafts from the Central Office. J.L. Jaussi recalled, “After our second year down there, we decided not to ship all that material from BYU Printing . . . We found out that we could have them printed down there cheaper than they could be printed in America and shipped over. . . . We had all that material made up and printed right there much cheaper than we could have it done in America. In fact, the Australians were very happy to think that we were bringing business to Australia along with our education.”¹¹⁹ In Britain, Mary Parkinson, the spouse of the one of the teachers sent to that country, recalled the difficulty existing in bringing items through customs: “It was a very colorful experience when they would go down and deal with the customs office. It was different every time. They would think

¹¹⁷ Quoted in LaVelle Moss Oral History, 15-16.

¹¹⁸ Jess Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, April 30, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 76.

¹¹⁹ Jaussi Oral History, 39.

that they were prepared to meet these guys and sail through it. Very seldom did it sail through.... And so finally I think it was resolved that they would write their own materials. I think they did part of it, and sometimes they would duplicate what they got from Provo.”¹²⁰ In New Zealand, Rhett James recalled, “We soon learned that we couldn't afford to have them [the materials] shipped. By the time they got here, the program would be over. And so we immediately opted for the reproduction of materials in the country.”¹²¹

Printing the materials locally partially solved the problem. After printing, the teachers and their families still worked furiously to collate and distribute to the local teachers. Memories abounded, particularly among the British staff, of all night sessions preparing materials in time for distribution. Jim Moss recorded in his journal,

We produce several hundred supplements to the home-study seminary materials, then have to collate them, staple them, and sort them into units. It seems like the collating machines (we have two of the large 8-station units) always break down and we have to do much of the work by hand. That's what happened this time and the staff just had to come in to do the work. We would set up long tables in the rooms and halls upstairs in the Hyde Park Chapel, then work for hours on it. One night, I kept the staff up all night long until we had completed a particularly large unit. They all tried to mutiny at various stages throughout the night, but eventually got it done. We had breakfast together the next morning, and then went back to our areas. For months after that, I heard about 'Moss's all-night collating party.’¹²²

The late-night sessions took a toll on the staff and families of the men. For most of the men, their office and supply centers were located in their own homes. Richard Russell, a teacher in England, noted, “My garage became a distribution center.”¹²³ The wife of another teacher recalled, “The mimeograph machine was often the lullaby that lulled the babies to sleep.”¹²⁴ Jess Christensen recalled, “I got sick because of the time—[we] were there all night, one night, just doing it. We didn't even get to bed... we would look at each other and just pass out.”¹²⁵ Jim Moss recorded that

¹²⁰ Mary Etta Parkinson Oral History, 21.

¹²¹ Rhett James Oral History, 107-108.

¹²² Quoted in LaVelle Moss Oral History, 16.

¹²³ Richard Russell Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 12, 1992, manuscript in author's possession, 35.

¹²⁴ LaVelle Moss Oral History, 17.

¹²⁵ Jess Christensen Oral History, 70.

the late-night sessions were “somewhat of a sore point with some of the staff who complained this wasn't what they were trained or hired for, but for others it represented a prime example of getting done when they needed to be done.”¹²⁶

Distribution was also a challenge. Diane Madsen remembered her husband driving four hours from his headquarters in Nottingham to London, fighting to get the materials through customs, and then driving to twenty-five to thirty cities to distribute them.¹²⁷ The great amount of travel required to distribute material and supervise classes took a toll on families. Paul Hokanson, one of the teachers sent to Australia, recalled, “Looking back, I think my wife was a Church widow. Great demands were made on her. I was home during the day when she didn't need me and I was gone at night when she did need me. I was just merrily on my way having a great time and she was struggling with everything.”¹²⁸

Despite the challenges inherent in getting the materials, the curriculum was highly successful with the students and their parents. LaVelle Moss recalled, “A lot of the parents were so frustrated as they would see all these incredible materials that their early morning students were getting; they wanted to get them from their kids. The kids would go to study, and they couldn't find their materials because their parents had absconded with them. Those are the kinds of problems we liked to have. There was enough support that they eventually began some adult programs to allow the parents similar kinds of materials and experiences.”¹²⁹ Mary Parkinson remembered, “The people were very excited to have the seminary program. In fact, the adults were so excited that they were looking over their children's shoulders wanting to have the study materials. There was just no stopping them. Virtually the entire leadership of the ward wanted and pleaded to do it.” Eventually

¹²⁶ Quoted in LaVelle Moss Oral History, 16-17.

¹²⁷ Madsen Oral History, 74-75.

¹²⁸ Paul and Julina Hokanson Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, July 17, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 24.

¹²⁹ LaVelle Moss Oral History, 18.

David Parkinson set up an institute class exclusively for the ward leadership and adult members, enrolling the local bishopric, the youth leaders, the Relief Society president, and others.¹³⁰ In New Zealand, Rhett James praised the curriculum's usefulness in instructing the entire local membership, not just the youth, in the basic tenets of the Church: "One of the weaknesses during my time as the area director or division coordinator was that we didn't have much time to teach doctrine. In fact, we taught administration. And the curriculum had to teach the doctrine. And I was continually amazed at the insights to doctrine that came out of home-study material."¹³¹

The Home-Study Program in Action

On a practical level the program meant a lot of travel for each of the supervisors. Besides distributing the materials most of the men taught several institute classes depending on the size of the area they served. Originally, the intent was to make all of the classes home-study, but when the supervisors arrived in their areas, they often found large enough groups to form early morning classes as well. William E. Berrett's earlier concerns about a lack of students, and difficulty in finding transportation proved less of a problem than was feared. In Australia, J.L. Jaussi found enough students clustered together to form daily early morning classes, without having to start the home study program in certain areas. He related, "We found that our chapels were close enough to the schools that we could have them in seminary and get them to their high schools immediately. It worked out just perfectly . . . Out in the mission field, of course, we had fewer students. They were scattered out and could not make it to their high school. So we organized the home-study out there and got some excellent home-study teachers."¹³² Other teachers found the same thing as they arrived in their areas, and organized home study classes as soon as possible, creating some friction with the central administrators, who wanted the home study program to take precedence. Paul Hokanson recalls:

¹³⁰ Mary Etta Parkinson Oral History, 14.

¹³¹ Rhett James Oral History, 109.

¹³² Jaussi Oral History, 25.

Initially, we were told to start home-study seminary, and we found very quickly that in the city of Sydney, early morning would probably be a better program. So we started a lot of early morning classes. We also found a lot of interest with single adults for an institute program, so we started an institute program. And as I think back, some of the seminary and institute leaders in the Provo office were a little bit upset because we weren't pushing the home-study. We were pushing home-study, but we were pushing the other programs too.¹³³

Alongside the seminary program, the teachers worked to set up an Institute program for college-aged students. In Britain, the men even adopted the home study model to create a program for college age students, even writing new curriculum. One of the teachers in England recalled, “Simultaneously [to seminary] we also elected to set up what we called the individual study institute program. We didn't have any materials for that, and so we wrote materials for that while we were going.”¹³⁴ In New Zealand, teachers even experimented with seminary for students ages 12 to 14, adapting curriculum used in Indian seminaries inside the United States.¹³⁵

A highlight for all involved was the monthly seminary class where all the students in a designated area would gather, dubbed “Super Saturday.” All students and their teachers would gather in a central location for games and a lesson. Super Saturdays were usually conducted and led by the American supervisors, who took the opportunity to provide teacher training at the same time.

Richard Russell, an American supervisor in England, described a typical Super Saturday:

I brought in the three ring circus every month for the district Super Saturday. After that, they would hold a youth activity that we would have helped plan. We would have had a student leadership organization that worked either independently or in association with the district mutual people. They would have these activities; they would go play games or dance or goof off somehow. The teachers would meet together for about an hour and a half. The first hour it was all seminary business, and then the institute teachers would join us for the half hour common meeting, where I would cover administrative stuff. Then I would have an hour with the

¹³³ Hokanson Oral History, 19.

¹³⁴ Ken Meyers Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 20, 1991, transcript in author's possession, 11.

¹³⁵ Roger Connors Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 19, 1992, 27. Glen Huber Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 27, 1991, 22.

institute teachers dealing with institute-level inservice for their institute students. Then for an hour and a half in the evening, the institute kids would come for their Super Saturday and I would give an institute lesson, borrowing some of the things I had done with the seminary. I hardly ever showed filmstrips to the older group, though, and it was less fun and games, more serious study for the more mature group. So what does that end up being? Two hours of seminary kids, two hours and a half with the teachers, and then an hour and a half in the evening with the institute. So it was six hours. But I felt like I had worked for ten or twelve.¹³⁶

One of the most popular activities introduced in the program was the scripture chase, a competition where students would race to find a specific chapter and verse in their scriptures. In England scripture chases became so popular that a national championship was held. An entry in Jim Moss's journal from this period shows pride and admiration when the Belfast, Ireland team won the competition. It also reflects the unique makeup of the seminary classes:

Saturday, July 22, 1972—We held the annual Seminary Day today in Manchester, having the national scripture chase and Seminary Bowl competitions, together with a student leadership executive secretary leadership training session, with leaders and seminary students from all stakes and missions in Britain. An excellent attendance and a very good competition in all areas. We were delighted when the Belfast Central Branch won the scripture chase competition against the organized stakes. This is a powerful testimony of the strength of the home-study program, what with the curfews and disruptions present in Belfast. None of the students had been a member for over a year, and none of their parents were members. They beat one of the strongest stakes in the final round of competition.¹³⁷

The programs represented the unique fusion of social interaction, along with spiritual and academic learning present in LDS educational programs from the beginning. In countries where the number of LDS youth was small, and social interaction with other members of the faithful was limited by geography, the seminary and institute programs played an important role in building communities where association with like-minded peers strengthened bonds of friendship and faith. Roger Connors, commenting on the effects of the programs in New Zealand noted, “The institutes also offered a chance for LDS kids and their friends to get together under a different type of an umbrella,

¹³⁶ Richard Russell Oral History, 34.

¹³⁷ Quoted in LaVelle Moss Oral History, 23-24.

a spiritual or an educational umbrella in a class.”¹³⁸ One wife of a teacher in England remembered, “These institute-age students would have Family Home Evening at our house every week. We became family... and they were not much younger than we were at the time.”¹³⁹

Tensions between Americans and Locals

Some tension in the program grew from the fact that American personnel were often viewed as foreigners. Using the framework in the first chapter of this study, the early launch of the Seminary and Institute programs outside of the United States and Canada was very much an “international” effort, with Americans directing and supervising the work. However, by its very nature, the S&I programs lent themselves to more of a “global” culture than Church schools did. For example, in the Church schools in the Pacific from this era, almost the entire faculties consisted of Americans sent to their respective assignments. Exceptions existed in Mexico and Chile, where language barriers made it difficult to staff schools entirely with Americans, but the schools in those countries were still administered by Americans or members from the Mormon colonies in northern Mexico. In the S&I programs, an American supervised and provided training, but every other contributor came from local membership.

The American leadership of the programs was at different times a blessing and at other time a liability. In Australia, Douglas Williams noticed that “We found that the Australians in general were very, very accepting of Americans because they loved the Americans. Particularly older ones that were around during the war. The younger generation, like everywhere else in the world, had their own values, and questioned the Americans on anything at all.”¹⁴⁰ In England, Jess Christensen noted, “it was very much the American Church and the English Church. In the English Church we

¹³⁸ Roger Connors Oral History, 27.

¹³⁹ Richard Russell Oral History, 35.

¹⁴⁰ Douglas Williams Oral History, 50

do this. You may do that in the American Church but in the English, we don't do that.”¹⁴¹ In Australia, Julina Hokanson observed, “I felt it was important to make friends with the leaders of the wards and to invite them to your home so they felt like you were one of them. Australians really didn't like Americans that much.”¹⁴² Sometimes feelings over national identities spilled over in Church meetings. When Jess Christensen was called to serve on the Leicester stake high council, a handful of members in the congregation refused to sustain him. When Christensen asked the Stake president about the incident he was told, “You’re American and they felt an Englishman out to have that and not an American.”¹⁴³

An interesting dynamic appeared in New Zealand, where seminaries and institutes were established alongside an existing Church school, the Church College of New Zealand (CCNZ). The faculty and staff of the Church college were almost entirely American,¹⁴⁴ while the S&I programs set up around the country were carried out largely by local members. Rhett and Alice James recalled that Temple View, the town where the Church College was located was “like a Little America . . . where New Zealanders tried to live like Americans.”¹⁴⁵ By contrast, James and his family chose specifically to live among New Zealanders and attend a ward made up of local members.¹⁴⁶ With the two different systems operating side by side in New Zealand, and teams of Americans running the programs in Britain and Australia, questions about the future direction of the program naturally arose. Would the seminary and institute programs be turned entirely over to the local members, or should a rotating team of Americans administer the programs?

¹⁴¹ Jess Christensen Oral History, 44.

¹⁴² Paul Hokanson Oral History, 29.

¹⁴³ Jess Christensen Oral History, 44.

¹⁴⁴ Laurie Anderson Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 28, 1991, manuscript in author’s possession, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Rhett James Oral History, 75.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Transition to Local Professionals

At least in the early stages of the program, it seems clear that no plan existed to turn the program over to local personnel.¹⁴⁷ However, with only a few Americans around, local membership played a key role in the work and in helping the Americans overcome cultural differences. Working in southern England, Richard Russell frequently called upon a local part-time teacher, Barry Whitaker to assist him. Russell recalled, “I recognized immediately that not being a native, I was at a disadvantage. Even though we were speaking English, I couldn't relate to the kids as readily because I didn't have their background experience. And I was a foreigner. So I relied upon his advice. I would invite him to come over to Bristol and he and I would plan the monthly meetings together so that I could get some British insights. I would sometimes take part of his meetings, while other times he would do the whole thing himself.”¹⁴⁸

In New Zealand, before classes even officially began Rhett James felt an impression that local men should be hired to take over the program. He later wrote, “At the Auckland South Stake meeting, a Rex Kennerly came forward to see me after the meeting about his desire to be involved in teaching seminary. During our conversation, I had a special prompting come to me about Rex Kennerly as a full-time teacher. In fact why not consider training local men to run the program?”¹⁴⁹ Only a few weeks after his arrival in the country James wrote to William Berrett recommending the hiring of a local New Zealand full-time staff. He later wrote, “I had been cautioned by other Americans at the CCNZ that it was present practice to have Americans fill supervisory positions of the kind I recommended. But if the Church is going to fill the earth such a practice must only be

¹⁴⁷ Both J.L. Jaussi and Rhett James mention receiving no specific instructions to pass the program over the local personnel, see Jaussi Oral History, 52, James, *Historical Development of Seminary and Institute Programme*, 6. John Madsen makes no specific mention of hiring local personnel to take over the program in any of his histories.

¹⁴⁸ Richard Russell Oral History, 33-34.

¹⁴⁹ Rhett James, *Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme in New Zealand*, 4.

temporary.”¹⁵⁰ James moved quickly to employ a full staff of local personnel for the program, hiring three local men, Rex Kennerly, Ric Morehouse, and Wallace Wihongi.¹⁵¹

In Australia, it only seemed natural to hire local men to assist in the work, especially given the vast distances covered by each supervisor. Derek Edwards, already serving as an early morning teacher was the first local hired as a full-time employee.¹⁵² Miriam Adair, the spouse of an American supervisor in Melbourne, Australia, pointed out some of the benefits of having an individual from the country supervising the work. “They would say, ‘No, in Australia, we don’t do that program. That’s an American program.’ If there was something that the Church recommended, and they didn’t particularly like to do it, they would blame it on the fact that it was American . . . I think that was one advantage of an Australian taking over Mervin [Adair]’s job. They couldn’t play those kind of games, saying, ‘Oh, we don’t do that; that’s an American program.’”¹⁵³

In Britain, David Cook, a young teacher in the regular school system, was selected to serve as the first full-time employee of Church education from the British Isles. Jess Christensen later commented that hiring Cook was “was really a good move because he has been excellent and scholarly.”¹⁵⁴ In all three countries, the advantages of having local personnel administer the programs began to become clear, though no official word from the Church Board of Education on this new direction in policy came until later. These early steps in locating capable individuals native to the country laid the foundations in moving Church educational efforts from an “international” American-led venture to a system fitting more closely to the “global’ model discussed earlier in this study, a system transcending national boundaries. These changes occurred fairly organically, growing naturally out of the high degree of involvement required of the local membership in the Seminary and Institute programs. As the advantages of hiring indigenous personnel to operate the

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 6.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 6-7.

¹⁵² Walters, *The Church Educational System in Australia*, 32.

¹⁵³ Mervin and Miriam Adair Oral History, 72.

¹⁵⁴ Jess Christensen Oral History, 79.

programs became evident, the hiring of local members became a key policy in the establishment of global education programs. These changes came under the leadership team placed in charge of Church education in 1970, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusions

By the end of the 1969–1970 school year, the Seminary and Institute programs continued to spread rapidly in England, Australia, and New Zealand. In the short space of just two years, the programs made substantial gains, establishing a foundation for further growth. It would be several more years before the full impact of the programs could be felt, but the early results were encouraging. The program continued to receive strong support from Church leadership. John Madsen recalled an Area Conference held in Great Britain attended by several General Authorities, among them Joseph Fielding Smith, Marion G. Romney, Harold B. Lee, and Boyd K. Packer. During a break between sessions, Harold B. Lee remarked at an informal gathering, “The most significant development in the Church in the British Isles during the last several years is the introduction of the Home Study Seminary Program, because more young people are studying the scriptures daily than ever before.”¹⁵⁵

A fair number of challenges existed, but the progress made encouraged Church leaders to begin the next phase of expansion, looking at taking the program into non-English speaking areas. Plans were made to have the program introduced into Central and South America, along with Continental Europe. A myriad of new challenges would spring from this effort, particularly relating to the translation and adaptation of curriculum, but the early success of the program in English speaking countries provided encouragement of the adaptability of the S&I programs to different cultures and nations. While these plans moved forward, several major events occurred, leading to another seismic shift in the direction of the Church’s educational programs.

¹⁵⁵ Madsen, *A Brief Account of the Introduction of the Church Education Program in Great Britain*, 13. See also, Madsen Oral History, 90-92.

CHAPTER SIX

A NEW TEAM AND NEW DIRECTIONS

New Leadership Under Neal A. Maxwell

While the international programs of Seminary, Institute, and the Church schools continued to expand, several major events occurred at Church headquarters, radically altering the direction of Church education. The year 1970 was a watershed in a number of ways for Church educational policy. Perhaps the single most important event was the passing of Church president David O. McKay, whose vision drove Church educational programs for over half a century. As the leader of the Church, McKay poured extensive Church resources into education, both in the United States and abroad. The massive international expansion of the Church during McKay's administration necessitated a fresh examination of every Church program, particularly Church education. When Joseph Fielding Smith became the new Church president, he appointed his first counselor, Harold B. Lee, to undertake a complete reexamination of all the Church programs. As part of this effort, during the first year of Joseph Fielding Smith's presidency a major restructuring of the Church's educational program took place.¹

During 1970 three of the major architects of Church educational programs during the two previous decades retired from the system. Ernest Wilkinson, head of the Unified Church school system and president of BYU for most of the McKay administration, was seventy-one years old and suffering from declining health. Feeling the winds of change, he chose to resign in June

¹ Bruce C. Hafen, *A Disciple's Life: The Biography of Neal A. Maxwell*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 2002),

1970.² Harvey Taylor, who served as Chancellor of Unified Church school system since Wilkinson's senate run in 1964, likewise retired the same year. Finally, William E. Berrett left the left as head of the Seminary and Institute programs.³

Following the recommendation of the J. Elliot Cameron's study,⁴ Church leaders appointed a Church Commissioner of Education to serve as a director over the entire Church educational system, but did not follow the report's counsel that the commissioner should be chosen from among the General Authorities of the Church.⁵ Instead, the man chosen for the post was Neal A. Maxwell, who was then serving as vice president of the University of Utah. Maxwell was well known among Church leadership, serving in a number of ecclesiastical positions and on a number of Church committees, including the Adult Correlation Committee, headed by Harold B. Lee.⁶ Still, his selection was a surprise to some. Only a few months prior to Maxwell's appointment, Ernest Wilkinson submitted a memo to the Church Board of Education, rejecting Maxwell because of his limited experience in Church education, lack of a PhD, and because, in Wilkinson's words, Maxwell's "reputation is that of being a Liberal in politics."⁷

²Woodruff J. Deem & Glenn V. Bird, *Ernest L. Wilkinson: Indian Advocate and University President*, (Privately Published, 1982), 501.

³None of the three administrators made any statements to the effect that they were forced out of office. All three were assigned to collect and write the history of the respective organizations they headed, resulting in an abundant harvest of Church educational history. Wilkinson headed a project to write the history of BYU, eventually producing a one volume history, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press), 1976, and the four volume *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, (Provo: Brigham Young University Press), 1977. Harvey Taylor wrote *The Story of LDS Church Schools*, (Unpublished history), 1971, and William E. Berrett authored *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, (Salt Lake: Salt Lake Printing Center), 1988.

⁴J. Elliot Cameron, *Survey of Basic Educational Needs of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, (unpublished), 1966, 1005-1006.

⁵Ibid., 1006.

⁶Hafen, 318-330.

⁷Ernest L. Wilkinson to David O. McKay, Sept. 8, 1969, Wilkinson Papers, UA 1000, Box 271, Fd. 3, Special Collections, BYU. Wilkinson instead favored the appointment of Howard W. Hunter as Church Commissioner of Education because of his position as a member of the Twelve and Hunter's "kind, sweet spirit." In

Notwithstanding Wilkinson's assessment, Maxwell's position as an outsider made him an attractive candidate to head the system. Maxwell recalled the directives from the First Presidency and their reasoning behind his appointment:

The reestablishment of the commissioner was not only after a long interval, but it was different in the sense that for the first time, the commissioner would actually be over BYU's president and all other parts of the system rather than having someone as a BYU president who was also supposed to watch over seminaries and institutes . . . I needed to clarify whether I would have an office here at headquarters, or if they expected me to be at BYU. They said, "No, at headquarters." Secondly, I tried to make sure what the role of commissioner entailed. They made it clear that I was to be commissioner of the whole system.⁸

The location of Maxwell's office in the new Church office building in Salt Lake City symbolically separated the Commissioner's office from any Church educational entity. Similarly, the offices of Seminaries, Institutes, and Church K-12 schools moved from their headquarters on BYU campus to Church headquarters, indicating their status as separate entities within the Church Educational System, rather than subsidiaries of BYU.

Maxwell's Team

Maxwell appointed three Associate Commissioners to serve under his charge. Kenneth H. Beesley was appointed as commissioner over Church schools and colleges, Joe J. Christensen as head of religious education, and Dee F. Anderson over finances. Maxwell was given a large amount of freedom to choose his staff. He even recalled Joe J. Christensen from an assignment

his memo Wilkinson wrote of Hunter, "I think he enjoys as much respect as any man in the Council. From time to time they criticize each other. I have never heard them criticize Brother Hunter." The memo also demonstrates that as late as 1969, Wilkinson had still not given up on the junior college proposal and favored Hunter because of his support of it. He continued to McKay, "If the Church gets itself into a position where it can financially afford it, he [Hunter] would favor, as you have favored, having some junior colleges in the Church." Wilkinson also indicated if Hunter was appointed he would be willing to stay on at BYU, indicating that Maxwell's appointment may have played a significant role in his decision to resign.

⁸ Neal A. Maxwell Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, March 3, 1992, copy in author's possession, 1, 14.

as mission president in Mexico City that Christensen had started only two months before.⁹ Maxwell in effect carried out a clean sweep of leadership positions in Church education, appointing Dallin H. Oaks as president of BYU, Henry B. Eyring as president of Ricks College, Steven Brower as the head of the Church College of Hawaii, and Rex E. Lee as the first dean of the BYU Law School.¹⁰

The new structure also elevated the status of each position. Joe J. Christensen remembered:

I was to be not only the administrator of the seminaries and institutes of religion, but was also to be a member of the Commissioner's staff, in contrast to the organizational structure before, which had the administrator of seminaries and institutes responsible to Harvey Taylor, who in turn had been responsible to Ernest L. Wilkinson during the days when he was chancellor. It put the administrator of seminaries and institutes of religion in effect just one step removed from the Commissioner and also just one step removed from the Board of Education.... In a way, religious education in terms of seminary and institute administration became a lot more visible at the Board level at that time.¹¹

Every organization leader of Maxwell's staff enjoyed similar access to the Church Board, and the new system produced a greater sense of cooperation between the different entities. Maxwell recalled, "We had a regular staff meeting every week where Dallin Oaks, as busy as he was, came up and sat with Joe Christensen and Ken Beesley. He heard Joe and Ken's problems and they heard his. In fact, we even sent Dallin Oaks down to the Pacific to see our schools and seminaries and institutes. So we were a team. If Dallin had a heavy item and needed extra time, Joe Christensen would hold back, or vice versa."¹²

⁹ Joe J. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by David J. Whitaker, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1977, OH 319, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

¹⁰ Hafen, 352-352.

¹¹ Christensen 1977 Oral History, 9.

¹² Maxwell Oral History, 16.

Maxwell and the Modern Church Educational System

Maxwell changed the organizational structure from BYU's acting as a parent institution to the other entities in Church education to a cooperative of institutions, each one given equal representation to the Church Board. Boyd K. Packer commented that Maxwell brought the separate entities "together in a way that somebody from BYU might not have been able to do.... This is a big Church and BYU may be the flagship, but it isn't the only ship in the armada. He could see the other ships, even the rowboats."¹³ Shortly after Maxwell's appointment, he received approval for a new organization called the Church Educational System (CES), bringing together under one umbrella all of the separate educational ventures of the Church. Maxwell himself compared the task of creating the CES to drafting the American Constitution from the Articles of Confederation. Jeffrey R. Holland, Maxwell's eventual successor as commissioner, gave Maxwell full credit for the move. "Neal created this new world and a new logo, new offices, and new appointments. He legitimized [CES] in a new way, and it's been that way ever since."¹⁴

Clarification of Educational Policy

With a new organizational structure and a new team in place, the next major task came in clarifying and creating a new set of policies to govern the burgeoning worldwide Church Educational System. However, the new administration immediately inherited some of the lingering issues in Church educational policy. Maxwell recalled:

A lot of ferment existed. Illustrative of that would be the fact that I had come on duty August 1, and within several days a delegation from Southern California had come to President Tanner, saying they had located a large establishment, some kind of space industry plant in Southern California, in which they wanted a branch of BYU. They felt that if they could get this physical facility given to the Church, the Church could come in and do a BYU. I told them, I'm sure to their disappointment, although they were good soldiers, that I didn't see our expanding BYU. Our

¹³ Quoted in Hafen, 351.

¹⁴ Ibid.

emphasis instead would be on seminaries and institutes. Whatever the disappointment, they took it.¹⁵

Dee Anderson, one of Maxwell's associate commissioners, remembered similar confusion over the Church's educational policies, particularly concerning Church schools. He recalls, "The governing body, the Church Board of Education, was not really able to always tell what was going on. So we had schools in Mexico, we had a high school in Chile, we had a school in La Paz, Bolivia, we had an extensive school system in Samoa, a more extensive school system in Tonga, we had the Church college in New Zealand, we had a little school in Fiji.... And it went like that pretty well all over the world. It was nobody's fault, just a lack of an organization to control a great desire of the saints. They were pushing education in every way."¹⁶

Worldwide Expansion of Religious Education.

Maxwell wanted the Church Board of education to determine a clear set of policies governing the worldwide expansion of Church educational programs, particularly concerning Church schools. He and his staff began presenting a series of discussion papers, affectionately termed "white papers," to allow the members of the board to express their feelings fully and determine policy. Dee Anderson described the process:

Neal wanted to make sure that the First Presidency and Twelve had a sense of what their combined philosophy was. They knew, individually, how they felt. So we would get together as Associate Commissioners and prepare "white papers" on any given subject they wanted to come up. Then we'd meet with selected brethren in the Lion House for lunch, and review these papers and listen to them, just listen and see how they felt. We would generally coalesce until we had what we thought was a feeling—we went on feelings, not on facts—what was the feeling of the prophets, seers, and revelators relative to this point.¹⁷

¹⁵ Maxwell 1991 Oral History, 2.

¹⁶ Dee F. Andersen Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, September 20, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 3, 10.

¹⁷ Dee Anderson Oral History, 11-12.

The discussions began to bear fruit as a clearer set of policies to govern the worldwide system began to emerge. One of the first policies determined by the Board was that religious education would receive priority over secular ventures. Maxwell elaborated, “I and the associate commissioners of education drafted a position paper which was approved by the Board of Trustees and Board of Education which said the priority would fall on the seminaries and institutes and religious education. We didn't contemplate major expansion of either higher education or church schools.... We felt that seminaries and institutes could follow the Church wherever it went, whereas you couldn't fund additional schools and universities and colleges.”¹⁸

Focus on Religious Education

Only a few months after the arrival of Maxwell and his staff, the Church board made the decision that the Seminary and Institute programs would follow the membership of the Church throughout the world. The move effectively opened the door from the initial expansion into English speaking nations, to every country with a Church presence.¹⁹ To cope more effectively with its new worldwide mission, the administrative staff of the S&I programs underwent an extensive reorganization. Three assistant administrators were given geographical stewardship, one over Europe and South Africa, another over Asia and the Pacific, and another over Latin America.²⁰ Later designated as “zone administrators,” these officials were based in Salt Lake City, but traveled frequently to provide guidance and training. The new directive required an extensive increase in the number of support personnel. Frank Day, one of Berrett's supervisors who remained after the change and became a Zone Administrator, recalled the new expansion “required broadening the administrative structure to include some very qualified staff positions such as curriculum, finance,

¹⁸ Maxwell 1991 Oral History, 3.

¹⁹ Joe J. Christensen 1977 Oral History, 10.

²⁰ Frank Day Oral History, Interviewed by David J. Whittaker, 1977, OH 366, Church History Library, 16. The first administrators appointed over each area were Franklin D. Day over Asia and the Pacific, Dan Workman over Europe and South Africa, and Frank Bradshaw over Latin America. See Frank Bradshaw Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 22, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 58-59.

personnel, research and development, and so forth.”²¹ In a short time what Boyd K. Packer affectionately referred to as “mom and pop operation”²² under William E. Berrett, became an elaborate but tightly knit organization with a global outreach.

New Policies for Church K–12 Schools

The Board’s discussions also took a hard look at the policies surrounding the creation and governance of Church schools, particularly K-12 programs. Kenneth H. Beesley, the associate commissioner over Church schools, described the evolution of this process in regard to the schools in Mexico, the most extensive K–12 system in the Church at that time:

When the Church schools first went in to Mexico, the main concern there was to provide an atmosphere for the Saints where young testimonies could be nurtured, and where some examples of worthy teachers could be prevalent in a country where principles were not always consistent with Church principles. Every time they found seventy members of the Church in a given area they would start a school, even though some of those children might already be in a public school. In the first years of development of Church education in Mexico they encouraged members to take their children out of public schools and put them into Church schools.²³

As discussed earlier, these policies brought about the creation of an extensive school system in Mexico and led to the creation of the schools in Chile. In the Pacific, Church missions had existed almost from the beginning of Church efforts in the region, but the direction taken by the Church during David O. McKay’s administration led to dramatic improvements in the facilities and staff in the Pacific schools. The Latter-day Saint K–12 systems built during the 1950s and 60s were popular among the Church membership in their respective nations, but many Church leaders began to question the feasibility of maintaining such system, especially with the burden of bringing educational programs to the rest of the world. There also remained a lingering question of equity.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²² Boyd K. Packer Oral History, Interviewed by Leland H. Gentry, January 17, 1992, Central Office Interviews, CR 102 157, Box 2, Fd. 31, Church History Library, 8.

²³ Kenneth H. Beesley Oral History, Interviewed by David J. Whittaker, 1977, OH 304, Church History Library, 3.

If the Church couldn't afford to build schools everywhere, should it operate schools at all? Beesley remembered Harold B. Lee specifically focusing on the problem after the 1970 reorganization:

President Lee saw very clearly that it would be impossible for us to provide a duplicate parochial school system for the members of the Church. He stressed that on many occasions. I can recall in several Board meetings when consideration was being given to new schools or to expansion into the secondary program that he would almost stop the meeting and lecture the Board and the Commissioner's staff on this very matter, indicating that the Church ought to do what it can uniquely do – that is, religious education – and leave to the secular governments the responsibility of secular education and that we needed to complement and supplement but not supplant what they were able to offer.²⁴

To obtain better governance over the system, two more Zone Administrators were added to the staff, one with responsibility over Church schools in Latin America, and the other over Church schools in the Pacific. Benjamin Martinez, a former political science professor at BYU with expertise in Latin America, took over as the head of schools in Latin America, while Alton F. Wade, a former principal of the Church College of New Zealand, took over as head of the Pacific schools.²⁵

“Nativization” of Church Educational Personnel

Another far-reaching policy development during the early years of Maxwell's administration came in the decision to develop local leadership, particularly in Church schools. In Mexico and Chile, the language barrier meant the majority of the school staff, by necessity, was drawn from the local membership, but in Pacific, school faculties were largely Americans recruited to leave home and run the schools. Maxwell commented on the problems this system created as he traveled to familiarize himself with the system. “I recall coming back after being with Keith Oakes after looking at our schools in the Pacific. They were good schools, but they had not been looked at

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Frank Bradshaw Oral History, 58-59.

or evaluated for quite a while. Here, in some cases, would sit the superintendent's beautiful luxurious home on top of a hill near the school. Good superintendents, good families. But was that the signal we wanted of the American on top of the hill? Shouldn't we begin to bring in system administrators out of those various cultures?"²⁶

Another problem stemmed from the salaries paid to the American personnel to entice them to travel to the Pacific. Locals hired to work in the schools were paid the same salaries as the Americans, a move designed to create equity. Instead the move created disharmony among the native membership of the Church because the salaries paid to the local members in the schools were seen as extravagant by local standards. Dee Anderson described some of the problems resulting from this policy:

They were automatically giving budget increases to the schools. Well, we'll get a 5% increase this year, we'll pass it on to Tonga; we'll pass it onto Samoa. They just passed the increases on. The result of that, one example of what that resulted in was we had a letter, shortly after we were in office, from the king of Tonga, the minister and the king, who indicated that we were causing problems in his kingdom by paying our teachers far in excess above what anybody else could make in education in that country. I was assigned to go down and check it out and it was true. We just automatically passed the money through.²⁷

American leadership of the schools also resulted in some curricular problems. Maxwell recalled one particular problem: "The curriculum had not been examined.... In one of those schools, we were giving a class in agriculture and it was the wrong agriculture for that island. But we went on teaching it."²⁸ Moving to replace American personnel with local leadership, Maxwell's team suggested, could remove some of the financial and cultural problems facing the program.

Maxwell and his team closely examined every aspect of the Church educational program, and then allowed the Board to discuss and determine a clear policy. The discussions resulted in

²⁶ Maxwell 1991 Oral History, 9.

²⁷ Dee F. Anderson Oral History, 6-7.

²⁸ Maxwell 1991 Oral History, 9-10.

several crucial shifts in Church educational policy and the establishment of a clear set of goals and policies to govern a global system of education. By 1971, the Commissioner's office produced a document clearly outlining the governance of the system.

Announcement of New Policy

Entitled "Seek Learning Even by Study and Faith," the Commissioner's Report for 1971 based the educational program of the Church on three policies:

1. Literacy and basic education are gospel needs.
2. Church programs will not duplicate otherwise available opportunities especially in higher education.
3. Ultimately all high school and college-age Latter-day Saints should have access to weekday religious education, in tandem with secular education.²⁹

Accompanying these three policies, the document included six specific goals for the CES to assist local members to:

1. Develop firm testimonies of the divinity of Jesus Christ and His restored Gospel.
2. Develop local Church leadership.
3. Develop parental effectiveness and stability in the home.
4. Develop community leadership.
5. Develop job competence, work skills, and industriousness in members.
6. Develop self-esteem, creativity and the ability to solve problems effectively.³⁰

²⁹ *Seek Learning Even by Study and Faith: Report for 1971 from Commissioner of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, M260 S451 1971, Church History Library, 1.

³⁰Ibid.

Following the stated goals of the system, the document included a more specific set of policies relating to the worldwide system:

- Religious education is to have primary emphasis in the future expansion of the Church Educational System.
- No additional universities or colleges are presently planned . . . New elementary and secondary schools will be developed only in areas not adequately served by existing school systems. . . The general policy for governing the Church Educational System rests on the assumption that non-religious education is usually provided by the state. Since members contribute taxes to support their local, state, and national governments around the world, they are entitled to and should participate fully in those systems of education. However, where other educational systems are non-existent, seriously deficient or inaccessible to our members, the Church may elect to provide basic education for its members under carefully established criteria.
- Volunteerism – The development of qualified individuals who can assist on a Church-service basis – is to have a high priority. While in most instances the Church Educational System is presently staffed by professionals, there is a need to capitalize on the genius of volunteerism wherever possible and appropriate.
- The wise but rapid development of indigenous leadership is vital in all countries and cultures, especially as it relates to religious instruction throughout the Church Educational System.
- Educational programs, including facilities and furnishings, are to be developed in relationship to local conditions.
- The Church Educational System is to be sufficiently flexible so that where unique conditions or opportunities so exist, it will be able to respond appropriately.³¹

The document received approval from the Board, and was printed as a brochure to familiarize interested persons in and out of the Church with a clear picture of the direction of Church educational programs.³²

The policies laid out by Maxwell's team during 1970–71 provided a solid foundation for the expansion and creation of a global system of education, but also raised some interesting questions.

Religious education was clearly given primacy in all future developments, but what about the fate of

³¹ Ibid., 2-3. It should be noted that this is not a complete list of the guidelines listed in the document, only those most pertinent to this study. The document included fifteen separate guidelines.

³² Kenneth H. Beesley 1977 Oral History, 12.

the already existing Church K–12 schools, particularly those existing in nations with adequate state-sponsored educational programs? While the 1971 document answered some critical questions about the direction of global Mormon education, its directives also demanded major sacrifices, and presented some daunting challenges. As the system expanded throughout the world, its development began to reflect the effects of these new policies as the blueprint for a truly global educational system.

Global Expansion of the Seminary & Institute Programs

Following the Church board’s injunction to take religious education to the rest of the world presented huge challenges. While it was true that the programs already existed in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, each of those countries were English-speaking, open societies, with stable political environments. What would happen when educational programs spread to areas with other languages, and more challenging socio-political environments?

Going Global: The First Efforts in Non-English Speaking Nations

Even before Maxwell’s administration took over, the Seminary & Institute administration launched an preliminary effort to bring religious education programs to non-English speaking countries. During the summer of 1970, four men were selected for the next wave. Robert Arnold was selected to go to Guatemala, Richard Smith to Argentina, and David A. Christensen to Brazil. In Europe, James R. Christianson, an American coordinating S&I programs in England, was sent to Germany. The instructions given to the men reflect more the enthusiasm to get the programs started than any specifics about how to carry out their assignment. Arnold recalled his instructions before leaving:

I was a little nervous about our assignment and felt I needed some orientation. I called William E. Berrett and made an appointment and drove clear down to Provo to the administration building on BYU campus, and sat out in the hall, nervous about meeting President Berrett. I went in and sat down and I said, "Hello, I'm Bob Arnold and I have been asked to go to Guatemala and I was just wondering if you could give me some instructions as to what you want us to do?" He said, "Well, go down and start seminary, and use the Book of Mormon, of course." I said, "Well, what should we do about all of the things that we need?" And he said, "Well, just go down and do what needs to be done. We won't leave you stranded." And that was the end of the interview. *That was the total orientation I had about Latin American seminary.*³³

Like their predecessors in the English-speaking countries, the arriving men depended largely upon the support of the local members, particularly the mission president in each area. Arnold, Smith, and Christiansen all arrived and were warmly welcomed into waiting accommodations by the local leadership. David A. Christensen's experience in Brazil, however, illustrated how daunting the arrival process could be, nearly resulting in disaster.

Illustrating the Challenges of a Global System: David A. Christensen

David A. Christensen arrived in Brazil with his wife and three young children. He contacted the local mission president, expecting to find accommodations in the mission home until he could locate proper housing for his family. Not wishing to inconvenience the mission president, he offered to take his family to a hotel if it was more convenient. The mission president told him it would be, and the Christensen family traveled to a nearby hotel, wondering how long their funds would allow them to stay. The hotel charged \$65–70 a day, and Christensen only had \$900 in his possession. He recalled his feelings as he woke up the next day:

We went to sleep, and then the next day we asked ourselves, "What do I do? Where do we eat? How do I get a place to live? What am I doing here? What

³³ Robert and Gwenda Arnold Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 2, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 6-7, emphasis added.

am I doing here with my kids?" You prepare the way. You get the apartment. And I thought, "What am I doing?" And we had to have breakfast. "What's breakfast for a baby in Brazil?" ... It was a mess. It was a disaster because Michael had had chicken pox just before we left, and Julie and Kerry then got them upon our arrival in Brazil. After several days I would take my family to the mission home. They allowed them to stay in the mission home while I ran out and tried to find a place to live. Finally, I was out of money, after several days. I had been in the hotel for about six days. With the food, that was about half of my money gone. I had to get into an apartment, and I was so confused.³⁴

The Christensens finally received assistance from another Church official who took them into his home. Shortly after the Christensen's infant son, Kerry, contracted a severe fever. Unaware of how to get medical help, the Christensen's attempted to cool their son's temperature. After three or four days his temperature went down. They later discovered their son suffered brain damage during his illness.³⁵

Christensen relocated his family to a small apartment with only a mattress for furniture.

Frustrated and furious, he finally called Joe J. Christensen, now the head of the Seminary & Institute program, and demanded more funds:

I called Joe Christensen and I said, "Joe, this is David." I was not even friends. I said, "Joe, I want you to take two thousand dollars. I don't care where you get it from, but get two thousand dollars and, please, walk over across the street and deposit it in my account in Brazil." I said, "We do not have a bed. We don't have a chair. We do not have food. We do not have anything. I cannot, we cannot." And he said, "Do you want to put your wife on the plane? If you want, we will telex a ticket." I said, "Joe, it is too late for that." I said, "Just a minute. Pat do you want to go home?" And she said, "Now, after all we have been through? No, we're not going anywhere." I said, "No, she doesn't want to come home. Put the money in the bank, Joe." And Joe, bless his heart, walked across the street, and put two thousand bucks in, and it came like that. Then I couldn't get credit. I went down to the stores, but they wouldn't give me credit. I was an American.³⁶

16. ³⁴ David A. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, manuscript in author's possession,

³⁵ Ibid., 18-21.

³⁶ Ibid., 25-26.

With the wired funds David Christensen was able to provide for his family, though his youngest son never fully recovered from their experience in Brazil.

Reflecting on the experience years later, Christensen expressed no regrets over the experience but did feel better preparation might have spared his family the suffering it endured. He commented, “As I look back on it now, the absolute ignorance that CES had concerning the international movement is amazing. It’s wonderful to say that we have the seminaries in Brazil and Central America and Africa and Europe, but they were not prepared, not even close. They put us on a plane and sent us down to people who didn’t want us.”³⁷ The harrowing experience of the Christensen family reflected the incredibly complex number of variables in launching the international venture. Part of the Christensen’s experience might be accounted to the confusion resulting from the change in leadership to the Maxwell administration. It also marked the difficulties in functioning inside a country with a less developed Church support system. Nevertheless, once the situation stabilized, the program grew rapidly under David Christensen’s leadership. Evaluating the experience he continued, “Despite our unpreparedness, there was no lack of preparation on the Lord’s part. Sure, there was great sacrifice made and a lot of frustration, but to watch the hand of the Lord in that work and to see the people that were already prepared before I ever arrived in the zone to assume responsibility and control for the program was awesome.”³⁸

Translating & Transculturizing Curriculum for Different Cultures

Among the administration in Salt Lake City, the largest concern with globalization was the translation of materials. Joe J. Christensen later noted the initiative to launch the Seminary

³⁷ Ibid., 70.

³⁸ Ibid., 72.

&Institute programs internationally was “an easier thing to say than to do, because we literally had people that were, in effect, on the beach establishing the seminary and institute program without the curricular ammunition. We were frantically working on translation and reproduction in almost any way: mimeographs, ditto machines, etc. We did all we could to get the materials into the hands of these CES brethren who were out on those beaches at first. They were getting it almost on a month-to-month basis, if not week-to-week, to pass out to their students.”³⁹ Another administrator, Dan Workman, highlighted the challenges in getting materials to the teachers in the field:

The major challenge was not finding people but getting material translated. It was finding the appropriate translators. The translation department wasn't geared to take care of our material. They were developing home study material and sending it out on the bus in English, and then when you tried to set up a local language program, that was the biggest challenge. The greatest challenge was in Europe as far as translation was concerned because we had to have several different languages all at the same time. One of the things that created the challenge was the success they were having in English areas, in England and South Africa and everywhere else. The priesthood leaders really wanted to have seminary. When they came to conference, they would hear all these reports about home study seminary and what it was doing for the youth.⁴⁰

For the teachers sent out to launch the programs, getting properly translated materials slowed down the otherwise rapid growth. In Argentina and Uruguay, Richard Smith recalled, “We had nothing translated, and this was getting into September, October, and we were to start in January. Nothing had been translated or printed, so it was ultimately a crash program to translate the very essentials and print them locally the first year. There were relatively few illustrations. There

³⁹ Joe J. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, April 13, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 7-8.

⁴⁰ Dan Workman Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 27, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 8.

were no games, no real enrichment material that the kids would enjoy, so that first year was a pretty skeletal curriculum.”⁴¹

In Europe, James Christianson was more concerned about the trans-culturization of materials than the translation. He worried over the “Americanness” of the materials, saying, “We usually think of England as being a close ally of the United States, and because we both speak English, we think that there ought to be no problems of communication. And yet the English have been most vocal in their rejection of our materials because of the Americanisms that are in them... They’re excited about seminary and their excited about learning the gospel, but they just reject those things that are typically American.”⁴² Speaking of his experience in Germany, he noted, “When we show them a filmstrip or when we present the materials that talk about American things such as a baseball game, or a football game, or basketball game, or cheerleaders, or going to drive-in movies, the refuse to work it in because they say, ‘We can’t understand this, we don’t have anything to refer to’.... It’s the Americanisms that they tend to reject.”⁴³

Dealing with Political Instability

In Guatemala, the biggest challenge faced by Robert Arnold stemmed from the region’s political instability. Unrest within the country brought government-enforced curfews and a constant military presence within the cities where the seminary program operated. Troops often conducted searches on homes to search for signs of insurgency. Arnold recalled one experience where he came face to face with the local military:

⁴¹ Richard and Pamela Smith Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, July 8, 1991, manuscript in author’s possession, 28

⁴² James R. and Helen Christianson Oral History, Interviewed by Douglas F. Tobler, 1974, OH 1386, Church History Library, 14.

⁴³ Ibid.

One day I was at home and I looked out and the soldiers were coming down our street, searching door to door and I had all this equipment, typewriter, overhead projector, and ditto machines so that I could reproduce things and that's exactly what they were looking for, anti-government propaganda. When they knocked on our door, the sergeant came and asked us what we were doing there. I told him that we were working for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, that I was working with the youth in an educational program. When I said that we were Mormons, he said, "You're Mormons? I have a niece who is a Mormon."⁴⁴

Already familiar with Church programs and aims, the soldier made a perfunctory search and left. However, because of the dangers associated with travel within the country, Arnold was allowed to switch his entire student population to the home study program, rather than risking his students having to travel to early morning classes.⁴⁵ Likewise, in Brazil, David Christensen moved his entire program to home study because of the expenses of traveling to early morning classes.⁴⁶

Adapting to Global Circumstances

These early experiences helped administrators at Church headquarters develop guidelines for the personnel sent out to start Seminary & Institute programs. Joe J. Christensen later described the instructions:

From the standpoint of moving these educational programs throughout the world within a three year period, three very important guidelines or objectives were given to these first brethren assigned as CES pioneers in non-English speaking areas: (1) Develop a positive working relationship with priesthood leaders. (2) Start the home-study seminary program, enrolling interested secondary *and* college age students. (3) Find and train a person who could provide local native leadership, thus removing the necessity of exporting others from the United States.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Robert and Gwenda Arnold Oral History, 12.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁶ David Christensen Oral History,

⁴⁷ Joe J. Christensen, "Globalization of the Church Educational System," in *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century*, ed. Reid L. Neilson, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center), 2008, 191, emphasis in original.

The guidelines demonstrate several important shifts in the way Church educational programs functioned outside the United States. First, unlike the earlier assignments in England, Australia, and New Zealand, the assignments were not open ended, but carried a three-year limit. In addition, the new guidelines emphasized the development of local leadership, as opposed to a continuous influx of expatriates from the United States to run the programs. One of the strengths of the Seminary & Institute programs came through reliance on native teachers and leaders for their success. Even in the infant stages of the programs, only one American provided supervision and guidance, while the supervisors, teachers, and directors all came from local populations. S&I programs soon became a boon in developing indigenous leadership within the Church.

Finding Native Teachers

As the American personnel carried out their search for replacements among the local population, they often drew some of the finest from among the local populations to fill their positions. In Guatemala, Robert Arnold was called as a mission president and replaced by a Mexican expatriate, Victor Cerda. Soon after Cerda recruited a young architect named Carlos Amado for his replacement. Bruce Lake, one of the Zone Administrators at the time, recalled meeting Amado in the airport for a hiring interview. “I spent about two hours in Guatemala City at the airport interviewing Carlos Amado. Well, that was a great decision. We ultimately hired Carlos to replace Gilberto. The work that Carlos Amado has done as a Church leader, CES man, and Church leader has just been outstanding. From that point on he became a bishop. He

became stake president. He became a mission president serving for four years. He then became a Regional Representative and a year ago he was called as a General Authority.”⁴⁸

Like Amado, many General Authorities from outside the United States were called from the ranks of Church educational programs. Two current members of the Presidency of the Seventy, Claudio R.M. Costa of Brazil and Walter F. Gonzalez of Uruguay, have backgrounds in Church education. As of 2010, at least five more General Authorities from outside the United States served in Church educational programs in their homelands.⁴⁹ Outside of the General Authorities, a great number of professional CES men in each country were called as bishops and stake presidents or placed in other significant Church leadership positions.

When asked to address the high number of CES personnel called into ecclesiastical leadership, Neal A. Maxwell commented, “We found able local leaders for seminaries and institutes. Then as the Church matured, the Brethren would come in and call them as the stake presidents. I finally ended up with some criticism. ‘How come our CES men end up as the stake presidents?’ I said, ‘Brethren, we were there first. We didn't come along and pick stake presidents. You picked seminary and institute people as stake presidents.’ But there was a little concern with co-identity.”⁵⁰

Maintaining Separation between Professionals and the Lay Leadership

In a church led by part-time, layman leaders, the local personnel immersed themselves in Church matters without violating Church provisions on professional clergy. In some ways, CES

⁴⁸ Bruce Lake Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 1, 1991, transcript in author's possession, 9-10.

⁴⁹ The five are Carlos Amado (Guatemala), Benjamin De Hoyos (Mexico), Christoffel Golden Jr. (South Africa), Erich W. Kopschke (Germany), and Francisco J. Vinas (Spain). Information drawn from *2010 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake: Deseret News), 2010, 50-79.

⁵⁰ Maxwell 1991 Oral History, 11.

programs and other assignments in Church employment⁵¹ allowed the Church to have a quasi-professional clergy. Joe J. Christensen noted the sensitivity necessary in drawing clear lines between the role of a Church employee and an ecclesiastical leader: “There has been, and maybe still are, some concerns about the fact that we do have an organization in a lay church led by professional people--people who work full-time and who receive compensation for their services. We see in these international areas that so often the people who have been selected to serve in the seminaries and institutes are later called to very significant ecclesiastical positions. So that sensitive balance between professionalism and the ecclesiastical and lay nature of the Church needs to be monitored carefully.”⁵²

Measuring Global Impact

With new guidelines in place, programs grew and flourished in every country, in spite of the many challenges. By the end of 1972, thousands of students outside the United States were enrolled in Seminary and Institute programs. In Germany, James Christianson and his team enrolled over 1,500 students. In Brazil, working with local leaders, David Christensen enrolled over a thousand students.⁵³ Encouraging results prompted administrators to send teachers to launch programs in Chile, Peru, Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines.⁵⁴ By the end of the 1970s, CES programs existed in 66 countries and 16 different languages.⁵⁵ The program was remarkable for its reach and its adaptability. Joe J. Christensen commented, “We have been

⁵¹ Among the current General Authorities, those from areas outside the U.S. who served in Church employment, including temporal affairs and other positions, shows the powerful impact of having native Church employees in nations with developing Church populations. See *2010 Church Almanac*, 50-79.

⁵² Joe J. Christensen 1991 Oral History, 27-28.

⁵³ Jack E. Jarrard, “Church Education Around the World,” *Church News*, February 19, 1972. Exact figures from the article show 1,490 seminary and 90 institute students in Germany, 902 seminary and 101 institute students in Brazil, 812 seminary and 63 institute students in Guatemala, 131 seminary and 100 institute students in Uruguay, with 270 seminary and 303 institute students in Argentina.

⁵⁴ The teachers sent to these programs were Richard Brimhall (Chile), John Harris (Peru), Robert Stout (Japan), Alan Hassell (Taiwan), Steven Iba (Phillipines).

⁵⁵ Conversation with Joe J. Christensen, July 12, 2011, notes in author’s possession.

moving to the point that now every young person in the world, who is a member of the Church, can have access to one form or another of the Church Educational System. When you consider the home study materials, the early morning and released time seminary opportunities, now everyone in the world can say we have a weekday religious educational program that can adapt to their circumstances.”⁵⁶

This period significantly changed the fundamental nature of the expansion as well. The discussions in the early 1970s further shifted Church education from an “international” venture, largely supervised and carried out by Americans to creating a “global” entity spanning different nations and cultures. The growing global nature of the CES was reflected in the choice of personnel sent out to launch the venture. John Harris, the teacher selected to open the program in Peru, was of Chinese and Swiss ancestry, born in Chile, and grew up in Uruguay. He was called to serve a mission in Peru. Returning to Uruguay, he enrolled in the first Institute class⁵⁷ taught in South America, married, then traveled to the United States to attend Brigham Young University. As a student he took a position translating curriculum into Spanish and worked in translation until Commissioner Maxwell selected him open religious education programs in Peru. A convert to the Church, Harris was completely surprised by the call. He later noted

I had never gone to seminary - I had never taught seminary, I had never been in seminary except for one or two classes, but that didn't matter. We explained to them with a lot of enthusiasm and I had taught for many years so I knew how to teach. We called the teachers, we had the first meeting to train teachers at the Lima Tambo Chapel of the Lima Stake. It was in April, 1972. We may have had twenty or thirty teachers there that we were training on how to do scripture chase, showing them the materials. The seminaries had decided to start home-study. So that's how we did it.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Joe J. Christensen 1991 Oral History, 22.

⁵⁷ Though not officially affiliated with the Church Educational System, an Institute course for young adults began in the early 1960s under the leadership of a local stake president in Uruguay, Titio Rubio. See Joe J. Christensen 1977 Oral History, 11.

⁵⁸ John & Nydia Harris Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, December 9, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 6.

Harris' lack of experience was less important than his skill at cultural adaptation. With a capable and enthusiastic corps of teacher growing throughout the world, the Church Educational System began to broaden its reach and grow from an international to a truly global organization. The expansion didn't come without a cost, however, as resources were reallocated to meet the needs of a global m. Perhaps no other organization in the CES felt this impact as much as the international K–12 schools.

New Policy for Church K–12 Schools

The new policies initiated by the Church Board in the early 1970s drew a firm line against duplicating already existing educational systems. As discussed earlier, Harold B. Lee in particular felt strongly that Church efforts should complement and supplement but not compete with or supplant the efforts of local governments. There also existed a great need for better communication and assessment of the already existing schools. Arriving in his assignment Associate Commissioner over finance, Dee Anderson's assessment was that the schools "were independent of everything else."⁵⁹ The appointment of Benjamin Martinez over Latin American Schools and Alton Wade over the Pacific schools came about as part of an attempt to gain a great understanding of how the schools operated and if they were necessary.

Illustrating Changes in Church School Policy: Benjamin Martinez

Before Martinez began his tenure as the supervisor of all Latin American schools, he met with the Church Board of Education to determine the nature of his assignment. He later described their instructions to him:

⁵⁹ Dee Anderson Oral History, 3.

As I inquired as to what the major thrusts were in terms of administration of Church Schools at the time, I remember feelings that I had. It was very interesting, because what I heard was such a different kind of thrust from what I would have imagined most other educational systems would have been identifying as their thrust. Specifically, it was that these schools were originally established for purposes that perhaps needed to be investigated at the time, that they were established originally for reasons that perhaps no longer existed, and that one of my responsibilities was to explore and to determine whether those schools continued to meet Church Board of Education criteria for schools of the Church.⁶⁰

Martinez was asked to make a massive effort to answer the questions raised by the Board with empirical data. The new criteria given by the Board was that for a new school, there needed to be 150 LDS students, and locals schools providing education at least through sixth grade.⁶¹

Shortly after his acceptance of the assignment, he and his family rented a motor home and drove to every single LDS operated school in Mexico, even visiting sites purchased for future schools.⁶² He later related his astonishment at his findings and the Board's policy: "In all of the years that I was involved in those kinds of explorations and studies and surveys, I never found a single school in all of Mexico and in all of the South American countries that met the Board criteria, with one exception.... That was astounding to me, that all these schools existed and that the major criterion for their continued existence, as far as I understood Board policy, was not met."⁶³

Determining the Need for Schools

Martinez faced a difficult dilemma because almost no location fit the criteria given by the Board but members in nearly every country were clamoring for more education. He explained the difficult nature of his position:

⁶⁰ Benjamin I. Martinez Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1978, OH 570, Church History Library, 3.

⁶¹ Ibid., 3, 5.

⁶² Conversation with Benjamin and Meredith Martinez, February 14, 2011, notes in author's possession.

⁶³ Martinez 1978 Oral History, 3.

I don't believe there was ever a country I traveled in in which I had the opportunity to meet either directly or indirectly with local priesthood leaders what the question was not brought to my attention: "May we have Church schools in this country?" Or if there were already Church schools, "May we have additional Church schools?" I would then proceed to explain to them the Board policy, and they would say, "But how can that be? Is there any place that qualifies?" I said, "Well, that's sort of confidential information. I can't say. But if a city qualifies, then it qualifies." "Does Mexico qualify?" I would try to change the subject, because Mexico, accordant to these Board criteria, did not qualify.⁶⁴

On his first trip to South America, a mission president in Bolivia pleaded with Martinez for Church schools in the country. Martinez struggled with his feelings, but still worked to fill his role. "I felt strongly—and I didn't have to be instructed, because I felt it independently—that those schools were so institutionally and deep-rooted now, in most instances, that you could not effect a future kind of phase-out or closure without seriously affecting the morale of many faithful and important members of the Church in those countries where the schools were depended on now as institutions."⁶⁵

Closing Unneeded Schools in the Pacific. In the Pacific, similar assessments took place, and difficult decisions were made. On the whole the Pacific schools were a better fit for the Board's criteria, but exceptions existed. For example, in 1960 the Church constructed the Mapusaga high school in American Samoa because there was only one government high school on the island and Church leaders believed it was inadequate to meet the needs of the youth on the island. During the next fifteen years, four other high schools were constructed on the island. In 1974 the governor of American Samoa contacted the Church to ask if the facilities of Mapusaga high school could be turned over to the government for use as a community college. Negotiations continued for over a year, but with the strong backing of Harold B. Lee, the decision was made to sell the school to the government. Most of the school's employees

⁶⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 14.

remained with the school after the transfer, and arrangements were made to allow local congregations to continue holding church meetings within the buildings.⁶⁶ Two years later, Kenneth Beesley commented on the decision and its impact on the local Church membership, saying, “I think it was a good move. It was hard on the local priesthood when Elder [Marvin J.] Ashton and I went down to explain the decision of the board to the priesthood leaders. It was a very hard decision. But they sustained it. The Saints had some little murmuring at the time, but I think have since realized that it was a very good decision. The students who were in that school have now moved very easily into the public schools and have taken leadership positions. The seminary program is flourishing well there with students who are in the public schools.”⁶⁷

Opening New Schools in the Pacific. In other places throughout the Pacific, new schools were organized to meet the needs of Church members. During the 1970s, new elementary and secondary schools were built in Tonga and a technical college was established in Fiji. In 1976 a school even opened in Jakarta, Indonesia. The school in Jakarta illustrates some of the varied reasons for opening and maintaining schools. The Indonesian government refused to allow proselyting within the country and Church leaders began looking for another way to build relationships within the country. Investigating the issue further, Church leaders discovered that the mayor of West Jakarta received his Master’s degree at BYU. Though not a member of the Church, the mayor agreed to help and suggested the Church might gain more credibility with the government if it established a school. Encouraged, the Church went ahead with the school, though it didn’t comply with Board policy at the time. Ken Beesley reflected on the decision, “In terms of the technical requirements of the Board, we did not meet the criteria. Most of our children there could get into a public school or another private school. But because of the

⁶⁶ Kenneth Beesley 1977 Oral History, 5. See also R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 418-419.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

difficulties with the missionary work there it was decided that we would open an elementary school.”⁶⁸

Developing Local Leadership

Another major policy affecting the operation of Church schools, particularly in the Pacific, came in the Board’s emphasis on the development of local leadership. For years, American teachers rotated through the teaching positions within the schools, but in 1971, the decision was made to staff the schools entirely with native personnel. Phil Boren, an American expatriate, was teaching at the Church College of Western Samoa when the change took place. “Elder Packer and Elder Maxwell came through the islands and they made a statement and that is that indigenous personnel would be taking over from those who had come from the states. ‘It’s to be like a tidal wave sweeping the islands.’ We were to have indigenous personnel begin to be trained to take over.”⁶⁹ The change started gradually and accelerated as more qualified teachers were located. Boren continued, “We were on a three year contract, but after one and half years, this decree came, and the decree was to be implemented and begun immediately with the religion department. So we gathered six brethren, two to replace each of the ones of us that were religion teachers, and just to see if we could train them to take over the religion department. They did extremely well.”⁷⁰ Initially, finding qualified teachers to staff the schools was a concern, so the Church launched the International Teacher Education Program (ITEP), where visiting teams of

⁶⁸ Ibid., 7. See also R. Lanier Britsch, *From the East*, 501-502.

⁶⁹ Phil and Reesa Boren Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, Sept. 3, 2010, transcript in author’s possession, 23.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

educators from the United States gave training to local teachers. At the same time, locals in need of further training were sent to BYU-Hawaii to receive further training.⁷¹

CES leaders also moved to resolve the long-standing issues over salaries causing so much contention among the Saints in the Pacific. With the removal of most of the American teachers, one issue was resolved. It was simply not feasible to entice American educators to teach in the schools for local salaries and probably very few would have accepted such an offer unless it came as mission call. At the same time, paying the local teachers American salaries caused a financial disparity with their peers.⁷² With the phasing out of expatriate teachers underway, the Church Board next made the difficult decision to move to fix the salary issue. As Associate Commissioner for Finance, Dee Anderson took the lead in resolving the issue. He recalls

I went down and studied it out, talked to the people involved, looked at the schedules, and went back and made the recommendation to the brethren as follows. I said that it would be nigh impossible to take the money back from them, or to drop their salary levels. But with the Board's permission I'd like to go back down and have all the teachers in the meeting, tell them the situation, explain what we were doing there and what was happening and the feeling of the king and his minister, and suggest that their salaries be frozen until such a time as the local salaries caught up with them. And I made a trip down a few months later and did that, and the response was very good. It was one of the most spiritual meetings I've ever been in with the faculty at Tonga, who were great faculty. A lot of Tongans, some Americans. The Americans were paid well when the school was started, in the islands particularly; most of the faculty were from the Utah school system and California school system. We built homes for them, they were teaching the way they knew how to teach, in the English language, and it took a long time to get people through the system, through Church College of Hawaii, and back down to teach the people. That was one of the main goals that we set up, and finally got there. But we were talking to just a part of the faculty when we were talking to them, because the others were Americans and they were paid on a different salary schedule. It didn't matter, and they went home in the end.⁷³

⁷¹ Boren Oral History, 23. Roger G. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, September 1, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 11-12.

⁷² See R. Lanier Britsch, "Latter-day Saint Education in the Pacific Islands," in *New Views on Mormon History*, ed. Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, (Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1987), 204-205.

⁷³ Dee Anderson Oral History, 7.

At the time, the change was regarded as bitter medicine, but a necessary remedy to solve some of the issues plaguing the schools in the Pacific.

The 1970s were a tumultuous time for the international schools. The steps taken under Commissioner Maxwell moved the schools towards a stronger footing locally, but the new policies put in place by the Church Board such as the 150 student minimum and increased capacity by government schools also pointed in the direction of consolidation of school functions, and often outright closures. Church schools still played a vital role in the spiritual and economic lives of the countries in which they existed, but as the Church Board placed more and more emphasis on bringing religious education to members in all parts of the world, the position of the Church schools became more tenuous, particularly in areas like Latin America. An interesting dynamic began to form in countries where Church schools and seminaries existed side by side. In most places the relationship between the two entities remained warm and cordial. In others, the programs came into serious and sometimes sharp conflict. No location is more illustrative of the latter tendency than the tensions experienced in Church educational programs in Chile.

Chile as an Example of the Global Challenges for Schools and Seminaries

As discussed earlier, K–12 schools in Chile were established in the early 1960s to assist in missionary work and also to act as counter to the rising Communist influence within the country.⁷⁴ Under the direction of the First Presidency, A. Delbert Palmer, the mission president in Chile, and Dale Harding established schools and soon began achieving spectacular results. Dale Harding was succeeded in 1967 by Lyle J. Loosle, an administrator from Utah, with

⁷⁴ A. Delbert Palmer, “Establishing the LDS Church in Chile,” MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979, 156.

previous experience serving the Church schools in the Pacific. By 1970 the program included three elementary schools and one secondary school.⁷⁵

Latter-day Saint Schools Under a Marxist Government.

The situation changed rapidly when Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile in 1970, bringing a Marxist regime into power. The future of the LDS schools in Chile was immediately thrown into doubt. In the hours after the election, Lyle Loosle remembered tense discussions over what course the schools should take next. Gordon B. Hinckley, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve with responsibility over South America, made an emergency trip to the country to discuss the situation with local leadership. Both Lyle and Maria Loosle recalled the meeting as one of the most spiritual gatherings they have ever attended. The group gathered in prayer, asking for the Church members and the schools to be protected.⁷⁶

Part of the concerns over the schools came from widespread rumors that the Allende government planned to take over all the private schools in the country. As the months progressed, the government began seizing not just schools, but even Church buildings for use as government facilities. Seeing the seriousness of the situation, Lyle Loosle made an emergency trip to Salt Lake City to seek approval on a desperate plan to keep all of the Church buildings in Chile from falling under government control:

I said, “I suggest that we take in students and fill it up, even though they’re not members. At least we’ll have control of the schools.” It was agreed upon, so that’s what we did and we scheduled our schedules so we were occupying that building from 7 in the morning until 10 at night. We had an evening school, an adult evening school, and so they had no reason – they were happy, of course,

⁷⁵ Harvey L. Taylor, *Story of the LDS Church Schools*, 2:59, the schools operating in Chile at the time were Talcahuano (grades 1-8), Vina del Mar (grades 1-8), La Cisterna (K-8), and Pedro de Valdiva (K-12). Taylor further notes that 62 teachers served in the schools, 38 percent of whom were certified, 12 were university graduates, 5 were non-certified elementary teachers, and 7 were university trained, but not certified. All but 8 of the teachers were members of the Church.

⁷⁶ Lyle and Maria Loosle Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, February 9, 2011, manuscript in author’s possession, 33-34.

they were happy with that. Because we weren't spending any of their money, everything was coming from out of the country.⁷⁷

One of Loosle's close friends informed him that the Chilean government was contemplating a takeover of the LDS schools. According to Loosle, "The ministry of education came to him said 'We know you're working with the Mormon schools, and we were thinking of taking over or occupying their buildings' – in essence it was taking them over. They said, "What do you think?" He said, 'Leave them alone, they're not spending any of our money, all the money is coming from out of the country, and their only helping our economy, so let them go.'"⁷⁸

Loosle was able to maintain Church control over the schools but at a cost. The number of schools more than doubled from four to nine. New schools were opened in LDS chapels in order to keep them from being seized by the government. Loosle recalls the frantic scramble to open schools to keep Church facilities out of government hands:

Near Concepcion the government had taken over the chapel there and placed government offices in it... Luckily, before that time I had applied to the local government there in Arica to put in a school because I had applied for that when I went back to them, they moved their offices out and we were able to put a small school in there. And the same thing happened in La Calera, and Taulcuan, and nearby Vina del Mar, we already had a school in Vina del Mar and in Arica, up there the government was going to take some property that the Church [had] to build a chapel. So the building committee rushed in and built a chapel, the idea being that kindergartens, what were doing was that wherever we could we would put kindergartens, have some sort of activity and it made the government happy and it saved them from takeovers.⁷⁹

In order to fill the schools, Church officials allowed large numbers of non-LDS students to enroll. At the largest school in Santiago, over half of the students enrolled were not members of the Church. At one small kindergarten in Arica, only four students came from LDS families!

⁷⁷ Lyle Loosle Oral History, 4.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 4-5.

⁷⁹ Loosle Oral History, 5-6.

Overall reports indicate that about 44.8% of the students within the schools were not LDS.⁸⁰

Lyle Loosle felt having the non-members help keep the schools safe, particularly because a few of the non-member students came from elite families with connections high in the Chilean military.⁸¹

An especially delicate situation developed at the site of the main Church secondary school in Santiago. The school was originally a Catholic School, purchased by LDS officials and intended as a hub of the LDS educational system in Chile. The school occupied an entire city block, save for one lot where a large house stood. Loosle was approached one day by the home's owner, asking if he wanted to purchase the house. When Loosle replied they had no need, the owner became more insistent. He then informed Loosle that Cuban officials had recently offered to purchase the home and make it into the Cuban embassy. Loosle scrambled to find the necessary funds, but was unable, and the house sold to the Cubans. For the duration of most of the Allende regime, the Cuban embassy, a focal point of Communist activity for all of South America, and the main Church school were located on the same block.⁸² Eduardo Aylaya, a native Chilean working within the school, recalled the influence of the embassy on the school: "The Communists tried to corrupt the children of the school. They had a part of cement cleared and they gave güisqui, pisco, tobacco and drugs to the children. Much marijuana. We [would] find plates of marijuana in many parts. They taught the boys to take the leaves of the Bible, because they were better paper to make cigarettes."⁸³

⁸⁰ South American Schools Report November 1972, copy in author's possession, courtesy Lyle Loosle.

⁸¹ Loosle Oral History, 36.

⁸² Ibid., 10-12.

⁸³ Eduardo Aylaya Oral History, Interviewed by Mark Grover, February 13, 2001, copy in author's possession, 6.

Seminary Comes to Chile

Back in the United States, Church officials were deeply concerned over the situation in Chile, particularly for the LDS students unable to enroll in the Church schools. Frank Bradshaw, the Seminary & Institute administrator over South America, returned from a trip to the country deeply disturbed over the policies of the Allende government. He recalls:

When we got back, we personally felt a real urgency about getting the thing going in Chile of all places. Joe talked with Neal Maxwell about that. Neal Maxwell talked with Harold B. Lee. He told him of our deep concern and our recommendations when we were there. I think it was the latter part of August... and our hope was that we could get the program in Chile in the fall of 1972. But when Brother Maxwell talked to Elder Lee, Elder Maxwell said he just paused for a while, then gazed into a corner of the room, and then he said, "We must get the program there now." And so we put wheels into motion... that proved to be a very inspired decision on the part of Elder Lee.⁸⁴

Richard Brimhall, a former missionary in Chile with experience in the Indian Seminary program, was selected to travel to Chile to start the seminary program. Brimhall recalled, "For us, being asked to go to Chile was a dream come true. Of several thousand people who could have gone, we ended up with the opportunity to do so. We were elated by that opportunity. Other people thought we were absolutely out of our minds."⁸⁵

Schools and Seminaries in a Politically Unfavorable Environment

Brimhall's assignment was split between establishing Seminary & Institute programs and heading up religion within the Church schools. When he arrived in the country, however, he immediately was struck by the conditions within the schools:

The Church schools were in shambles. Physically, they were by far the best in the nation. But all schools were in shambles regarding curriculum, morale, and a

⁸⁴ Frank Bradshaw Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 22, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 18-19.

⁸⁵ Richard and Lapriel Brimhall Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 11, 1991, manuscript in author's possession, 21.

tremendous conflict going on among the faculty between Marxists and non-Marxists, even at the student level. I'll never forget the day that my 7-year-old son came home saying, "I'm a Marxist," and my 5-year-old daughter saying, "I'm a Democrat," and fighting and yelling at each other over this type of thing. Politics permeated everything. Everybody was politicized and polarized to the right or the left. Total conflict going on all the time.

Brimhall also felt deep reservations over the selection of faculty at the Church schools:

The Church school system had also made some very gross errors in judgment, in my opinion, in that they wanted to have the best school academically speaking, and the best school system in the country of Chile, so they had hired many, many non-members. Those non-members, most of them had become members of the Church because it gave them political and salary advantage and security within their employment by being members of the Church. But they were members in name only. If anything, many of them were anti-Church, and most of them were Marxists. There was a tremendous conflict going on, and many of these people were in administrative positions that controlled and set policy.⁸⁶

Brimhall was highly critical of the direction taken by Church schools, but probably unaware of the extreme measures necessary to keep the schools out of government control. One young man Brimhall baptized over a decade earlier while serving as missionary in Chile was now a teacher at the Church schools. Brimhall was shocked to see the changes in his former friend. "He was an avid and avowed Marxist, opposed to the teaching of religion. He was in favor of the teaching of atheism. That kind of schism was going on throughout the entire system. And it was not atypical. That was typical of all education at that time in the country, from the university level all the way down to grade school."⁸⁷

Attempts to Reform the Church Schools

Shortly after Brimhall arrived in the country, Lyle Loosle left as director of Church schools, returning to the United States to pursue a doctorate. He was replaced by Jorge Rojas, an official from the LDS schools in Mexico. Soon after his arrival in the country, Rojas became alarmed over the state of the schools in Chile as well. The Brimhall and Rojas families were living in the same

⁸⁶ Ibid., 47-48.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 48.

house at the time, and Rojas used Brimhall as a sounding board for his feelings. Brimhall recalls, “He [Rojas] and I spent till four o'clock in the morning talking about his first week. His conclusion was that the Church schools should be closed immediately. I told him that I had arrived at that conclusion a month before. The situation was corrupting the very nature of the purpose of the Church, and its presence in the nation.”⁸⁸ Brimhall and Rojas realized the delicate nature of the situation, since many of the teachers and school officials also held ecclesiastical positions. Any recommendation to close the schools would be unpopular. Nevertheless, with Brimhall’s backing, Rojas recommended the closure of the Chilean schools to Church headquarters.⁸⁹

Within two months, Jorge Rojas was reassigned to the schools in Mexico, and Lyle Loosle returned to head up the schools in Chile. Loosle took a different view on the conflict: “The new superintendent made some very abrupt changes... and a group of teachers rebelled and formed a union and went to the ministry of education. And I had just written a letter from them, and I guess it was saying the board—the Brethren—saying either the union goes or the school goes. So they asked me to go back. I went back and to smooth things over.”⁹⁰ Loosle felt the situation had been blown out of proportion, and that the government’s influence within the school was minimal. “We were the only school that was not bothered by the government in some way. The (outside) students were trying to get all private schools to strike against the government, and they would go by the school with their banners and yelling and so forth and trying to get our students to go, we were the only school that didn’t.”⁹¹

⁸⁸ Ibid., 50.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 50-51.

⁹⁰ Loosle Oral History, 2.

⁹¹ Loosle Oral History, 5.

Different Perspectives Regarding the Success of Attempted Reforms

Whether Brimhall and Rojas' or Loosle were correct about the state of the schools in Chile depends on the perspective taken. From Loosle's view the sacrifices made were absolutely necessary to allow the schools to stay open and keep Church property throughout the country safe from state control. From his perspective, outside influences on the schools were kept relatively at bay. In his opinion, the high percentage of non-member students appears to have been standard for the Church schools in South America. In the LDS school operated in Bolivia, for example, 42.6% of the students were non-members, while the school population in Lima, Peru consisted of 53.7% non-members.⁹²

In Richard Brimhall's mind, the ends didn't justify the means. He protested the re-assignment of Rojas, and then disassociated himself from the Church schools entirely. He recalls, "After Brother Rojas left, I separated completely from Church schools, and indicated to seminaries and institutes that I did not want to continue working within that system or to affiliate with them. It was detrimental to establishing seminaries and institutes. So they gave me a green light to move out of the Church school office, to establish my own office and make the separation complete. I was to work no more with religious education within the Church schools. That was after the first year."⁹³ He went on to successfully launch the Seminary & Institute programs throughout the country: "Our goal for the three years was to reach 1500 students in the program. We had 1200 by the end of the first year. The people were absolutely starving for this type of program, especially the youth."⁹⁴

⁹² South American Schools report, November 1972. The total population of the school in Bolivia consisted of 97 members and 72 non-members, while the school in Peru consisted on 63 members and 73 non-members.

⁹³ Brimhall Oral History, 54.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

Officials at Church headquarters looked into allegations about the Church schools in Chile, and, eventually, Boyd K. Packer, of the Quorum of the Twelve, was sent to the country to deal with the problems. Eduardo Aylaya remembered Packer's visit:

Elder Packer came from the United States and he had interviews with all the teachers. He said to them that he was not going to allow Communism in the Church. He spoke on that to all the teachers and to all the students.... In that time Elder Packer organized the Council of Education in Chile. Elder Packer asked that we made a cleaning of the teachers. We began to close the schools, cancelling to all the corrupt teachers. There was much corruption between the teachers also.⁹⁵

The investigations in Chile eventually led to a decision to phase out the schools over a three-year period.

In the meantime, both the Seminary & Institute programs and the Church schools weathered not only the policies of the Allende regime but its overthrow by a military coup in September 1973. The events surrounding the coup were particularly tense for Lyle Loosle because of the main Church school's proximity to the Cuban embassy. Only a few days before the coup, he was approached by two members of the underground against the Allende government:

They told me, they said, "Now, there's going to be a coup. There's going to be a takeover." And they gave me an approximate date, and said, "You've got to be ready and have your students ready." Because the plan is to take over the Monmeida, which was the Presidential palace, the president's home, and the Cuban embassy. They said, "Our plans are to come right through that wall with tanks. Your wall, the school wall." We had just built two new basketball courts, where the temple now stands. They were going to come through that wall to the Cuban embassy because they couldn't get down the street. There's just a narrow street beside us, that led to the embassy and they always have a guard there. So they said, "We can't go down that street so the best way is to go right through your property. You've got to have your kids ready"....I couldn't tell anyone what was happening. So I just told them, "Let's make an evacuation plan," which she did. Well I waited around. I was scheduled to come home. I'd been released and was coming home and I waited and waited because it was supposed to take place, I think the date was the fourth. On the anniversary of the election, which was the

⁹⁵ Aylaya Oral History, 6-7.

3rd of September, I think. That's when they were going to do it. I waited and waited and I had my ticket ready and I enrolled in school up here, and finally I just left. Just about two days later they took over. But they didn't go through the wall. They did early in the morning and they came to the gate.⁹⁶

When the coup occurred, Richard Brimhall was also in Santiago, hosting a group of nearly twenty seminary students from the north part of the country. The city was locked down and they entire group stayed in the Brimhall home for two weeks before they were allowed to leave. Brimhall remembered the chaos of the time: "Helicopter gunships were flying over every 15–20 minutes all night long, picking off snipers that were trying to get up into our neighborhood.... It was very, very hectic, and that's why we couldn't go to the windows, because in many places, there were snipers who were shooting the military as they patrolled the streets at night."⁹⁷

Eventually a relative calm settled over the country, and operations resumed as normal. Richard Brimhall remained in the country until 1975, when Seminary & Institute programs were turned over to local control. As noted above, Lyle Loosle left the country shortly before the coup. He was succeeded by another American, Berkley A. Spencer. Spencer immediately perceived the clash between the Seminary & Institute programs and the Church schools. He noted, "There was a kind of competition and a resentment between the two systems. I think that it was derived in part because the school system perceived Seminaries and Institute people as being a kind of elite group, better than the school people in a religious sense. And yet the school people perceived the school Seminaries and Institutes people as being very unprofessional."⁹⁸ Some of the conflict derived directly from the fundamental nature of the two systems. The Seminary and Institute programs at the core were volunteer organizations while the Church schools were a professional organization. Spencer acknowledged how the difference could create friction between the two groups: "Seminary and Institute people were unprofessional. They were not certified teachers. They were people who

⁹⁶ Loosle Oral History, 10-11.

⁹⁷ Brimhall Oral History, 67-68.

⁹⁸ Berkley A. Spencer Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1979, OH 463, Church History Library,

were taken from various walks of life who had a testimony of the gospel and who had a native ability to teach and were good people...., So there was a lot of rivalry and professional jealousy.”⁹⁹

The Chilean schools were not representative of how Seminary & Institute programs and Church school worldwide interacted. Generally, where the two programs co-existed they worked remarkably well together. Just to the north of Chile, in Peru, the schools and the S&I programs enjoyed a warm and cordial relationship.¹⁰⁰ Throughout the Pacific and Mexico there is little record of conflict between the two programs. However, the experiences in Chile illustrated the potential conflict inherent in operating dual educational systems side by side. Granted, the circumstances in Chile were extreme, but they nonetheless demonstrated the need for the two entities to have a unified leadership.

Conclusions

The years from 1970–75 were the most critical time in the development of the worldwide Church Educational System. Neal A. Maxwell and his team quickly reorganized the system and conducted a thorough review of its functions. Most importantly, under the direction of the Church Board of Education, they established a concrete set of policies to govern the worldwide development and function of the Church’s educational programs. For the most part, those policies still govern the worldwide system today. Under the policies, Seminaries and Institutes became the dominant form of education used in the worldwide Church, expanding to every country with a large enough Church population. At the same time, the policies led to an era of close examination and consolidation of the Church schools, as the Church board made the decision to not duplicate any secular educational programs in countries throughout the world. These decisions marked the beginning for a painful era for the international Church schools. In the Pacific, where they were needed, the schools remained, albeit subject to the new policies. In Latin America, Church leaders

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ John and Nydia Harris Oral History, 13-14. The schools in Peru and Bolivia were directed by Marlene Mueller, who enjoyed a close friendship with John Harris, the S&I director in those countries.

began to reach the difficult conclusion that the schools might not meet Church needs, and began to explore avenues toward the least-painful way of eliminating the schools. Most importantly, the decision to staff all Church educational ventures with indigenous personnel marked the beginning of the end of an international system dominated by Americans, and the emergence of a truly global educational system, transcendent of nationalities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EMERGENCE OF THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

Rapid Expansion of the Global Program

The policies established during Neal A. Maxwell's tenure as Church Commissioner of Education from 1970 to 1976 laid the foundation for rapid growth outside the United States. However, the transition from an international system, dominated by American personnel to a global system led by indigenous members in different countries was marked by a number of important policy shifts. For example, firm policy regarding when and where Church schools would be established allowed for stabilization in the number of schools built internationally, and established Seminaries and Institutes as the primary vehicles for global education within the Church. For some countries, the new policies meant a difficult transition away from Church schools to the Seminary and Institute programs. Following the initial early expansion of the seminary program into English speaking nations, Maxwell and his team launched a second wave taking Seminaries and Institutes into nearly every country where sizable populations of Latter-day Saints existed. American personnel set up the program, trained local educators, and returned home in a relatively short span on time. One participant, reflecting on the rapid nature of the expansion commented, "It's interesting that it happened in such a brief window of time, such a small window of time there, four or five years, almost a blitz... not only were certain parts of the

world ready, but almost all the world was ready. [The Seminary and Institute programs] went out, the job was done, and everybody was home, and it was moving.”¹

The changes carried out by Maxwell and his team laid the foundation for a truly global system, but it took time for the system to emerge from the policies laid down during the Maxwell period. With the policies established and the initial expansion over, a truly global educational system, with religious training as its top priority, began to emerge. This chapter will discuss the impact of two of the most important policies of the new global system, specifically, the decision to avoid duplicating existing school systems, and the decision to hire indigenous members to staff religious education programs.

New Leadership Under Jeffrey R. Holland

The radical restructuring of Church education launched by Neal A. Maxwell and his associates caught the attention of many leaders at Church headquarters. Before long, Maxwell’s team began receiving calls from the Church hierarchy to oversee other Church functions. For example, in 1973, Dee Anderson was moved from his position as Associate Commissioner of Finance to become the Executive Secretary of the Budget Committee of the Church. According to Anderson, his instruction from Harold B. Lee, simply put, was to carry out an overhaul of the entirety of Church finances, similar to what he had already carried out with the educational system.² While the other associate commissioners, Joe J. Christensen and Kenneth Beesley, stayed in their positions, Maxwell himself was called as an Assistant to the Quorum of the Twelve in April 1974. He continued to serve as Commissioner of Education, in addition to his

¹ E. Dale LeBaron in David A. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed May 9 1991, transcript in author’s possession, 73.

² Dee F. Anderson Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, September 20, 2010, transcript in author’s possession, 17.

responsibilities as a General Authority. In 1976, Maxwell left the commissioner's office to become the managing director of the Church Correlation Department and director of long term planning for the entire Church.³

Maxwell was replaced by Jeffrey R. Holland, an educator formerly from the Seminaries & Institutes system who was then serving as the Dean of Religious Education at BYU.⁴ Minor restructuring took place under Holland's leadership, but for the most part the system continued to adhere to the decisions made under Maxwell. Though he no longer served as Commissioner, Maxwell was appointed to serve on the Church Board of Education. Kenneth Beesley, the Associate Commissioner over schools, observed that the Church Board "began to take a little more active role than had been the case with Elder Maxwell. Elder Maxwell had come into a time when no precedents had been set. [The Church Board] allowed him to function in some way almost autonomously in terms of the development of policy."⁵ In Beesley's view, the Board's more active role came from the fact that Holland was new to the rigors of administering a large and scattered school system. At thirty-six, Holland was relatively young, and his only previous administrative experience came from his service as Dean of Religious Education at BYU, a position he held for only two years before his appointment as commissioner.

Despite these challenges, Holland was an able and gifted administrator who quickly adapted to his new role as commissioner. With the major policies for the global system already put in place by Maxwell, Holland's role became more to oversee the implementation of policy than the creation of it. Holland later commented on the direction of Church education when he arrived:

³ Hafen, *A Disciple's Life*, 403, 424.

⁴ Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 187.

⁵ Kenneth Beesley Oral History, Interviewed by David J. Whitaker, 1977, OH 304, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, 23.

I think there was a good, broad, consistent consensus, and certainly the right one for what the Church could afford and manage around the globe. We would do the thing that was most basic to our faith. We would take seminary and, where it was possible, institute. I think there was generally the acknowledgement that we would continue at least a consideration of schools - secondary schools, primary schools, elementary schools, but not generally higher education. We were taking the young child up through whatever was a viable secondary school experience. We would continue to consider those where it was not available, and where it was not possible through the government.⁶

Consolidation of Global Leadership

Though a firm course was already set in place, Holland and his assistants did make a number of changes to increase the efficiency of the system. During his administration, Holland chose to streamline the chain of command by placing the Church K–12 schools and the religious education programs under the same administrators. He noted the problem when he first arrived in the commissioner’s office: “We were still not running all that well out of the central office. We had a religious educator going to the South Pacific, and he might be followed the very next day by a school administrator going to the South Pacific.... I thought, ‘As fast as this Church is moving and as streamlined as we are going to have to be, I couldn't see double coverage.’”⁷ To help supervise this transition, Holland appointed Henry B. Eyring, president of Ricks College, as Deputy Commissioner, giving him responsibility of bringing the two systems together. Eyring later recalled, “I think a main reason for my being assigned the international program was to put together schools and seminaries and institutes worldwide.”⁸

Hoping to simplify the chain of command, Holland fused together the administrations over K–12 schools and religious education. Prior to his administration, Alton F. Wade was serving as

⁶ Jeffrey R. Holland Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, April 23, 1991, transcript in author’s possession, 2.

⁷ Holland Oral History, 10.

⁸ Henry B. Eyring Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, March 3, 1992, transcript in author’s possession, 4.

administrator over the Pacific schools, and Benjamin Martinez headed the Latin American schools. Under Holland's direction, Wade and Martinez became zone administrators, taking responsibility for all LDS educational ventures in a given geographical area. At the same time zone administrators already serving with religious education, Frank Day, Dan Workman, and Bruce Lake, took over all education in their geographic stewardships. The move brought the leadership of all K–12 programs under the same umbrella. Holland later noted the challenges behind merging these two, very different organizations:

Now that was a bit of a jump to merge those because I think the Religious Education side was a little skeptical of the school side. Now they would say, "Those guys didn't come through the ranks, and they probably don't know the system as well." By the same token I think the school side said, "Well, what do these religious educators know about being a principal, or a second grade teacher, or math curriculum?" Well, I figured that the quality of men that we had, and it was high quality all the way through, could rise to the occasion. So relatively soon in my day as Commissioner, I pled for a chance to talk with one voice... we could cut down problems. We could cut down travel and cost. We could certainly cut down on confusion with one man going to the South Pacific [who] talked about everything, one man going to Asia [who] talked about everything, and one man going to Latin America [who] talked about everything.⁹

Under Holland's direction, all international programs came under the same leadership, reducing the tendency towards rivalry between the two organizations. The new hierarchical structure was designed to avoid the kinds of difficulties encountered earlier in areas like Chile, where the Religious Education programs and the Church schools almost completely cut off affiliation with each other (see Chapter 6). With a common leadership, all of the Church's educational ventures in any country answered to the same leadership. Perhaps the most impactful change made during the Holland administration came as the natural conclusions of policies determined during the Maxwell administration.

⁹ Ibid.

Consolidation of the International School System

As discussed earlier, the Church Board gave primacy to supplemental religious education programs and made a firm decision not to duplicate already existing educational systems.

Essentially, the Church provided education where no opportunities existed, but withdrew as soon as other alternatives appeared. Holland felt that religious education “was our unique mission, that was an LDS message, but in Mexico, or in Samoa, or in Chile, or wherever we might have elementary or secondary schools where some viable, reasonable alternatives were available, then we would probably disengage... we would withdraw the minute other schools were available.”¹⁰ Following the directives, during the Holland administration a planned phase out was announced for the schools in Latin America, and the schools in the Pacific were restructured.

Closing the Schools in South America

Given the political tumult surrounding the Chilean schools during the Marxist Allende regime, it is not surprising they were the first international Church school system to be phased out. Almost immediately following the overthrow of the Allende government, three of the schools operating solely as kindergartens were closed.¹¹ In all likelihood, these schools were only opened to keep the buildings out of government hands. In the remaining schools, the strain of the Allende years revealed serious problems. In 1975, Berkley Spencer arrived from the United States, tasked with putting the schools in order. He noted the chaos within the schools when he arrived: “The

¹⁰ Ibid., 3.

¹¹ Stephen Jones, CR 102/258, *A Brief History of Elementary, Middle and Secondary Schools*, unpublished document, CR 102 258, Church History Library, Salt Lake City. The schools closed during this time included Inuique Elementary, and La Calera, both closed in 1974. Arica Elementary was closed in 1975. All three were kindergartens schools with enrollments no larger than 25.

[church] school system in Chile had grown very, very cumbersome. It was overloaded with personnel. It wasn't an efficiently functioning system. Basically my role, as I see it now, as I look back on it, during that year I was administrator of Church schools was to kind of clean up and put in order the system."¹² Concerns over the situation drew attention directly from Church headquarters.

Spencer continues

Elder [Boyd K.] Packer had been down just before I came and found also a great deal of unworthiness in the system – people not living the gospel, not paying their tithing, some not even living the law of chastity. Of course people were dismissed immediately because of that. Consequently we worked out a system of appropriate interviews with ecclesiastical authorities, which should have been in existence before, but because of the Allende period and just a lot of confusion many things had not been fully instituted. So that first year I think we lost something like sixty people in the system as they were let go.... The school system was not really fulfilling the function of schools as defined by the Church to the degree that it should have . . . there wasn't really the spirit that should have existed in a Church school.¹³

In 1977, the Church announced a planned phase out of the schools in Chile. Shortly after the announcement of the closures, Berkley Spencer commented privately, "Very clearly in terms of the Board criteria that were established in 1972, the system in Chile is not justified. There is a fairly decent educational system in Chile. The Chilean public school system is probably one of the best in all of South America... so there are schools available."¹⁴ Eduardo Aylaya, a school official who assisted in the process, agreed with the decision, but also felt the political problems in Chile played a role in the closures.¹⁵

After Berkley Spencer returned to the United States, Benigno Pantoja Arratia, a native Chilean, took over as head of the Chilean schools. When he asked Church leaders about the reason for the school closures he was given two reasons: "1. That the Church has grown in an

¹² Berkley Spencer Oral History, 25.

¹³ Ibid., 26.

¹⁴ Ibid., 24-25.

¹⁵ Eduardo Aylaya Oral History, 6-7.

extraordinary way in [Chile] and the schools cannot keep pace, therefore, a great majority of the young people of the Church will not be receiving the blessings of Church-operated schools, and 2. The government of Chile is now able to provide education for all Chilean youth.”¹⁶ The second reason fit closely with the policies established in the 1971 Commissioner’s report, but the first reason added a new facet to the policy regarding Church schools. If rapid growth in the Church population in a given area made it difficult to provide K–12 education for all, schools would be closed. This fit in with Commissioner Holland’s statement that religious education was the primary mission of the Church Educational System. If schools could not be provided for all members, they would be closed in favor of the Seminary and Institute programs.

Was the school system in Chile a failure? Those most closely associated with it felt the benefits outweighed the cost. Berkley Spencer reflected on the value of the schools: “Some accusations were made and some feelings expressed that the schools made no contribution to the development of the Church in Chile. Of course the [local] stake presidents felt very much to the contrary, most of them . . . we began to look and see, to look at the number of missionaries that had come out of the school system, the number of leaders that were involved the school systems, and so forth. In that sense the schools made a tremendous contribution to Chile.”¹⁷ Benigno Pantoja Arratia wondered over the timing of the closure, especially with the schools on the mend after the end of the Allende regime:

Many times I have asked myself the question: Why now have the authorities decided to close the schools when practically all of the problems through which they have passed have been solved? Why were they not closed when the very serious problems occurred, especially when the labor union was formed? But the promptings of the Spirit have brought me to understand that the Church schools

¹⁶ Benigno Pantoja Arratia, *Mi Experiencia en los Colegios de la Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Ultimos Dias en Chile*, unpublished manuscript, 1978. Translated and quoted by A. Delbert Palmer in “Establishing the LDS Church in Chile,” M.A. Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979, 165.

¹⁷ Berkley Spencer Oral History, 32.

fulfilled a purpose in the growth of the kingdom in Chile, and if they were not closed during that period of great pressure it was because the Lord did not require the agitation of men to establish his kingdom. The schools had a mission to fulfill and perhaps, thanks to the existence of the schools during the difficult times, they helped mature and train many leaders and to prepare good missionaries.¹⁸

Spencer felt just as strongly about the value of the schools. He commented, “There are a number of people who feel that the schools probably saved the Church in Chile during the Allende years. I wasn’t there at the time, but that’s probably true. I think if it hadn’t been for the schools, which were seen as something that the Allende government could benefit from, the Church might have been eliminated from Chile.”¹⁹

The closure of the schools was difficult for the Church members in Chile. Boyd K. Packer personally visited the country to explain the move to the local membership. Henry B. Eyring, the Deputy Commissioner of Church education at the time, remembered Packer’s promise to the local members. “Giving up these schools was very hard. In a number of cases, like in Santiago, it was one of the best private schools. There’s a touching story here. Elder Packer promised them that if they were faithful, some great thing would come, maybe even a temple. A temple is now on the very place where the school was. Beautiful prophecy. It was very hard for them, but they did it.”²⁰ The Chilean schools closed their doors in 1981.²¹ Shortly afterward, the largest of the Church schools was torn down and, in 1983, its lot became the location of the Santiago, Chile temple.

Alongside the closure of the Chilean schools, the Church also phased out smaller schools in Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay during the late 1970s. As discussed earlier, the schools in Peru and

¹⁸ Quoted in Palmer, “Establishing the LDS Church in Chile,” 166, the reference to a labor union refers to an incident during the Allende regime when the teachers in the Chilean school system attempted to unionize to protest Church school policies.

¹⁹ Berkley Spencer Oral History, 32.

²⁰ Henry B. Eyring Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, March 3, 1992, transcript in author’s possession, 9.

²¹ Jones, 2.

Bolivia began under the direction of the local mission president and then came under control of the CES in 1971.²² The school in Paraguay was organized in 1971 by CES officials at the request of local ecclesiastical leaders.²³ Each of these schools remained small and was housed in local chapels. The schools were organized primarily because of the impoverished conditions and lack of education within each of the countries. Though intended to assist less fortunate Church members, the high cost of tuition made it difficult for local members to attend the schools.

The schools operated under guidance of the director of Church schools in Chile, but Marlene Mueller, a native Chilean who had attended BYU, oversaw their day-to-day operations. Mueller was based in Lima, Peru, traveling frequently to oversee the different schools. Little documentary information exists on the schools, and what information is available indicates three schools experienced difficulties. Benjamin Martinez, working as administrator over the schools commented, "I guess I should say that those schools did demand a disproportionate amount of my time. I would go on a trip and I would stay two days in Paraguay and two days in Chile, where there were five schools in Chile and only one little school in Asuncion. The correspondence was almost as heavy to deal with one school in that country as with the five in Chile."²⁴ All three of the schools closed in 1981.²⁵ According to Marlene Mueller, the school in Lima, Peru continued to be operated privately by local LDS families.²⁶

Closing the Schools in Mexico

In Mexico, the LDS school system was older, more extensive, and more deeply ingrained in the local culture than the schools in South America. However, under the new Board policies,

²² Jones, 2, 7.

²³ Ibid., 7.

²⁴ Benjamin Martinez Oral History, interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1978, OH 570, Church History Library, 27.

²⁵ Jones, 2-7.

²⁶ Phone conversation with Marlene Mueller, January 12, 2011. Notes in author's possession.

the schools in Mexico were likely candidates for closure. The review of the schools carried out by Benjamin Martinez in the early 1970s indicated that, with only one exception, the schools didn't meet the criteria laid down by the board.²⁷ When Martinez left Church administration to serve as a mission president in 1978, he was succeeded by Dan Workman.

Shortly after Workman's appointment, the First Presidency directed the CES administration to carry out another thorough review of the schools in Mexico. The country was divided into five geographical regions and five pairs of administrators were sent on site to conduct interviews with local ecclesiastical leaders and school personnel.²⁸

The study yielded some encouraging findings about the schools. Over 90% of the teachers in the schools were active Church members, 8% were inactive, and 2% were non-members. Of 36 ecclesiastical leaders surveyed, 18 reported very good attitudes towards the schools, with 10 good, 5 fair and 3 poor. Other statistics were more alarming. The schools were only serving approximately 52% of the elementary age children in areas where they existed, and only 20% of the LDS children throughout the entire country. Another finding of the report indicated the cost of tuition played a greater role in limiting school enrollments than lack of space. The elementary schools, for example, were nearly 2,000 students below their capacity. Enrollment was higher in the secondary, preparatory programs, but still below capacity. Only the normal (teacher training) program was filled. Perhaps most pertinent to the Church Board,

²⁷ Benjamin Martinez Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, 1981-82, OH 626, Church History Library. Martinez's sole exception was the school in Tecalo, Mexico. According to Martinez, "That one exception is a school in a semi-rural area in Mexico called Tecalo. There are maybe one or two public schools in the town, but none of them went through six grades of elementary school. The Tecalco Church school was the only one in the community that went through a complete elementary school cycle of six grades."

²⁸ "An On-site Survey of the Church Educational System's Schools, Programs, and Facilities in Mexico conducted by the Office of the Commissioner," Oct. 3-17, 1978, unpublished report, copy in author's possession. Hereafter referred to as 1980 Mexico On-site Report. The administrators assigned to investigate were Henry B. Eyring and Jay Jensen (Northwestern Mexico), Stanley A. Peterson and Eran Call (Northeastern Mexico), Dan J. Workman and Joe J. Christensen (Mexico City), Dan J. Workman and Hector Escobar (Southwestern Mexico), and Joe J. Christensen and Benjamin de Hoyos (Southeastern Mexico).

was the finding report's statement that "almost all of the LDS students who are presently enrolled in our elementary schools could enroll in other schools in their communities."²⁹

Even before the report was submitted, the closure of the Church schools was discussed with the local leadership. A trip report submitted by Dan Workman from May 1980 contains record of a proposal to close the schools. According to Workman's report, "the proposal was met [with] a great deal of opposition... there was a strong objection to the idea that the government is now providing adequate education."³⁰ Despite the opposition, the Church Board pressed ahead and announced a six-year phase of all but two of the schools in Mexico. Dan Workman remembered the day the announcement was made and the procedure followed:

Elder [Richard G.] Scott was the area president who was living in Mexico City, and he organized it in such a way that when the announcement was made, there was a meeting in every schoolhouse at the same hour with the teachers. The announcement was first made to the teachers, and then to the priesthood leaders and parents. These meetings were held simultaneously all over Mexico, in all forty of the schools that were going to be closed, all but two. They announced that the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve had met. They had been given the information about the schools, and it was the will of the Lord that these schools would now be phased out and they would utilize the public schools. Then each congregation or group was asked to sustain the Brethren in that decision, and they were given the opportunity to object. There were only two or three in all forty schools who raised their hands in objection, and none of them were members of the Church.³¹

Benjamin Martinez, who conducted the initial survey of the schools after the change in policy, now found himself in the awkward position of having to deliver the news as an ecclesiastical leader. Serving as mission president in Tapachula, Martinez's own children were attending a local Church school when the announcement came. Remembering the meeting where the people learned of the school closures, he commented:

²⁹ 1980 Mexico On-site Survey, 1-11.

³⁰ Dan Workman, Trip Report: Mexico, May 19-22, 1980, copy in author's possession.

³¹ Dan J. Workman Oral History, Interview by E. Dale LeBaron, June 27, 1991, transcript in author's possession, 28.

There were feelings. Let's put it that way. There was virtually complete support for the decision, because it was presented for what it was, that the General Authorities had made this decision. It was delivered to the membership and to the heads of families who had children in those schools on that basis. Naturally 95 percent who were members of the Church had no hesitation in supporting the decision, even though as they raised their hands there were tears. That would just be natural, of course, because with news that a beloved little institutions like that, that had been so central and such a source of tremendous pride to the membership of the Church in the city, would be closed, it's understandable that there would be a certain amount of emotion.³²

Dan Workman was deeply impressed by the attitude of the Church members in Mexico towards the closures. "It was a great revelation to me about the loyalty of those people in Mexico, because none of them wanted to lose their schools. But if the prophet said they were to be closed, they were to be closed, at whatever sacrifice. I was really impressed with that."³³

Exceptions to Policy

Two schools in Mexico remained open. The Academy in Colonia Juarez continued because of its unique status among the Anglo-American settlers in the Mormon colonies of Mexico. The school was unique because the colonies themselves were unique. Created during the anti-polygamy persecutions of the late 19th century, the colonies were closer in culture and language to LDS founded settlements in the American west than the surrounding Mexican towns. As late as the 1970s, the Juarez academy still used an American secondary school curriculum, though it also utilized Mexican curriculum.³⁴ In the small colony communities the school remained the cultural hub of the community. Partly for these reasons, the academy was already a survivor of

³² Benjamin Martinez 1981-82 Oral History, page number unknown.

³³ Dan Workman Oral History, 29.

³⁴ Benjamin Martinez 1978 Oral History, 60.

the massive Church school closures of the early twentieth century.³⁵ It is also likely that these reasons played a role in the retention of the Juarez Academy during school closures of the 1970s.

In addition to the Juarez Academy, the Benemerito de las Americas, the secondary, preparatory and normal school which served as the hub of the Mexican church schools continued and still operates today. Explaining the continued operation of these two schools, Roger G. Christensen, current secretary to the Church Board of Education said

The decision was made because of the history and legacy of the [Juarez] Academy that it would remain open. [At] Benemerito, the church purchased a lot of property in Mexico city years ago. I don't remember the date, but it was an old ranch outside of the city limits of Mexico City. And we own a lot of property rights, or excuse me water rights, associated with that property. And so over time, the church subdivided some of that property, sold it to members of the church and so there's a large population of Latter-day saints in that area. And many if not all attended Benemerito, and so it made sense because of the concentration of latter-day saints to keep Benemerito open and operating as well.³⁶

The closures were difficult for the Church members in Mexico, but were the direct result of careful consideration of the resources available and how to best utilize them. In some ways the schools created inequity among the local membership. Henry B. Eyring, Jeffrey R. Holland's successor as Church Commissioner, oversaw the final school closures in Latin America. Reflecting on the problems posed, he commented, "The schools themselves became a problem to the priesthood. What happened was that the Church grew, and you couldn't build enough schools. The priesthood leaders were criticized for letting their own kids get in. And so the poor priesthood leaders, judges in Israel, were just under this terrible strain, and they wanted to get rid of the schools. You would never have gotten rid of the schools if the local people hadn't reached

³⁵ The history of the Juarez Academy has been extensively documented in *The Juarez Stake Academy, 1897-1997: The First One-Hundred Years*, comp. Albert Kenyon Wagner and Leona Farnsworth Wagner, (privately published, 1997).

³⁶ Roger G. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, Sept. 1, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 10.

that point.”³⁷ Eyring’s reasoning, also stressed by other administrators,³⁸ represents another key criterion in the closure of Church schools, namely the support of the local ecclesiastical leaders. The comments also reflect the reasoning provided for the closure of the schools in Chile, specifically that the growth of the Church in both areas made it impractical to attempt to provide more schools for all the Church membership. At the same time, the retention of both the Juarez Academy and the Benemerito School demonstrated that the school policy was flexible, and that unique circumstances could justify the continued operation of a Church school.

Policy in the Pacific – A Tale of Two Schools

In the Pacific, Church school policy took different directions. In some cases, schools were closed, in others new schools opened. New schools were opened at times because of need, others as an opportunity to introduce the Church to new areas, or a combination of both factors. Educational needs were considered on a case-by-case basis. To illustrate this, we will consider two schools, the Church College of New Zealand, and Moroni High School in Kiribati.³⁹

The Church College of New Zealand. In many ways, the establishment of the Church College of New Zealand (CCNZ) marked the inauguration of the Church school system in the Pacific. As discussed earlier in this study, the construction of the CCNZ, following quickly on the heels of the Church College of Hawaii, established the practice of using a local force of volunteer missionaries to construct the school facility quickly and at a minimum cost.⁴⁰ It was a pattern repeated throughout the Pacific as expansion of the Church school system in the region

³⁷ Henry B. Eyring 1991 Oral History, 8.

³⁸ Eran A. Call, the last administrator of the Mexican Schools, also stressed the conflict between priesthood leaders and school officials as a key reason for the closure of the schools in Mexico during a conversation held with the author in December 2011. Notes in author’s possession.

³⁹ Also known as the Gilbert Island, the name of the country is pronounced *Kiribas*.

⁴⁰ See chapter 3 of this work.

continued during the 1950s and 60s. When Church school policy changed in the early 1970s, the school became the subject of review along with the rest of the Church school system.

Findings of the Study on Educational Needs in New Zealand. Alton F. Wade, the administrator of Church schools in the Pacific, and Barney Wihongi, a public school administrator in Utah and an alumni of the CCNZ, were asked to perform a study to determine if the school should continue. Wade and Wihongi interviewed over 200 individuals drawn from the school's faculty, staff, and student body, along with local priesthood and government officials. Their work produced results similar to the reviews carried out by Benjamin Martinez in Mexico. It stated, "the data, based on board criteria only, [do] not support the continuation of CCNZ."⁴¹ While the school did not meet board criteria, it did find itself in a slightly different situation than the schools in Mexico. In Mexico, the majority of the schools were built in pre-existing communities, while for all practical purposes, the school in New Zealand, along with the temple, created the impetus for building the community of Temple View. The report continued, "the history of the project, its proximity to the temple, the community which has grown up around it, the reputation of the school in the eyes of the New Zealand public, and the symbol which the College represents to the New Zealand saints should be considered." Wade and Wihongi expressed concerns that closing the school might lead to "public skepticisms of a failure within the Church after such an enormous investment of funds and human resources" and warned of a "psychological and spiritual letdown among the Church members in New Zealand." In the end, the report recommended the school's continuation as a secondary institution.⁴²

⁴¹ Alton L. Wade and Barney Wihongi, *The Church College of New Zealand, Past, Present, Future: An Analysis* (Temple View, New Zealand: Church College of New Zealand, 1974), 2, cited in Scott C. Esplin, "Closing the Church College of New Zealand: A Case Study in Church Education Policy," *Journal of Mormon History*, 37:1 (Winter 2011), 104.

⁴² Wade and Wihongi, 2, quoted in Esplin, 105.

The report discussed the possibility of changing the institution into a post-secondary school but, examining the educational programs of the local government, concluded, “there is neither need nor a justification for the Church to provide a tertiary educational program in New Zealand.”⁴³ The school continued its operation, changing its emphasis to focus on older students, and moving away from the practice of boarding students. In 1967, boarding students made up 83 percent of the student body. A decade later, only 46 percent of the student body consisted of boarding students.⁴⁴ As school closures multiplied in Latin America, the local membership became more aware of the school’s possible closure. One former faculty member, writing a history of the school in 1983, concluded that the school’s eventual closing was “inevitable,” though he expressed hope over the possibility of a “BYU New Zealand” in the future.⁴⁵

Closure of the Church College of New Zealand. Remarkably, the school persisted for nearly four decades after the new board criteria announced in 1971. In June 2006, Church Commissioner of Education W. Rolfe Kerr announced a three-year phase-out of the school. In a press release, Kerr called the choice “an agonizing, multi-year decision which has been made at the highest levels of Church administration.”⁴⁶ Elder Spencer J. Condie of the Seventy, then serving as the Pacific Area president wrote about the dilemma faced by Church members over the school’s closure:

The decision to close CCNZ has been extremely difficult, and that is why it has taken several years to reach its announcement. The Brethren have carefully considered the great good that has come from this wonderful institution, including

⁴³ Wade and Wihongi, 26, quoted in Esplin, 105.

⁴⁴ Esplin, 106.

⁴⁵ Ric Morehouse, “The Establishment of Church Education in New Zealand,” Independent study project, Brigham Young University, 378.23 M813, Special Collections, BYU, 35.

⁴⁶ Associated Press, “LDS Church Phases out New Zealand High School,” <http://www.religionnewsblog.com/15293/lds-church-phases-out-new-zealand-high-school>, (accessed July 30, 2011)

thousands of competent, talented graduates, over the past century. The Brethren have considered the positive influence which CCNZ has had in bringing the Church “out of obscurity” throughout all of New Zealand. They have tender concerns about disrupting the professional careers of the faithful faculty and the vocational pursuits of the devoted staff members. The Brethren have deliberated long about the disruption the school’s closure might have upon the lovely little community of temple view.⁴⁷

Sounding a similar note, Elder Paul V. Johnson of the Seventy, and the Administrator of Religious Education and Elementary and Secondary Education for the Church pointed out that the school’s closure was part of a continuous policy of the Church to discontinue its schools when local school systems can provide adequate education. A Church press release announcing the closure pointed out that only 10 percent of eligible LDS youth in New Zealand attended the CCNZ. Elder Johnson also pointed out provisions for the students affected by the closure, stating, “New Zealand Ministry of Education officials have assured us that local schools can absorb the influx of students over the next three years and provide them with an excellent education.”⁴⁸

While the final closure of the CCNZ in 2009 took place outside of the 1950–80 parameter of this study, it is included here as an example of the enduring nature of the policies established to govern the global CES in the early 1970s. It may also be possible to argue the closure represents a continuation of the policies established in the 1920s, with a brief hiatus taken in the 1950s and 60s when the international Church schools were established. For the purposes of this study in examining the Church schools, it shows the thoughtful and careful consideration given to each school and its utility within the global CES. But the policies which sometimes painfully trimmed back unnecessary ventures, also allowed for the creation of new ones, as seen in island nation of Kiribati.

⁴⁷ Spencer J. Condie, “The Hollowing Precedes the Hallowing,” quoted in Esplin, 107.

⁴⁸ LeAnn J. Walton, “New Zealand Church College to Close,” <http://www.mission.net/new-zealand/ccnzcloses.html>, (accessed Oct. 18, 2010).

Moroni High School in Kiribati. Kiribati consists of thirty-three islands in the central Pacific, with a total population of approximately 100,000 inhabitants. Roughly one-third of the population lives on the capital island of Tarawa.⁴⁹ The story of the opening of Moroni High School on these islands illustrates the flexible nature of the new policies governing the Church Educational System. While in most locations the new policies meant the closure of existing Church schools, in Kiribati the opening of a new school led to the establishment of the Church in a new nation.

Prior to 1972, there were no Latter-day Saints in Kiribati. The British-overseen government of the country limited education among the natives, only allowing 5 to 7 percent of elementary age children to attend school. The move was a pragmatic one, designed only to educate the number of people needed to fill available positions. Hoping to overcome these challenges, Waitea Abiuta, a teacher and administrator at several different schools in Kiribati, established a small elementary school on Tarawa in 1969. Seeking to provide high school training for his students, in 1972 Abiuta began sending letters to high schools throughout the world, attempting to place his graduates at any high school willing to accept them. One of these letters reached George C. Puckett, the superintendent of Church schools in Tonga. Puckett forwarded the letters to Alton F. Wade, head of the Pacific schools. At first, Wade put the letters aside since they came from non-members, and the Church was in the midst of streamlining its educational efforts. But impressed by the sheer volume of the letters from Kiribati, Wade eventually discussed the letters with Elder Neal A. Maxwell. The decision was made to

⁴⁹ W. James Jacobs, "A Beacon to the Isles of the Sea: How Education Brought Gospel Light to Kiribati," in *Pioneers in the Pacific*, ed. Grant Underwood, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center), 2005, 277.

investigate the matter further, and Wade, along with Kenneth Beesley, the associate commissioner over Church schools, were sent to meet with Abiuta.⁵⁰

Impressed with Abiuta and his work, Wade and Beesley returned to Church headquarters and recommended that George Puckett travel to Tarawa and select twelve students to attend Liahona High School in Tonga. The first group of students from Kiribati arrived in Tonga in February 1973. By May, all twelve, with parental permission, had chosen to be baptized as members of the LDS Church. A second group of thirteen students arriving the year after were all baptized as well. During a routine visit to Tonga, Apostle Thomas S. Monson met personally with the students from Kiribati. Meeting with other Church leaders, Monson pointed out that if the majority of the incoming class continued to be baptized there could soon be enough members of the Church in Kiribati to consider opening missionary work there. By 1975, six young men from the original group of students were ordained elders and called as missionaries. After six months serving in the Tongan mission, the young elders were reassigned to the Fiji Suva Mission and sent to Kiribati to open the island for missionary work. Assisted by several missionaries from other countries, the missionaries soon converted a number of natives from Kiribati, including Waitea Abiuta.⁵¹

Abiuta's school soon became the center for LDS activity in Kiribati, providing facilities for Church meetings and other functions. Opposition to the new movement arose as local ministers from other faiths counseled parent against enrolling their children in the school. Because the school was dependent on student tuition, it soon ran into financial difficulty, and Abiuta was forced to ask the CES administration for help. Realizing the school's importance to

⁵⁰ Ibid., 279-281.

⁵¹ Ibid., 282-283.

the future of the Church in Kiribati, Alton Wade recommended a temporary takeover. He also sent a professional teacher, Grant S. Howlett, to supervise the school. CES officially took over the school and renamed it Moroni Community School in 1977.⁵²

Under Grant Howlett's leadership, the school grew, constructing several more buildings to accommodate more students. Because of the difficulty in finding qualified teachers, the school continued to be headed by American expatriates and CES missionaries for several years. The CES also hired several local Church members who had graduated from Liahona High School to teach at the school. Conditions were primitive. The school lacked running water, electricity, and phones for the first several years of its existence. In 1984, after the school had received significant improvements, it received its secondary certification and was renamed Moroni High School. Following this change in status students from Kiribati no longer traveled to Tonga for their secondary education. The same year, the first non-Anglo headmaster, an experienced official from Tonga, was sent to take over the school.⁵³

Over the years, the school continued to grow along with the Church in Kiribati. Today the school functions as a model for the entire country as a successful educational facility. Training programs for teachers run out of BYU-Hawaii allowed the school to build fully qualified and prepared staff.⁵⁴ Looked at as a missionary venture, the school is an amazing success story. When the first students from Kiribati arrived in Tonga in 1975, there were no

⁵² Ibid., 284.

⁵³ Dennis A. Wright and Megan E. Warner, "Louis and Barbara Durfee's CES Mission to Kiribati," in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: The Pacific Isles*, ed. Reid L. Neilson, (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, 2008), 115-117.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 124-125.

members of the Church in the entire country. Three decades later there are over 11,000 Church members; nearly one person in ten is a member.⁵⁵

Current Church Policy for K–12 Schools

The circumstances in Kiribati are more the exception than the rule in current Church policy.⁵⁶ However, the school in Kiribati demonstrates the potential power of education as an outreach tool for the Church. In this case, where a need existed, the Church followed its policy to extend the necessary help. As of 2011, the Church still operates fifteen elementary and secondary schools, mostly in the Pacific, to meet the needs of its membership. However, the schools are a small part of the global system. Of 724,644 students reported by the CES in 2011, only 7,160 are students in elementary and secondary schools.⁵⁷

Implementation of the policies regarding K–12 schools during the 1970s was at times a painful process. Exceptions to the policy such as the Juarez Academy, the Benemerito School, and the school in Kiribati, were made when necessary, and the school policy continued to evolve. The system that gradually emerged from the policies established in the early 1970s followed closely the vision laid out before the Church Board in J. Elliot Cameron's 1966 report. At the K–12 level, secular schooling took a lesser role, while bringing religious education to every Church member became the top priority of the system.

The vast majority of students in the worldwide system take part through religious education programs, where we will next turn our attention. An examination of the religious

⁵⁵ Jacob, 286.

⁵⁶ Other schools were opened during this period, perhaps most importantly in Jakarta, Indonesia in 1977. See Jones, 3, see also R. Lanier Britsch, *From the East*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998), 500-503. The Moroni School remains exceptional because it is still open and remains prosperous. As mentioned above, the school acts as a hub for the local Church membership and continues to play an important role in the lives of Church members.

⁵⁷ Seminaries and Institutes of Religion Annual Report for 2010 (Salt Lake City: the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2010), 2.

education programs illustrates the importance of another crucial policy decision from the 1970s, specifically the choice to staff educational programs with native personnel whenever possible. Understanding the value of having local personnel head the educational programs is an important piece in grasping the movement from an American dominated system (“international” in the terminology of this study) to a global system transcendent of national borders and cultures.

Importance of Indigenous Personnel in the Operations of the Global System

During the 1970s, the Seminary and Institute programs became the primary vehicle for Church Education worldwide. By design, the backbone of the organization was found in indigenous leadership. Accordingly, one of its primary goals consisted of finding and training talented local personnel to fill teaching and administrative positions. Even the standard established early in the Maxwell administration of sending out an American teacher, then giving them three years to establish the program and train a replacement began to change.

In 1973 Allan Hassell, a teacher from Oregon, was sent to Taiwan to launch the Seminary and Institute programs. Originally, Hassell was told he had four years to establish the program in Taiwan. Within a few months, Hassell located a local teacher, Joseph Wan, whom he hired to as a full-time teacher to assist in the program. Soon after, Hassell was asked to return to the United States, allowing Wan to take over all aspects of the program. Expecting to stay in Taiwan at least another two years, Hassell was extremely disappointed, but saw the virtue in turning over the program to a local leader. Years later, he reflected on the move, “He [Joseph Wan] had been trained. He knew what to do. And he just slid right into the process.”⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Allan Hassell Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 17, 1991, transcript in author’s possession, 69.

All over the system, the use of American expatriates to launch religious education programs was gradually curtailed, and then phased out. Eventually administrators at Church headquarters used local ecclesiastical leaders to find a suitable teacher, made a trip to the field to train them, and then allowed them to launch the programs. Once a year the different supervisors from around the world came to Salt Lake for additional training. Occasionally, a missionary couple, usually a retired CES teacher and his wife, were sent out to launch the program, but their involvement rarely last more than eighteen months. Even without an American professional living in country, CES leaders experienced little difficulty finding local teachers to fill the need. Clarence Schramm, an administrator during this time, commented on the evolution of the program, “It was a matter of finding someone who was well enough established in the church and who had the kind of background that they could handle an education program. We had sent some US citizens and Canadians into Germany earlier, but really then, as we went into the Eastern-block countries we found the local people and they just seemed to materialize about the time we needed them. Same with Africa, as we had to pull some of the people out of Africa, we had people there.”⁵⁹

In the late 1970s, Stanley Peterson took over as head of Seminaries and Institutes, and further emphasized the need for local personnel to head the program. Speaking of the need for this move, he said:

It's critical that we use local people. I saw areas where we kept sending Americans, and every time you send an American and use him the local people don't grow. Over the years, our philosophy has been to use the local people as soon as you can. Don't keep sending Americans because there's no continuity. There isn't the growth locally. It isn't their program. It's the Americans' programs and American church and we are just the peons that are here to do the leg work. So early on I saw

⁵⁹ Clarence Schramm Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, Nov. 8, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 10.

personally the value of using the local people, so that they could grow, and it could be their program. They could sense the ownership about it, and the continuity of not having every two or three years a new person coming in with new ideas to change everything.⁶⁰

Because of this tendency, the story of LDS education outside the United States became entwined with the stories of the local Church members who took over responsibility for those programs. As the programs spread, thousands of devoted teachers and administrators from different nations worked together as a truly global system transcending national boundaries emerged.

Conclusions

After struggling in the 1950s and 60s to develop a cohesive program to provide education to the worldwide membership of the Church, during the 1970s, the global Church Educational System emerged. With a few exceptions and alterations, the policies established during this period remain in place and govern the global system today. These policies laid the foundation for the long-term growth and operation. They allowed the Church Educational System to adapt to local circumstances and provide an equitable distribution of educational resources. These two principles, adaptability and equity, were key guiding factors in the establishment and creation of a global educational system. They are best illustrated by the examination of the two policies discussed in this chapter, specifically the policies regarding closure of K–12 schools and the emphasis on hiring indigenous personnel.

The closure of the majority of the international Church schools was for the local saints, and possibly the Church as well, an unfortunate but perhaps inevitable result of evolving policies. The schools were established out of compassion for Church members lacking educational opportunities. However, once Church leaders began taking into account the realities

⁶⁰ Stanley A. Peterson Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 1, 1991, transcript in author's possession, 20-21.

of meeting the needs of members all over the world, it became clear that establishing schools everywhere was impossible given the limits of Church resources. Providing schools in every country was not feasible. Excepting the unique circumstances of areas like the Pacific Islands, it was difficult to provide adequately even in the countries where schools already existed. The choice to emphasize religious education over secular education allowed Church programs to reach every member in every country, regardless of the size and location of the local LDS population. The decision to not duplicate existing educational programs meant the closure of most Church schools, but was a necessary sacrifice to bring equity to Church members all over the globe. It is clear from the continued existence of the Juarez Academy, the Benemerito de las Americas, and other schools that local circumstances sometimes called for exceptions to the general policy. However, the school closures of the late 1970s and the early 1980s were a necessary part of the transition into a global system. Examining the global growth of the Church over the last thirty years up until the present day, the wisdom of this decision is evident.

Second, the policy of hiring indigenous personnel to staff Church educational programs reflects the need for adaptability in a global system. The headquarters for the Church Educational System may still remain in Salt Lake City, but the supervision of local personnel allows the system to meet the needs of whatever country it functions within. One of the hallmarks of a global system is its elevation above national boundaries and cultures to create a unique worldwide organization. Like Mormonism itself, the Church Educational System and its educators is a culture unto itself. Each area adapts to meet the local circumstances, but the guiding principles remain the same. The central administration of the system remains largely American, but in every country individuals from the local culture oversee the day-to-day operations of the system. On the grassroots level, the majority of the educators serving in the

system are unpaid volunteers who serve as a part of their Church calling. This allows for cultural adaptation to the nth degree since circumstances may vary even from community to community. In addition, the army of unpaid volunteers who staff the system are inexpensive to maintain, allowing limited educational resources to stretch even further. Thus, with only a few paid employees scattered among the nations, and a capable corps of volunteers, the Church Educational System became a more nimble entity, reaching the needs of an expanding global membership.

The policies created to govern the global system brought changes which radically altered the nature of Church education. Without the consolidation of the schools and the massive effort to find the right leaders to staff the organization during the 1970s, the emergence of the global system would not have been possible. The stories told here are only a small view of the greater system but they are an important beginning in telling the story of how a American Church grew so rapidly into a global religion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Education as an Illustration of the Globalization of Mormonism

The creation of the global Church Educational System was a community effort, springing from many different personalities, events, and historical forces. Some of the actions leading to the worldwide expansion of Mormon education happened directly because of action taken by Church leaders. Other events took place as a reaction to outside events and forces. The globalization of Church educational programs took place in a larger context of the worldwide expansion of the LDS faith which took place at an accelerated pace following World War II. Only the broadest strokes of this monumental movement have been explored here, but the findings of this study do provide an intriguing look into one facet of how a regional, American faith, grew quickly into a full-fledged worldwide movement. The primary aim of this study was to examine the origins of the global CES and the evolution of the educational policies, which govern the system. A secondary concern was to provide the reader with a glimpse into the operations of the system worldwide. By examining the general changes affecting the system Church-wide, and illustrating the changes by providing examples of the impact of the policies on a local level, one can gain greater insight into the “hows” and the “whys” of the development of the Church Educational System. To this end, we return to the two questions asked at the beginning of this study.

Factors Contributing to the Expansion and Contraction of LDS Educational Programs

A multitude of different factors led to the creation of the global Church Educational System during the time period of this study. The rapid expansion of missionary work outside the United States in the post-war era, the surpluses in Church budgets after years of wartime austerity, and the postwar educational boom within the United States all contributed to the drive to create an educational system to provide for Church members worldwide. The creation of the worldwide CES, however, was not inevitable. The rise in international membership did not necessarily call for an educational system to meet their needs. Provisions for education are a fundamental part of LDS theology, but the method for providing education has varied throughout the history of the LDS Church. The system of academies in the late 19th century, for example, gave way to the supplementary system of Seminaries, Institutes, and Religion Classes.¹ As needs changed, the administrators of Church educational programs adapted a new model based around supplementary religious education, utilizing the different approaches of released-time, early morning, and home study based on the local conditions. When confronted with the mammoth task of taking education to a worldwide populace, the most fundamental question was how could this best be accomplished.

David O. McKay and the “International” System

The most important figure in understanding the early efforts to provide education to Latter-day Saints outside the United States, and the drive to create an international educational system in general, is Church president David O. McKay. During his long tenure as a general authority, McKay’s administrative actions were based around two themes: internationalization

¹ See Brett David Dowdle, “‘A New Policy in Church School Work’: The Founding of the Mormon Supplementary Religious Education Movement,” MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2011.

and education. These themes only became more pronounced after McKay was sustained as Church president in 1951. McKay's career as an educator and his experiences traveling the world as a young apostle fused together, creating within him a keen desire to bring education to every Church member in every part of the world. McKay also saw education as a key tool in opening the doors of different nations to the work of the Church. No statement better elucidates McKay's vision for worldwide education than his remarks made at the groundbreaking of the Church College of Hawaii in 1955, when he reflected back on a flag raising he witnessed at the little Church school in Laie, 34 years earlier:

As I looked at that motley group of youngsters, and realized how far apart their parents are in hopes, aspirations, and ideals, and then thought of these boys and girls, the first generation of their children, all thrown into what Israel Zangwell had aptly called the 'Melting Pot' and coming out Americans, my bosom swelled with emotion and tears came to my eyes, and I felt like bowing in prayer and thanksgiving for the glorious country which is doing so much for all these nationalities. But more than that, when I realize that these same boys and girls have the opportunity of participating in all the blessings of the Gospel which will transform the American into a real citizen of the Kingdom of God. I feel to praise His name for the glorious privileges vouchsafed to this generation. We held short services in the school room in which all – American, Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino—participated as though they had belonged to one nation, one country, one tongue.

America and the Church of Christ will truly make of all nations one blood. May God hasten the day when this is accomplished.²

In the terminology of this study, McKay's vision best fits under the term "internationalization" because McKay saw American ideals and influence as the key to creating a global society. The programs launched under his direction, largely supervised and directed by Americans, fit into this vision.

McKay was also highly influential in the choice of the best delivery system for the international educational system. There is no indication of McKay holding ill feelings towards

² David O. McKay Diary, December 12, 1958, McKay papers, Box 40, Fd. 6, Special Collections, U of U.

the supplemental religious education programs of the Church, but it is clear that he saw Church schools with their approach on integrating gospel teachings into every subject as the best way of bringing education to the membership of the Church. McKay's feelings were illustrated during discussion to determine Church policy in 1929, when he said

When President Woodruff sent out his letter advising Presidents of Stakes to establish Church Schools, he emphasized that we must have our children trained in the principles of the gospel. We can have that in the seminaries it is true, but he added this, "and where the principles of our religion may form part of the teaching of the schools." President Young had the same thought in mind when he told Dr. Maeser not to teach arithmetic without the spirit of the Lord. The influence of seminaries, if you put them all over the Church, will not equal the influence of the Church schools that are now established.³

Given these beliefs on McKay's part, it is no surprise that when he moved to create the international system, he employed Church schools as the primary vehicle for his vision.

McKay's extensive travel in the early years of his presidency had an electric effect on the efforts to build and upgrade schools and create new educational programs. As illustrated in his visit to the school and temple construction site in Hamilton, New Zealand, McKay's presence and forceful personality raised the profile of Church educational programs worldwide. His stamp of approval and immediate elevation of Wendall Mendenhall to head all Church building projects launched the building missionary project. The church schools in the Pacific, which had limped along for nearly a century as units of the local missionary organizations, were built up, given professional faculties filled with American personnel, an American board of education, and upgraded to a full educational system. McKay was less directly involved in efforts to create the school systems in Mexico and Chile, but the Church officials who carried out these actions

³ *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, ed. Ernest L. Wilkinson, 4 vols., (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 2:74-75.

receive the stamp of approval from the First Presidency, and they patterned their systems after the earlier efforts in the Pacific.⁴ Because of the language barrier, the schools in Mexico and Chile were not dominated by Americans, although the administrators of the schools were American or Anglos from the LDS Colonies in northern Mexico.

McKay surrounded himself with a capable set of educational leaders who shared his belief in the value of Church schools and worked diligently to carry out his aims. Chief among them was Ernest L. Wilkinson, whose forceful personality and persuasive manner led to an unprecedented expansion of the Church's involvement in higher education. Under Wilkinson's direction, Brigham Young University grew at an impressive rate, and plans were laid for a satellite system of junior colleges throughout the western United States to feed into Brigham Young University. The efforts begun with the Church College of New Zealand placed Wendall Mendenhall into a key position as head of the building department of the Church. Mendenhall's subsequent launch of the worldwide building program, and its resultant drain on Church resources, began a serious discussion on the direction Church education should take.

Challenges Affecting the Direction of Church Policy

By the early 1960s, the idealism of McKay's policies began to meet the reality of limited Church resources. The Church budgetary difficulties during the period forced leaders to reexamine the direction of international Church education. The desire to create a unified strategy for the Church's educational ventures brings to the forefront the other dominant personality in the creation of global Church education, specifically Harold B. Lee. Where McKay's vision drove the creation of the worldwide CES, Lee carefully examined the practicalities behind the

⁴ See Clark V. Johnson, "Mormon Education in Mexico: The Rise of the Sociedad Educativa y Cultural," PhD Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1977, 65-68 and A. Delbert Palmer, "Establishing the LDS Church in Chile," MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1979, 155-166.

creation of such a system. A former volunteer seminary teacher, Lee developed a close relationship with the heads of the Seminary and Institute programs, especially William E. Berrett, Boyd K. Packer, and A. Theodore Tuttle. As Tuttle and Packer joined the ranks of the General Authorities, Lee gained two important supporters.

Many of the issues surrounding the future of Church education came to a head in the intense discussions surrounding Ernest Wilkinson's proposed collection of satellite junior colleges for BYU. The discussions themselves demonstrate an interesting paradigm shift in the mindset of the Church Board of Education, as the discussions shifted more and more towards the needs of the international membership of the Church and virtues of supplemental religious education over the Church schools. Boyd K. Packer, who effectively led the charge against Wilkinson's proposal framed one of his chief arguments in saying, "Somehow to commit hundreds of millions of dollars to provide the well-privileged youth of the Church with an education they will achieve anyway with less expense and more convenience than if we provide it seems unfortunate stewardship of our educational resources."⁵ The discussions over the future of Wilkinson's program were inconclusive, but they brought to the forefront an important question, "Where can the educational resources of the Church best be utilized?" Wilkinson's departure to run for U.S. Senate the next year effectively ended the chances of the junior college proposal, and the Church Board began seriously considering the questions of providing for the educational needs of the Church membership outside the United States. Church leaders, such as the fiscally minded N. Eldon Tanner, began exploring how to bring educational to every member of the Church within the reasonable limits of Church finance.

⁵ Boyd K. Packer to President David O. McKay and Counselors, Salt Lake City, February 18, 1963. A complete copy of this letter is found in McKay Diary, March 5, 1963, Box 53, Fd. 7, McKay Papers, Special Collections, U of U.

The next crucial step taken by Lee came in the commissioning of J. Elliot Cameron's report on the global educational needs of the Church. Lee carefully oversaw the research conducted by Cameron. When completed, the massive report provided a blueprint for the practical expansion of Church educational programs worldwide. Its presentation to and acceptance by David O. McKay fused together the largesse of McKay's vision with the practicalities of Harold B. Lee's and the way was opened for the creation of a system usable in every country.

Home Study and the Launch of International Religious Education

The next piece of the puzzle came in the development of the home study seminary program. Released-time seminary suited the needs of youth in predominantly LDS areas, and early morning was adequate for areas with smaller populations, but another tool was needed to reach the growing worldwide population of the Church. The work of the S&I curriculum team, with Don Bond as the field tester, produced an effective method for reaching any LDS student, regardless of their location. With home study in place, Church educators held a system flexible enough to meet the wide variety of challenges facing a global educational system. In assessing the importance of this development, Joe J. Christensen said, "Every young person in the world, who is a member of the Church, can have access to one form or another of the Church Educational System. When you consider the home study materials, and the early morning and released time seminary opportunities, now everyone in the world can say we have a weekday religious educational program that can adapt to their circumstances."⁶ As soon as home study proved viable, the international expansion of religious education programs began. Starting in the United

⁶ Joe J. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, April 13, 1991, transcript in author's possession, 22.

Kingdom and Australia, the program then spread around the globe, into every country with a sizable Church membership.

Harold B. Lee and New Policy in Church Education

Shortly after David O. McKay's passing in 1970, the leadership of Church education was reorganized with Harold B. Lee taking the reins and appointing Neal A. Maxwell to serve in the reconstituted position of Church Commissioner of Education. One of the important aims of Maxwell's team was the creation of a unified set of policies to govern the system. One of the main advantages of bringing Maxwell to the position was his status as an outsider. He brought no previous agenda to the system and instead worked closely with the Church Board of Education to develop policy. By this time, Harold B. Lee was a counselor in the First Presidency with responsibility over Church education, and his influence was felt even more forcefully in Church educational circles. Lee's public profile in education didn't match McKay's, but his influence in Church leadership councils was decisive. Ken Beesley, the head of Church K–12 schools under Maxwell commented, "The biggest change that I have felt in connection with the Board had been the difference between President Lee and anyone else. I saw the situation before he became President and then subsequently. He took a stronger personal role in the direction we were going than anyone else has."⁷

The policies announced in 1971 clarified the future direction of Church education and provided a practical basis for governance of the worldwide system. The first guideline in the 1971 policy announcement stated, "Religious education is to have primary emphasis in the future

⁷ Kenneth Beesley Oral History, Interviewed by David J. Whittaker, 1977, OH 304, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, 20.

expansion of the Church Educational System.”⁸ The next policy limited the creation of new K–12 schools, stating, “New elementary and secondary schools will be developed only in areas not adequately served by existing school systems.”⁹ The new policies also set the system on track to become a “global” organization, utilizing the terms as used in this study, by stressing the need for a system based on volunteerism and local leadership. The policy stated, “The wise but rapid development of indigenous leadership is vital in all countries and cultures, especially as it relates to religious instruction throughout the Church Educational System.”¹⁰

Expansion Religious Education and Consolidation Church Schools

These policies laid the groundwork for a period of rapid expansion where religious education was concerned, and consolidation where K–12 schools were concerned. During Maxwell’s tenure, American expatriates sent out to begin programs were given clear guidelines to win the support of local priesthood leaders, set up the programs, train a replacement from among the local membership, and then return home. The emphasis on developing local leadership began to create a unique corps of educational leaders whose aims and objectives transcended national boundaries and became the core of the global system. Eventually, even the use of American expatriates to launch new programs was curtailed in favor of using CES missionaries and local priesthood to recruit and train new leadership for the programs. After Maxwell’s departure, Commissioner Jeffrey R. Holland fused together the administration of the Seminary and Institute programs, and the Church K–12 schools, creating a unified administration to govern both.

⁸ *Seek Learning Even by Study and By Faith*,” Report for 1971 from Commissioner of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 3.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

As religious education grew, the Church K–12 schools went through a period of consolidation. The first schools to be closed and the only school system eliminated outright were the schools in Chile, most likely because of their troubled history during the Allende regime. Throughout the Pacific, schools were eliminated or continued based on their need and local circumstances. American teachers were almost completely removed from the schools in favor of local educators. In 1980 the announcement of the planned phase out of almost all of the schools in Mexico marked a significant milestone in the development of the global system. Since that time, minor movements have occurred such as the closure of the Church College of New Zealand and the opening of Moroni High School in Kiribati, but on the whole, the trend of Church education has moved away from K–12 schools in favor of religious education programs. This trend was only encouraged and accelerated by the increased capacity of the governments in the nations where Church schools existed to provide adequate K–12 education for the majority of their citizens.

Two Visions: David O. McKay and Harold B. Lee

The development of the global system is a sweeping story of the life labors of thousands of individuals, but at its heart lays the vision of two leaders: David O. McKay and Harold B. Lee. McKay provided the grand perspective of the worldwide destiny and promise of Church education. He provided the momentum to launch the programs and make the creation of an international system a priority for Church administration. Lee provided the practical means to carry out a worldwide system. His push to seriously consider exactly what the aims and goals of the direction should be provided the physical groundwork for a real functioning system capable of reaching Church membership within the limits of Church resources. McKay was the visionary, Lee was the pragmatist.

Effects of the Expansion Era on the Operation of Current LDS Education

The often rocky history of the development of the global CES during the period of 1950 to 1980 is crucial in understanding the function of the global system today. For the most part, the policies laid down during the 1970s have remained consistent to this day. Twenty years after the policies were established, Joe J. Christensen remarked:

[As] Brother Maxwell described it, it was a "Camelot" era. It was a time when the presiding brethren were giving unusual support to internationalized religious education and the Church Educational System in general. There was a lot of interest and time expended by the brethren in discussion, not only about religious education, but all aspects of education. They were really looking into the future and trying to decide which directions the Church Educational System ought to go and so those meetings were very interesting to be involved in. It is interesting, since many of those decisions were made back in the early 70's, that they pretty well have stayed on track. I see very few differences in principle or direction to the educational decisions they made back then.¹¹

The interest of the Church leadership in education in the early 1970s stemmed from the previous twenty years of successes and failures. Some the lessons from those years came from study, such as the directives given in the Cameron report, and some came from experience. The experience of this era provided many lessons, but three examples stand out as lessons learned from the early years of the Church's venture into worldwide education: (1) the emphasis on supplementary religious education, (2) a flexible program designed to adapt to a wide variety of circumstances, and (3) the emphasis on developing indigenous leadership.

One of the most important questions asked over the course of the 1950–80 experience in creating the global system was, “What is the best way to reach as many people as possible?” Different visions favored a system of K–12 schools providing not only religious enlightenment but a basic education as well. Others favored the use of supplementary programs, designed to

¹¹ Christensen 1991 Oral History, 21.

theologically reinforce students, while state programs provided the majority of their education. The practicality of creating a worldwide network of Church K–12 schools was tested through the experiences in the Pacific, Mexico, and Chile. In many ways, the experience mirrored the operation and closure of the Church academies throughout the Intermountain West in the early twentieth century.

The policies placed the system decisively on track to develop supplementary religious education programs, and away from Church schools. Boyd K. Packer reiterated the direction of Church education in a speech to regional representatives given in 1975:

The Brethren now have a very firm policy against establishing any new college, any new institutions of higher learning. Likewise, there is a fixed policy against opening any more elementary or secondary schools, except in those few places in the world where public education just does not exist. As we travel, and I'm sure as you travel, the plea is, Why can't we have our school? Why can't we get a college here? Why can't we have the full program? Well, we just do not have the funds. We can't be establishing institutions of higher learning everywhere in the world. We don't have the funds to establish schools where there is some dissatisfaction, and for cause, because of political philosophies that are taught, sex education in the curriculum, and so forth.¹²

More recently, Church president Gordon B. Hinckley reiterated the Church emphasis on supplemental religious education:

We shall continue to support BYU and its Hawaii campus. We shall continue to support Ricks College. We are not likely to build other university campuses. We wish that we might build enough to accommodate all who desire to attend. But this is out of the question. They are so terribly expensive. But we shall keep these as flagships testifying to the great and earnest commitment of this Church to education, both ecclesiastical and secular, and while doing so prove to the world that excellent secular learning can be gained in an environment of religious faith. Backing up these institutions will be our other schools, our institutes of religion, scattered far and wide, and the great seminary system of the Church.¹³

¹² Boyd K. Packer, "Equally Yoked Together," Address at Regional Representatives Seminar, April 3, 1975, 4, <http://www.ldsces.org/teachers/teacher%20resource%20library%20talks.asp> (accessed August 9, 2011).

¹³ Gordon B. Hinckley, "Why We Do Some of the Things We Do," October 1999 General Conference,

Hinckley spoke primarily of the higher education programs of the Church, but his words also apply on the K–12 level. The CES annual report for 2011 in discussing the K–12 schools states, “No new programs are anticipated.”¹⁴

These statements acknowledge one of the fundamental economic realities behind the way the system operates today. Supplementary education is favored because it is impossible due to the limited nature of Church resources to provide K–12 and higher education to every member worldwide. Even if it were possible to do so, it might not be desirable. The nature of the worldwide CES today reflects a fundamental shift in the nature of Latter-day Saint thought. Historian Scott C. Esplin called the establishment of the Church academies during the late 19th century as part of the “us verses the world” attitude that pervaded Mormon thought from the period, including educational thought.¹⁵ As the Church expanded globally, some vestiges of this thinking remained. David O. McKay intended the Church College of New Zealand, its nearby temple, and the surrounding community to form a “gathering place” for the local Saints.¹⁶ Supplementary education allowed the youth of the Church to mingle with their peers of other faiths, while still gathering with fellow believers to strengthen the fires of faith. They could be in the world but hopefully not of the world. On another level it might be argued the schools were established as a missionary tool. But the establishment of further schools on those grounds only brings up again the practicalities of providing a full education, even for students who do not

<http://lds.org/general-conference/1999/10/why-we-do-some-of-the-things-we-do?lang=eng&query=we+do+some+things+we+do+Hinckley> (accessed August 9, 2011). It should be noted that Hinckley did make an exception to this policy briefly with the announcement in August 2000 that Ricks College would become a four year institution and changed to the name BYU-Idaho. See <http://www.ldschurchnews.com/articles/40310/Its-BYU-Idaho-Ricks-College-no-more.html> (accessed August 9, 2011).

¹⁴ Seminaries and Institutes of Religion Annual Report for 2011, 2.

¹⁵ Scott C. Esplin, “Education in Transition: Church and State Relationships in Utah Education, 1888-1993,” PhD Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 2006, 219.

¹⁶ David W. Cummings, *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific: The Building Program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints - Its History, Scope and Significance* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1961), 53.

belong to the faith. In the end the question was one of resource management. Church leaders asked themselves, “What can we do best, and do for the greatest amount of people?”

The creation of a truly worldwide system, capable of reaching every LDS student, was probably impossible until the creation of the home-study seminary program. When examining the closure of the LDS Academies in the early 20th century, Joseph F. Merrill, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, summarized some of the challenges presented in the continuing operation of the schools: “The Church Board of Education and the Church’s leading educators and thinkers in many fields had long realized that Church operated academies were a financial burden and *were performing a limited service, geographically at least.*”¹⁷ The same dilemma existed as the choice was faced between Church schools and Seminaries and Institutes. Except for places like the islands in the Pacific, it was difficult to reach all of the students, given the limited geographical range of each school. Locations like the Church College of New Zealand functioned as boarding schools, but this drew students away from the influence of families. Harold B. Lee exerted a powerful influence in education, but his work with the educational system was only part of his larger work of Priesthood correlation which took place in the 1960s and early 1970s. Boyd K. Packer, quoting Lee in a recent address to the Church, summarized the overall goal of the correlation movement:

It seems clear to me that the Church has *no choice*—and never has had—but to do more to assist the *family* in carrying out *its* divine mission, not only because that is the order of heaven, but also because that is the most *practical* contribution we can make to our youth—to help improve the quality of life in the Latter-day Saint homes. As important as our many programs and organizational efforts are, these *should not* supplant the home; they should *support* the home.¹⁸

¹⁷ Joseph F. Merrill, “A New Institution in Religious Education,” *Improvement Era*, January 1938, 55-56.

¹⁸ Boyd K. Packer, “The Power of the Priesthood,” October 2010 General Conference Address, <http://lds.org/general-conference/2010/04/the-power-of-the-priesthood?lang=eng>, (Accessed August 10, 2011), emphasis in original.

The three delivery methods of the seminary program, released-time, early morning, and home-study, supported the home across a wider variety of circumstances. Students enrolled in seminary lived at home with their parents. In places like New Zealand, the majority of the student attending the schools lived away from home as boarding students. Excepting smaller islands in the Pacific, a significant challenge for the Church schools came from overcoming the geographic scattering of LDS populations. In most places, a school required students to leave their families in order to gather a large enough population to justify its existence. Seminaries were designed to meet under a wide variety of circumstances, with large and small groups gathering in facilities ranging from chapels to the homes of local members. If no group could be gathered, a student studied at home under the direction of his parents, who often served as the seminary teachers themselves. To borrow from Packer’s language, schools *supplanted* the home, and seminaries *supported* the home.

As a delivery system, the seminary program remains the dominant educational program in the Church on the K–12 level. Statistics for 2011 report 225,563 students in daily seminary (seminary outside of the school day), 116,817 students in released-time seminary, and 26,993 in home-study seminary.¹⁹ The home study program, so crucial to the global development of the system, is generally used as a last resort when a student cannot travel to a seminary class. Recent statistics for the three methods indicate that 81.9% of potential students enroll in released time, with a graduation rate of 76.2% of those enrolled. Daily or early morning seminary programs enroll 45.2% of potential students and yield and completion rate of 60.3% of enrollment. Home

¹⁹ S&I Annual Report for 2011, 2. Since many seminary programs take place at varying times in the day, those which take place outside of the regular school day have been renamed “daily seminary” to more accurately reflect its operation.

study enrolls 43.4% of potential students, with a graduation rate of 48.9% of enrollment.²⁰ Boyd K. Packer’s speech in 1975 indicated a policy preference for released-time first, followed by early morning next, and home study last which continues to this day.²¹ Recently S&I leaders have done preliminary field tests to replace the home study program with seminary classes conducted outside of school time between students and teachers connected through online technology.²²

The decision to shift the worldwide educational effort to supplementary religious education programs was difficult, but it gave the worldwide CES more flexibility to meet the needs of its memberships. A willingness to remain flexible and adaptable may call for more “seismic movements” in Church educational policy in the future. For now, it seems likely that supplementary religious education programs will remain the dominant form of Church education. However, the possibility always exists that the Seminary and Institute programs will one day be replaced by another new innovation better suited to the needs of the worldwide Church.

One of the most important lessons learned from the globalization movement came in the realization that the “American” church did not need to be exported wholesale with American teachers, methods, and facilities. In many ways, the entire program of the Church was simplified to adapt to different cultures. Stan Peterson, the head of LDS K–12 programs for over twenty years, commented of this shift in mindset from the Church Board of Education:

As they move into some of these developing nations, they [the Church Board] are anxious not to make some of the mistakes they made in South America, building the big American churches, building this huge cadre of employees, etc. We just don't have the resources to do that in all the countries of the world. So what they are

²⁰ Email from Mollie Turner, CES Records and Reports, February 9, 2007. Copy in author’s possession.

²¹ Packer, “Equally Yoked,” 4.

²² Information taken from Seminaries and Institutes Research Forum, June 22, 2010, <http://www.ldscs.org/teachers/research/forum/>, (accessed August 10, 2011).

trying to do now as much as possible is use the missionary approach, the volunteer concept, train the local people, even build buildings in a very simplified manner or not even buildings at all if they don't need to. They want to go in with a very simplified approach and introduce the gospel at the level of the locals who are ready to accept and can comprehend and can manage.²³

The inclusion of indigenous leadership as part of the CES programs grew out of necessity more than any other factor. It was simply too expensive and cumbersome to keep sending new American personnel to different countries every few years.

The “localization” and “volunteerization” of CES programs brought a remarkable change to the mindset of the Church Educational System. Church educators now grasp their work as part of larger effort around the globe with fellow teachers being drawn from many different cultures and nationalities. Recognition of these difference circumstances has changed the way the system operates. In essence, the CES changed the worldwide Church, and the worldwide Church changed CES. During the writing of this last chapter, I attended a satellite training broadcast for worldwide employees of the CES and was impressed by the remarkable number of subtle differences in the way the speakers conducted themselves. One speaker using an anecdote from the American Civil War, went to great lengths to explain the conflict in terms a person unfamiliar with the history of America would understand. In a similar vein, when an example was cited of a faithful teacher, the speaker mentioned a housewife from Argentina who served as a volunteer he had visited during his travels. In the central part of the meeting, a musical number was provided via satellite from an institute choir in Mongolia.²⁴ The level of awareness that a global, not just an American audience, viewed the meeting was remarkable.

²³ Stanley A. Peterson Oral History, Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 1, 1991, 10.

²⁴ Events observed at the Seminaries and Institutes Satellite Broadcast, August 2, 2011. As of this writing, transcripts of the event are not available, but may soon be accessed at ldscs.org.

The speed of this globalization is remarkable as well, basically covering just the span of one career. Joe J. Christensen commented on this in 2001:

When I was first appointed as a seminary teacher to Granite High School in 1955, the international enrollment in seminaries and institutes was listed at zero. In the report given in 2001, the total outside the United States and Canada is listed at 340,026 – almost 50 percent of the total worldwide enrollment. The seminary and institute program now functions in eighty-two countries, and course materials have been translated in fifty-eight languages! All of this has occurred thanks to the efforts of hundreds of dedicated full-time staff and thousands of faithful and effective volunteers.²⁵

As part of my research for this project, leaders from the CES invited me to attend the Area Director's conference held in Salt Lake City in April 2011. As I attended the meetings, I observed a remarkably array of different cultural backgrounds and experiences among the educators present. They spoke with many different accents, but all communicated about similar problems, laughed at the same jokes, and felt an easy rapport with their fellow educators. Cultural and national differences seemed less important than the fellowship of being teachers in the CES.

I was allowed to interview three of the administrators, Chor-Hin (Patrick) Cheuk from Hong Kong, Khumbulani D. Mdletshe from South Africa, and Henry Kosak from Moscow, Russia. Each came from diverse backgrounds, Cheuk and Mdletshe were both converts to the Church, Kosak was a lifelong member raised in the former East Germany. Each supervised an unimaginably vast area of the world. Each had a unique story of how they were recruited or sought out their employment as a CES teacher. But more remarkable were the similarities. Despite the differences, they're reflections on their careers all came back to similar themes of faith, testimony, miracles, and gratitude for their involvement. Their origins began in disparate locations and cultures, but they all arrived in a similar place. Their stories represent in microcosm the larger story of the globalization

²⁵ Joe J. Christensen, "The Globalization of the Church Educational System," in *Global Mormonism in the 21st Century*, ed. Reid L. Neilson, (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2008), 197-198.

of the CES. To borrow a familiar Latin phrase, the theme of the tale is *e pluribus unum*—out of many, one.

Conclusions: Revelation, Innovation, Adaptation

At the beginning of this study, it was stated that the story of the globalization of LDS education was based on revelation, innovation, and historical circumstance. From a religious perspective, Latter-day Saints believe their Church is led by inspired men. The same statement stands for the educational system of the Church. This unique fusion, blurring the lines of the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Church, is seen by educational officials as a great advantage in the creation of educational policy. One official in the CES commented, “We have the most unique Board of Trustees of any institution in the world because we have prophets, seers, and revelators. So our responsibility is to let prophets be prophets.”²⁶

At the same time, the LDS concept of revelation calls for work on the part of the person seeking revelation. Latter-day Saint scripture counsels the seeker to “study it out in your mind,” allowing for a process of revelation informed by research and thought. Credit in the creation of the global system must be accorded to the leadership of the Church, and its ability to make difficult, often painful decisions to produce better long-term results. Innovations surrounding the best way to bring education to the people of the Church have paved the way for a more efficient and effective system. The willingness to adapt to different circumstances in the past served as an important guide to the creation of future policy. Paul V. Johnson, the current Church Commissioner of Education, commented

²⁶ Roger G. Christensen Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, September 1, 2010, transcript in author’s possession, 27.

We still have some fairly major places to move to, and I think one of the challenges is to find out how best to do that. How do we pull this off with the limited resources that we have? I think we're probably going to have to do things a little bit differently in some instances in the future than we're used to. I think one of the challenges is, are we going to be up to that? Are we going to be open enough that we can hang on to the core of what we're about, but let go of a tradition or two that may get in our way from doing what we need to do.²⁷

A willingness to preserve the core of what Latter-day Saint education is intended to be, combined with a willingness to adapt and change will undoubtedly pave the way as the global Church Educational System continues to move into all the world.

Suggestions for Future Study

This study is meant as a beginning. Tackling a subject as vast as the establishment of a global educational system allows only a discussion of the largest aspects of this venture with some details included to help illustrate the story. Focusing on the framework of examining the development of policy allows us to comprehend the system but fails to provide much detail. A case-by-case study of the establishment of CES programs into each individual country could produce a number of fascinating accounts to illuminate the way the worldwide CES spreads. Using materials gathered for this project, another scholar, Jonathan E. Thomas, has already produced a fine study focusing on the introduction of the Seminary and Institute programs into Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.²⁸ Focus on different countries, specifically by scholars who speak the language, could yield wonderful results. In addition, a study to compare the Latter-day Saint effort to build a worldwide educational program with the efforts of other faiths could yield enlightening results.

²⁷ Paul V. Johnson Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, January 19, 2010, transcript in author's possession, 12.

²⁸ Jonathan E. Thomas, "The Worldwide Expansion of Seminaries to English-speaking Countries During the Administration of William E. Berrett," MA Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2011.

This study has only briefly addressed the impact of the worldwide CES on increasing the faith and testimony of the students it serves. These qualities are difficult to quantify, but there are certain measures for such a possible study. A recent book, *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers* by Christian Smith and Melinda Lundquist Denton shares the results of a study undertaken with a cohort of American teenagers.²⁹ In the book, the LDS youth featured in the study demonstrated higher measures of religiosity in almost every category. Can a tie between this and the effectiveness of Latter-day Saint educational programs be shown in a future study? A study like *Soul Searching* also focuses on American youth; it may be interesting to focus on the religiosity of LDS youth throughout the world. How does a young Latter-day Saint compare to his peers in Ghana or Japan? For years officials within the CES have carried out studies to measure the rate of missions served and temple marriages, two primary measurements of devotion among Latter-day Saints, but these studies have not been made available to scholars. Occasionally a Church official refers to these statistics in an address. For example, in a 1975 address Boyd K. Packer stated, “Do you know that the incidence of temple marriage when the bride and groom have graduated from seminary or institute is more than double the Church average?... We have reason to believe that it has a similar influence in the preparation for missions.”³⁰ Such studies often fail to gain credibility because they are carried out by the Church or by the CES, and independent study could yield interesting results regarding the usefulness of the CES.

Finally, though this study has occasionally sought to tell the perspective of the teachers in the field, it has, by necessity, neglected the stories of the largest group of teachers within the

²⁹ Christian Smith with Melinda Lundquist Denton, *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

³⁰ Boyd K. Packer, “Equally Yoked,” 4.

CES, the volunteer teachers. Nearly all of the accounts examined in this study have dealt with men, suggesting a sexist slant. Because of Latter-day Saint beliefs about the role of the mother within the home, nearly all of the career employees in the CES are male. But, as one administrator pointed out to me during this study, the vast majority of the actual teachers within the CES are female.³¹ Their stories, and the stories of all of the volunteer teachers with the CES should be an important area of focus in the realm of LDS educational studies.

I point out these deficiencies in the current study only as a means of encouraging future scholarship in this rich and fruitful area. As a gateway to studying global Mormonism, the educational system offers unprecedented advantages. Every administrator within the CES is required to speak English and have access to technology, removing a significant barrier for study. As natural teachers, many CES personnel possess an innate ability as storytellers, and have significant tales to tell. Many serve in important ecclesiastical responsibilities alongside of their work within the CES, providing a window into the operation of Latter-day Saint priesthood worldwide. In the future perhaps more of these stories may come to light. For the present it can only be hoped that this study offers a promising beginning.

Impact on the Researcher

In concluding this study I must note the impact upon me of engaging in global studies. Over the course of the last two years I have spoken to a Latter-day Saint representative from every continent where programs exist. I left these conversations with an enlightened view of conditions in each country. I also gained a key sense of a similar voice emerging among all the research subjects, regardless of their point of origin. A key characteristic of globalization within organizations is a shift from seeing one country as more important than others, and the creation

³¹ Conversation with Joe J. Christensen, July 12, 2011, notes in author's possession.

of an identity transcending national boundaries. One of the unique aspects of Mormonism is its status as not only a religion, but almost as a new culture altogether. The creation of a global educational system is only one facet of this newly developing culture. The organization examined in this study found itself thrust into the middle of the growing global culture of Mormonism, and successfully adapted. In many ways, the educators of the Church Educational System in every country have acted as a vanguard of this culture. In seeing the changes to hearts and minds of those immersed in the global perspective, I look forward with delight to seeing this shift in perspective spread to the general membership of the Church. I count myself fortunate to chronicle, even in a small way, the beginnings of a new worldwide culture.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Latter-day Saint Schools in the Pacific

E = Elementary School M = Middle School H = High School

Fiji

Fiji Primary (K-8)

Fiji Technical (9-12)

Hawaii

BYU-Hawaii (University)

Laie (E) (Closed)

Indonesia

Jakarta (1-6) (Closed)

Kiribati (Gilbert Islands)

Moroni (9-12)

New Zealand

Church College of New Zealand (9-12)
(Closed)

Samoa (American)

Mapusaga (K-7)

Mapusaga (9-12) (Closed)

Mesepa (K-8) (Closed)

Samoa (Western)

Church College of Western Samoa (7-12)

Church College of Sava'i (H)

Fa'aala Primary (K-6) (Closed)

Pesega (E) (Closed)

Samoa (Western) continued

Lotofaga (E) (Closed)

Faleima (E) (Closed)

McKay (E) (Closed)

Navu (E) (Closed)

Sanuniatu (K-8)

Vailu'utai (E)

Vaiola (E)

Tahiti

Papeete (K-6) (Closed)

Tonga

E'Ua (M)

Ha'afeva (M)

Ha'ateiho (M)

Ha'alaufuli (M) (Closed)

Ha'akame (M)

Havelu (M)

Kolonga (M) (Closed)

Liahona (M)

Liahona (7-12)

Mu'a (6-8)

Mu'a (M)

Makeke (M) (Closed)

Neiafu (M) (Closed)

Nukunuku (M) (Closed)

Vaini (M)

Saineha (H)

Talofu'ou (M)

Pangai (M)

Pakilau (M)

Source: Leon R. Hartshorn, "Educational Institutions," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed. S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, Richard H. Jackson, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 142-145.

Appendix B

Latter-day Saint Schools in Mexico

Unless designated otherwise, all schools have ceased operations.

<u>School</u>	<u>Year Organized</u>
Juarez Academy	1887 (Still in operation)
Manuel Dublan	1887
Juarez Elementary	1887
Heroes de Chapultepec	1944
Benito Juarez	1960
Justo Sierra	1960
Ignacio Zaragoza	1960
Nicolas Bravo	1960
Ninos Heroes	1960
Laguna	1961
Margarita M. Juarez	1961
Moctezuma Xocoyotzin	1961
Herionas Mexicanas	1961
Cuauhtemoc	1961
Amada Nervo	1961
Cinco de Mayo	1961
Ignacio M. Altamirano	1961
Venustiano Carranza	1962
Alvaro Obregon	1962

Vincente Guerrero	1962
America	1962
O.E.A.	1963
Valentin Gomez Farais	1963
Independecia	1963
Modelo	1963
Benemerito Secondary	1964 (Still in operation)
Lerdo de Tejada	1966
18 de Marzo	1966
Melchor Ocampo	1966
Libertad	1966
La Corregidora	1967
Ignacio Allende	1967
Benemerito Normal	1967 (Still in operation)
Benemerito Preparatory	1967 (Still in operation)
Merida	1969
Morelos Primary	1969
Morelos Secondary	1969
Aquiles Serdan	1970
Mariano Matamoros	1971
Netzahualcoyoti	1974

Source: Efrain Villalobos Vasquez, "Church Schools in Mexico," in *Mormonism, a Faith For All Cultures*, ed. F. LaMond Tullis, (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 126-135.

Appendix C

Latter-day Saint Schools in South America

All schools are closed or no longer operated by the Church. Unless otherwise indicated all schools were located in Chile

K = Kindergarten E = Elementary H = High School

Arica (K)

Barrios Altos (E) (Lima, Peru)

Bio Bio (E)

Brisas del Maipo (E)

Iquique (E)

La Calera (K)

Mormon de Bolivia (E) (La Paz, Bolivia)

Moroni (E) (Asuncion, Paraguay)

Pedro de Valdiva (H)

Perdro de Valdiva (E)

Quilpue (E)

Vina del Mar (E)

Valparaiso (E)

Source: Leon R. Hartshorn, "Educational Institutions," in *Historical Atlas of Mormonism*, ed. S. Kent Brown, Donald Q. Cannon, Richard H. Jackson, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994), 142-145 and Lyle Loosle, November 1972 South American Schools Report, copy in author's possession, courtesy Lyle Loosle.

Appendix D

S&I Administrators and American Expatriate Teachers Involved in Global Expansion, 1953-1983

CES Administrators

William E. Berrett (Administrator)..... 1953-70
Franklin D. Day (Asst. Administrator) 1968-79
Alma P. Burton (Asst. Administrator) 1961-70
Neal A. Maxwell (Commissioner)..... 1970-76
Frank M. Bradshaw (Assistant/Zone Administrator)..... 1970-79
Joe J. Christensen (A. Commissioner) 1970-79
Dan J. Workman (Z. Administrator)... 1970-79
Bruce M. Lake (Assistant/Zone Administrator)..... 1974-2000
Jeffrey R. Holland (Commissioner).... 1976-80
Henry B. Eyring (Commissioner)..... 1977-86
Stanley A. Peterson (Administrator)1977-2000

The British Isles

John M. and Diane Madsen 1968-70
James and Lavelle Moss 1969-73
Wesley and Beth Christensen 1969-71
David and Maryetta Parkinson..... 1969-72
Jess L. and Laurie Christensen..... 1970-74
Richard and Mary Lynn Linford..... 1971-73
Ken and Gisela Meyers 1970-71

Europe

Jim and Helen Christianson..... 1970-74
Ken and Gisela Meyers 1971-76
Hermann and Jeanette Buenning..... 1971-73
Richard C. and Inger Russell..... 1973-75
Cory W. and Gayle Bangerter 1979-82

Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia

John and Nydia Harris 1972-75

Guatemala

Robert B. and Gwenda Arnold 1970-73

Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina

Richard Merlin and Pamela Smith 1970-73

Brazil

David A. and Patricia Christensen 1970-73

Japan

Bob and Kay Stout 1972-74

Chile

Richard and LaPriel Brimhall..... 1972-75

The Phillippines

Stephen K. and Patricia Iba 1972-74

Australia

JL and Marilyn Jaussi 1968-71
Paul M. and Julina Hokanson 1969-73
Gail W. and Donette Ockey 1969-72
Mervin W. and Miriam Adair 1970-73
Wayne B. and Diane May 1971-75
Douglas G. and Nancy Williams 1972-74
Richard H. and Diane Morley 1972-74

New Zealand

Rhett and Alice James 1969-73
Robert J. and Shirley Brennan 1970-73
Glen and Elaine Huber 1971-74
Roger L. and Roni Conners 1971-74
Aaron L. and Patty Hatch 1972-74
Laurie and Carol Anderson 1973-76

South Africa

E. Dale and Laura LeBaron 1972-74

Taiwan and Hong Kong

Allan and Michelle Hassell 1973-75
Ed and Faye Andrus 1973-74

Source: E. Dale LeBaron, *Go Ye Into All the World: Pioneering in Church Education*, (unpublished manuscript, ca. 2001), copy in author's possession. Additions and corrections made by Casey Paul Griffiths, August 2011. Note: With the exception of New Zealand, this list denotes personnel sent out to launch CES program where no prior Church schools existed.

Appendix E

Early Indigenous Leaders in Global Seminary and Institute Programs

This list is intended to compliment the list of American expatriates sent out to begin worldwide CES programs by compiling the names of their indigenous successors in each respective country. It was compiled from a search of the Church History Library, BYU Archives, and Latter-day Saint publication and periodicals, and discussions with CES administrators. This is by no means a complete list, and additions and clarifications are welcomed.

Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay

Ocar Alberto Abrea

Hugo Angel Catron

Maria Alejandra Paez de Gomez

Sergio Alberto Gomez

Beatriz Di Bella de Muni

Hugo Nestor Salvioli

Francisco Jose Vinas Serrano

Victor A. Walker

Luis Wajchman

Source: *Sud America Sur Sistema Educativo, 1967-2007*, comp. Nestor E. Curbelo, unpublished document, MS 21736, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. A collection of oral histories and documents concerning the history of the Church Educational System in Southern South America.

Australia

Derek A. Edwards

John D. Jeffrey

Paul Parton

Lionel Walters

Terry White

Source: W. F. Lionel Walters, *The Church Educational System in Australia, 1969-2004*, unpublished document, copy in author's possession, 42-47. Walter's history is a revision of an earlier history written by Christopher J. Gollan in 1994.

Brazil

Paolo R. Grahl

Harry Eduardo Klein

Saul Messias de Oliveira

Source: Saul de Messias Oral History, Interviewed by Mark L. Grover, May 4, 1982. Harry Eduardo Klein Oral History, Interviewed by Mark L. Grover, April 23, 1982, in *Mormonism in Brazil*, Brigham Young University Oral History Project, (Provo, UT: Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, 2000). An interview with Paolo R. Grahl about the work of the CES in Brazil may be found in "The Church in Brazil: An Interview with CES Director Paulo Grahl," *Religious Educator*, 11:1, 2010, 191-198.

British Isles

David Cook

Source: David Cook Oral History, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1986-88. Typescript. The James A. Moyle Oral History Program, Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. OH 974, Church History Library.

Chile

Eduardo Aylaya

Pedro Piaggio

Claudio Signorelli

Carlos Zuniga

Carlos Zuniga

Source: *Sud America Sur Sistema Educativo, 1967-2007*, comp. Nestor E. Curbelo, unpublished document, MS 21736, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. An article dealing with Claudio Signorelli may be found in *Church News*, Aug. 5, 1995, 10. An article about Zuniga may be found in *Church News*, Dec. 18, 1976, 12-13.

Columbia

Julio E. Davila

Source: *Church News*, April 17, 2004, 12.

Germany

Heinz-kroft von Selchow

Hermann Manfred Schutze

Source: Heinz-Kroft von Selchow, Interviewed by James R. Christianson, 1987, OH 809, Church History Library, Salt Lake City. Hermann Manfred Schutze, Interviewed by Matthew K. Heiss, Oct. 9, 1991, OH 1111, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

Central America

Carlos Humberto Amado

Source: Carlos H. Amado Interviews, Interviewed by Gordon Irving, April-June 2001, OH 2685, Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, in Spanish.

Japan

Ryuichi Inoue

Tohru Hotta

Shoho Suzuki

Kan Watanabe

Source: Ryuichi Inoue Oral History, Interviewed by Glen N. Rowe, August 31, 2001, OH 2893, Church History Library, Salt Lake City. Kan Watanabe Interview, Interviewed by Glenn N. Rowe, Richard E. Turley, Kasuo Imai, and Setsuo Masuda, Aug. 29, 2001, OH 2921, Church History Library.

Korea

Seo Hee Chul

Rhee Honam

Cha Bong Kim

Cong Youl Kim

Kil Jung Kwon

Pak Byung Kyu

Kwang Oo Lee

Lee Do Whan

Sources: Dong Sull Choi, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Korea, 1950-1985," PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1990, 186-194. *The Korean Saints: Personal Stories of Trial and Triumph*, comp. Spencer J. Palmer and Shirley H. Palmer, (Provo, UT: Religious Education, Brigham Young University, 1995), 164-165, 184-190, 422-424, 640-644. Lowell Edward Brown, Funeral Address for Rhee Ho Nam, June 7, 2003, MS 19438, Church History Library. "First Stake President of Korea Recalls Early Church Experiences," *Daily Universe*, March 4, 1996. Pak Byung Kyu Interview, Interviewed by Christine R. Marin and Hee Gyung Kim Rigby, OH 3982, Church History Library.

New Zealand

Rex Kennerly

Ric Morehouse

Wallace Wihongi

Gordon Yates (part-time)

Sources: Rhett James, *Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Program in New Zealand, 1969 to 1974*, unpublished document, copy in author's possession. Ric Morehouse, "The Establishment of Church Education in New Zealand," Bachelor of Independent Study Project, Brigham Young University, 1983, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, BYU.

Peru-Bolivia

Luis Davila Garcia

Jorge G. Garcia

Source: John A. Harris Oral History, Interviewed by Casey Paul Griffiths, December 9, 2010, copy in author's possession.

Phillipines

Augusto A. Lim (Part-time)

Senen Pineda

Rafino Villaneuva

Sources: Rufino Villanueva Interview, Interviewed by Ronald O. Barney, Nov. 11, 1994, OH 1375, Church History Library. Augusto A. Lim Interview, Interviewed by R. Lanier Britsch, April 10, 1974, OH 446, Church History Library.

South Africa

Don Harper

Source: Don and Milja Harper Interview, Interviewed by Jeffrey L. Anderson and Casey Paul Griffiths, Sept. 16, 2010, Church History Library.

Taiwan

Joseph Wan

Ting-Kuen Li

Ching Ning

Source: Ching Ning Interview, Interviewed by Melissa Inouye McMullin, Feb. 5, 2004, OH 3716, Church History Library.

Appendix F

Photographs

Pacific Schools



Figure 1 – This photograph of the community of Temple View in New Zealand clearly illustrates David O. McKay’s planned desires behind the creation of LDS gathering centers surrounding Church schools. The large buildings in the forefront are the Church College of New Zealand (now closed), with the the New Zealand temple on the hill. The entire community was built around these two structures. Courtesy Alton Wade.



Figure 2 – Students from the Church College of Western Samoa marching in a local parade. Ca. 1965. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.



Figure 3 - Students at the Vaiola School in America Samoa in marching in a local parade, ca. 1965. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.



Figure 4 – Students at the Moroni school in Kiribati, ca. 1979. Courtesy Alton Wade

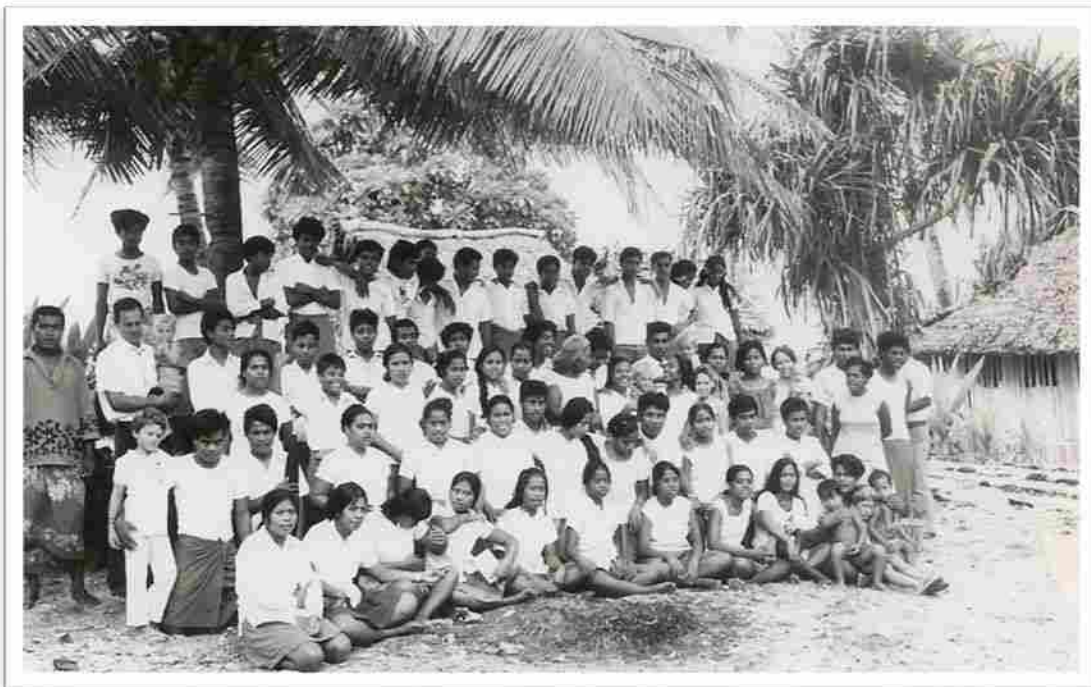


Figure 5 – Students at the Moroni School in Kiribati, ca. 1979. Courtesy Alton Wade.

Mexican Schools



Figure 6 - Benemerito de las Americas campus, ca. 1967. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.



Figure 7 - A Latter-day Saint elementary school in Mexico, ca. 1967. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.

Chilean Schools

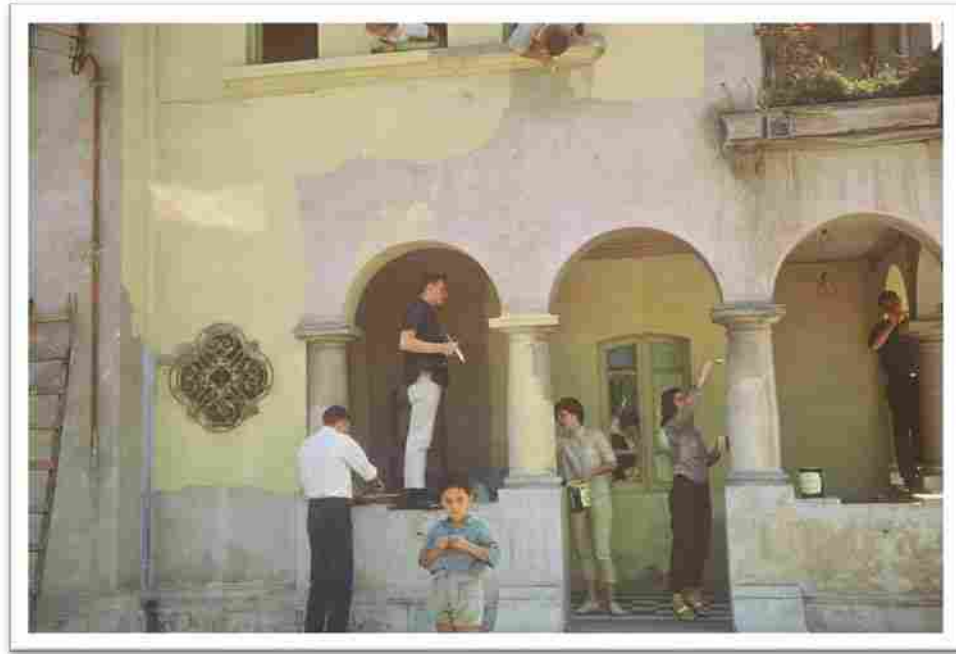


Figure 8 - Renovating the structure used for the first LDS school in Chile at La Cisterna, ca. 1963. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.



Figure 9 - Church Authorities visit the school in La Cisterna, ca. 1963. On the left is Dale and Joyce Harding, next to the right Theodore and Marne Tuttle, and next to Tuttle is Elder Spencer W. Kimball and his wife Camilla. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.



Figure 10 - Faculty and Staff of Pedro de Valdivia School in Santiago, Chile, ca. 1970. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.



Figure 11 - Schoolyard at La Cisterna School in Chile, ca. 1970. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle.

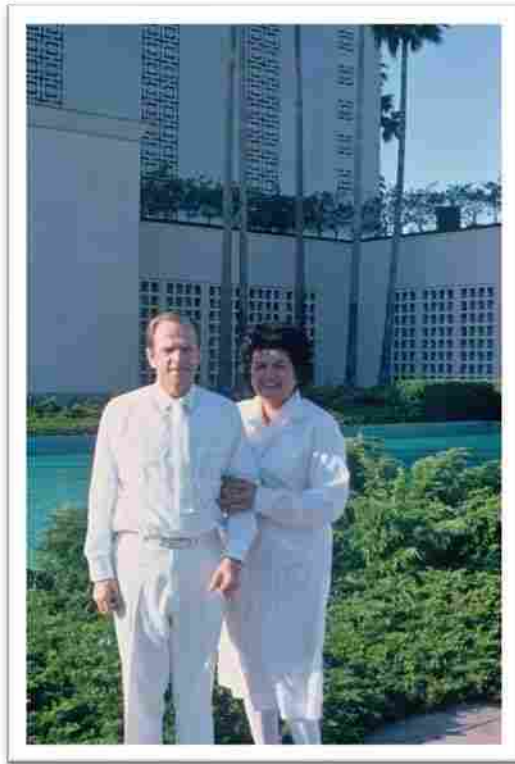


Figure 12 - Lyle and Maria Loosle, ca. 1968. Loosle headed the Church Schools in Chile during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Courtesy Lyle J. Loosle

Seminaries and Institutes



Figure 13 – The Central Office staff of the Seminary and Institute Programs, ca. 1957. Third from the right is William E. Berrett, second to the right is Boyd K. Packer. Photo courtesy Leland Bruderer.



Figure 14 – The team responsible for the creation of the Home Study seminary program, ca. 2007. From left to right, Don Bond, Arnold Stringham, Don Jessee, and Thomas Tyler. Courtesy Arnold Stringham.



Figure 15 – Don Bond (right) is pictured here during his time conducting the pilot for the home study program along with Duane Banks, one of the local stake presidents in Iowa. Courtesy Don Bond.



Figure 16 – J.L. Jaussi with his wife Marilyn, the first American coordinators sent to launch Seminary and Institute programs in Australia.



Figure 17 - The first early morning seminary class in Brisbane, Australia, ca. 1969. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 18 - American teacher Robert Arnold teaching students in Guatemala. This photo appeared in the *Church News*, January 15, 1972.

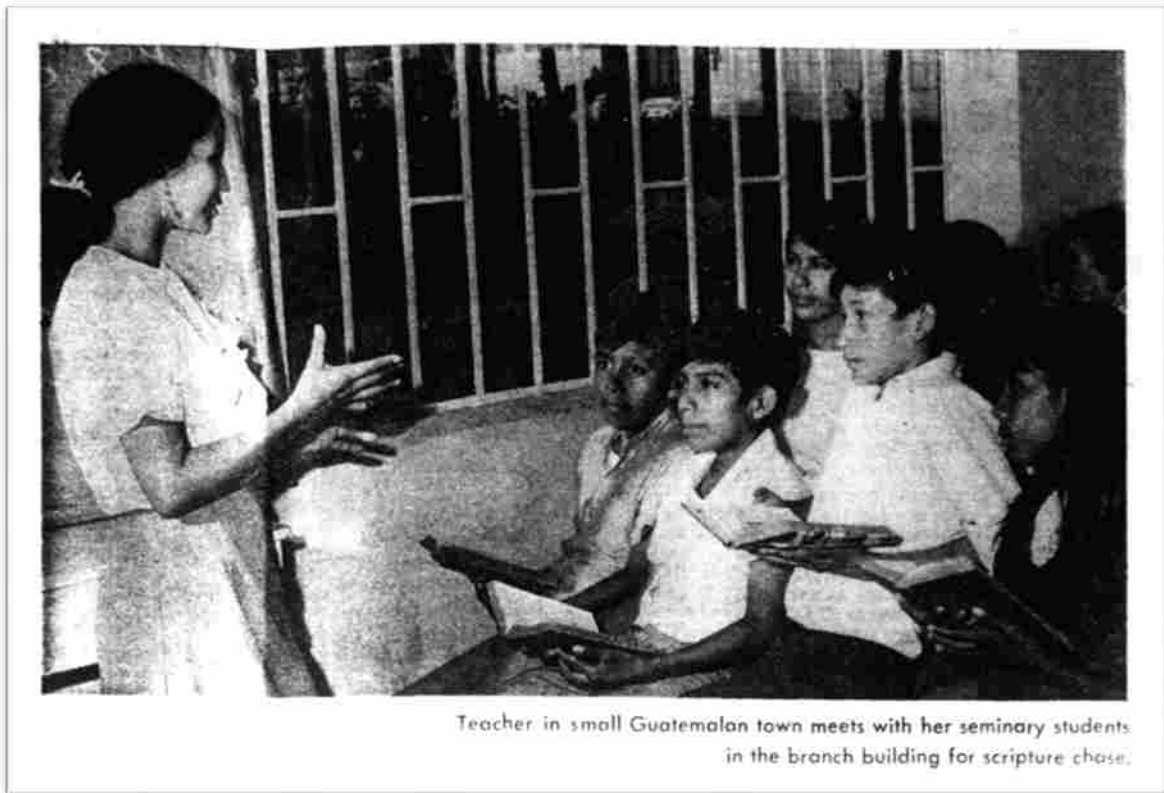


Figure 19 - A native teacher from Guatemala instructing a class. This photo appeared in the *Church News*, January 15, 1972.



Figure 20 - British Isles full-time Seminary and Institute personnel, ca. 1971. Left to Right: Jess Christensen, Ken Meyers, David Cook, James Moss, and David Parkinson.



Figure 21 - British Isles Seminary and Institute full-time personnel and family with Neal A. Maxwell, ca. 1971. Maxwell is fourth from the right in the second row. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 22 - Neil and Collen Maxwell with full-time CES personnel in Japan, ca. 1973. On the far left is the American coordinator, Robert Stout.

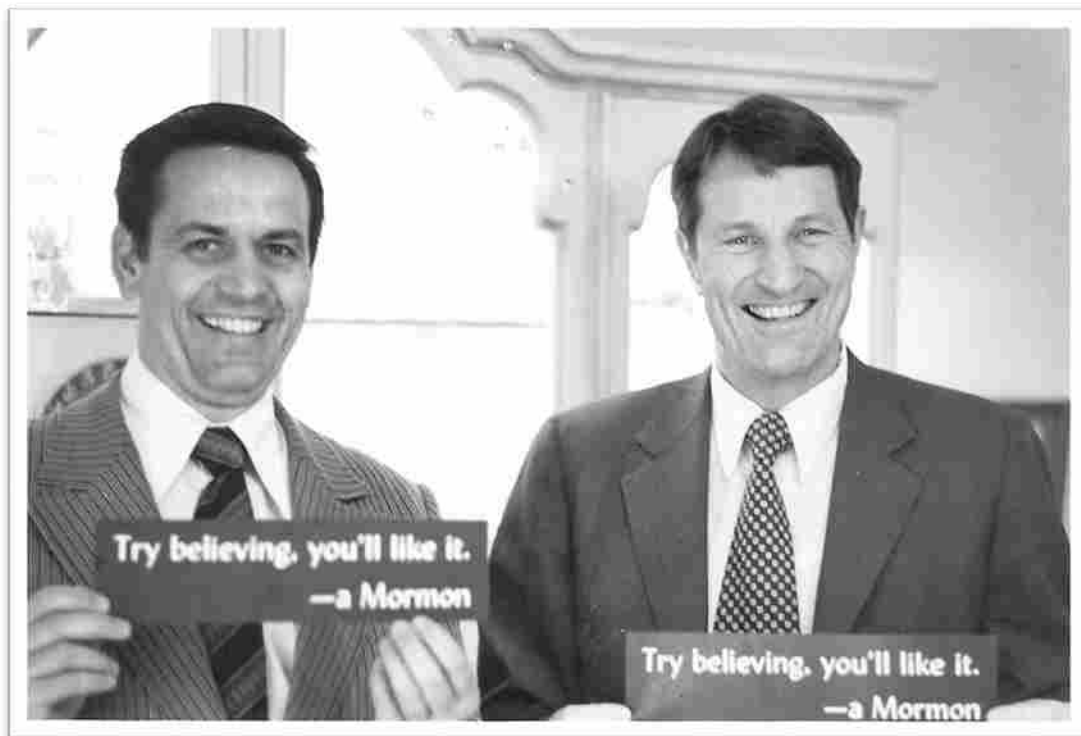


Figure 23 – American coordinator Robert Stout with Neal A. Maxwell during a trip to Japan. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.

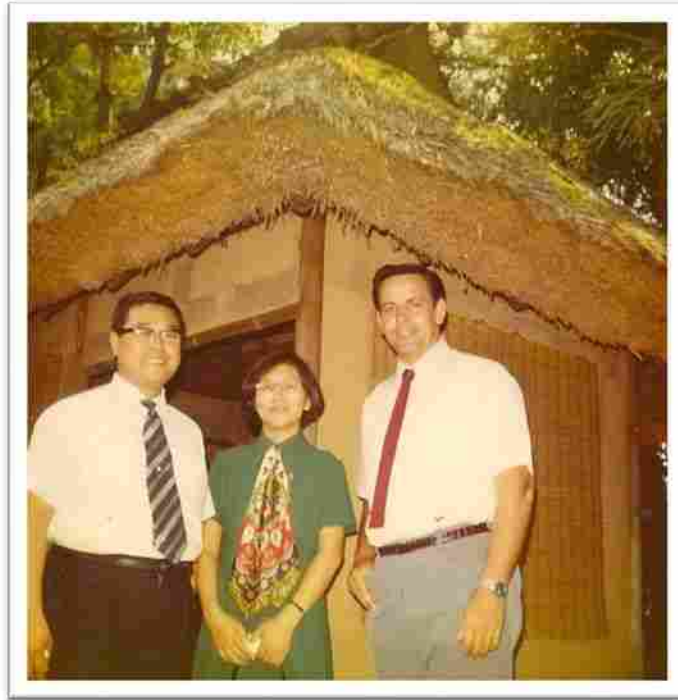


Figure 24 - Robert Stout with Shoho Suzuki and spouse. Suzuki one of the first indigenous CES teachers in Japan. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 25 - An early morning seminary class in Manilla, Phillipines, ca. 1972. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 26 - Volunteer Seminary teacher meeting in the Phillipines in 1972. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 27 - American coordinator Allan Hassell and spouse with Joseph Wan and spouse in Taiwan, ca. 1974. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 28 - Joseph Wan (center) meeting with students in Taiwan, ca. 1974. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 29 - Home study seminary students in New Zealand, ca. 1969. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 30 - The first early morning seminary class in Johannesburg, South Africa, ca. 1979. Courtesy Don and Milja Harper.



Figure 31 – The First seminary graduation in Capetown, South Africa, 1974. Courtesy Don and Milja Harper.



Figure 32 - Mixed CES choir organized for a regional conference in 1992 in South Africa. This choir, organized before the end of apartheid in South Africa was the idea of Donald Harper, the CES director in South Africa. Photo courtesy Don and Milja Harper.



Figure 33 - A mixed race young adult trip to Swaziland conducted by Don Harper, a CES coordinator, in 1993. Courtesy Don and Milja Harper.



Figure 34 - CES administrators with full-time African personnel, ca. 1989. Courtesy Don and Milja Harper.



Figure 35 - CES Area Director's Conference in Salt Lake City, 1989. Courtesy Don and Milja Harper.



Figure 36 - Rhett James (center) with counselors in the Temple View Stake presidency, ca. 1970. Shortly after arriving in New Zealand to introduce CE's programs, James was called as the Stake President. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 37 - Robert and Gwenda Arnold family, ca. 1970. This picture was taken around the time their family traveled to Guatemala to introduce CES programs. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 38 - Richard and Pamela Smith shortly after their arrival in Uruguay to introduce CES programs. Courtesy Seminaries and Institutes.



Figure 39 – Church Commissioner of Education Jeffrey R. Holland is picture here (L) along with Alton L. Wade (R), the Zone Administrator over Pacific Schools, ca. 1979.



Figure 1 – L to R, Alton Wade, Henry B. Eyring, and an unknown administrator during a visit to the Pacific, ca. 1979. Courtesy Alton Wade.



Figure 2 - Zone Administrators of Seminaries and Institutes and Church Elementary and Secondary Schools in 1980. Back row: Frank Bradshaw, Frank D. Day, Dan W. Workman. Front: Bruce Lake and Alton Wade. Benjamin Martinez also served with this group, but by this point was serving as a mission president in Mexico. Courtesy Alton Wade.

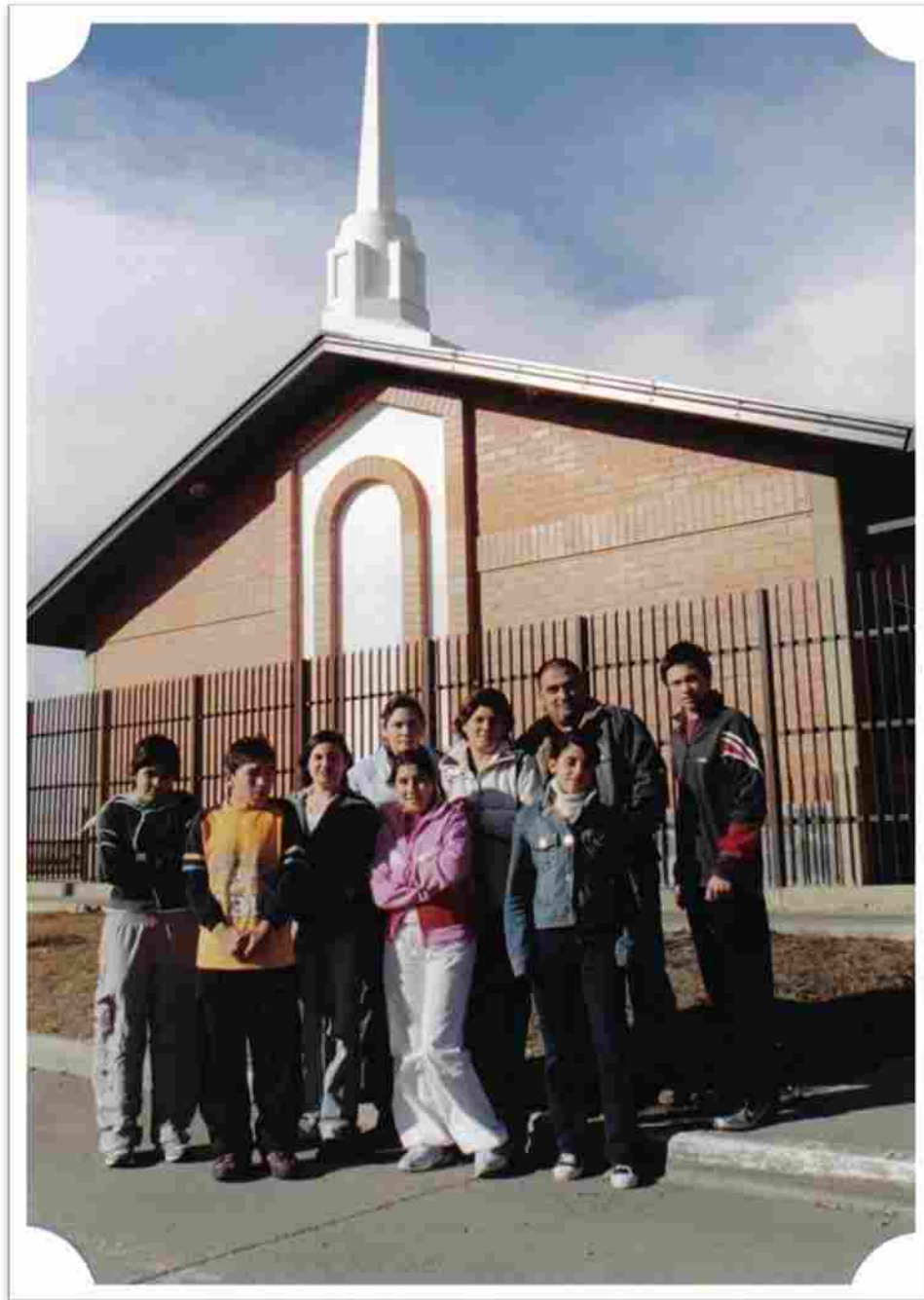


Figure 3 – An early morning seminary class in Tierra del Feugo, Chile in 2006. Courtesy Nestor Curbelo.

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