



Theses and Dissertations

---

2011-06-08

## The Worldwide Expansion of Seminaries to English Speaking Countries from 1967 - 1970

Jon E. Thomas  
*Brigham Young University - Provo*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#)

---

### BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Thomas, Jon E., "The Worldwide Expansion of Seminaries to English Speaking Countries from 1967 - 1970" (2011). *Theses and Dissertations*. 2756.  
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/2756>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact [scholarsarchive@byu.edu](mailto:scholarsarchive@byu.edu), [ellen\\_amatangelo@byu.edu](mailto:ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu).

The Worldwide Expansion of Seminaries to English Speaking Countries

From 1967 - 1970

Jonathan E. Thomas

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

Master of Arts

Scott Esplin, Chair  
Michael Goodman  
Dennis Wright

Department of Religious Education

Brigham Young University

June 2011

Copyright © 2011 Jonathan E. Thomas

All Rights Reserved

## ABSTRACT

### The Worldwide Expansion of Seminaries to English Speaking Countries From 1967 - 1970

Jonathan E. Thomas  
Department of Religious Education, BYU  
Master of Arts

This thesis explores the initial expansion of the seminary program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints beyond North America from 1967 – 1970. During these years, seminary expanded to Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. William E. Berrett, as the administrator of the seminary and institute program, is involved in each phase of the program's expansion and therefore acts as a constant influence throughout the study. This study explores the conceiving and developing of the home study seminary program as well as the pilot program coordinated by Don Bond in the Midwestern United States. The efforts of the first international coordinators during the first year of expansion are related and examined. Administrators selected John Madsen to establish the program in Great Britain, J. L. Jaussi to establish the program in Australia, and Rhett James to establish the program in New Zealand. Each of these coordinators identified the challenges they faced and successes the program achieved. This study highlights the collective concern of Church Board members, local priesthood leaders, and Church education administrators for the youth of the Church as they approved, developed, and established the program internationally in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.

Keywords: Seminary, Church Educational System, William E. Berrett.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would not be justified to claim the sole credit for this work. Without the dedicated efforts of E. Dale LeBaron and the countless hours he spent collecting oral histories, much of the information in this study may have been lost. This study is a credit to him. I also must express gratitude to Casey Griffiths who has been a constant guide and mentor. His passion and love for twentieth-century Church history is contagious. This work is a result of his suggestion.

I am indebted to Scott Esplin who has been more than patient as I stumbled my way through this process. I appreciate the many hours he spent reading and evaluating my work. When so many other things demanded his attention, I marvel that he found time for me. I am grateful for the candid and helpful feedback of Mike Goodman and Dennis Wright who perceived more potential in me than I did in myself. Also, Bill Slaughter at the Church archives who carefully counseled me about contributing both a faithful and historical narrative of the history of the Church.

Throughout this process, many have been willing to give of their time and help. My parents, Dave and Paula Thomas, have been a constant support. I admit, my father's influence inspired me to travel down this road. He is a finisher. Whatever he sets his mind to, he achieves. His perseverance is an attribute I hope to acquire. My other parents, Blake and Gae Beckstrom, have also been very generous to help with reviewing and assisting my wife, Erin, who probably felt like a single parent through much of this process. It is to her that I express my deepest and most profound gratitude. I could not have accomplished this without her dedicated support. She spent many consecutive days juggling the demands of a full household of little boys while I was writing and researching. When I returned home, she would willingly read and review my work. She read every word several times. Her selflessness made this thesis possible.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Statement of Purpose.....	1
Key Research Questions .....	1
Rationale .....	2
Methodology .....	3
Delimitations.....	3
Previous Scholarship.....	3
Sources.....	4
Outline of the Study .....	5
<b>Chapter 2: Brief History of Church Education: 1888 - 1965.....</b>	<b>8</b>
Latter-day Saint Response.....	9
The Establishment of Seminary .....	10
The Influence of Secularism on Religious Educators .....	12
The Unified Church School System.....	13
William E. Berrett as the Vice-Administrator Responsible for Seminaries and Institutes .....	14
Conclusion .....	19
<b>Chapter 3: The Pilot Program – Home Study Seminary in the Midwest.....</b>	<b>21</b>
The Problem.....	21
An Idea .....	23
The Experiment Begins .....	28
Board Concerns.....	33
Conclusion .....	36
<b>Chapter 4: Seminary Crosses the Ocean – Seminary in Great Britain .....</b>	<b>38</b>
Coordinating the Program in Great Britain .....	41
John Madsen .....	41
Wesley Christensen.....	55
James Moss .....	56
David Parkinson.....	56
Dividing the British Isles.....	57
Challenges in Establishing the Seminary Program in the British Isles.....	59

Conclusion .....	62
<b>Chapter 5: Seminary Expands to the Land “Down Under” – Seminary in Australia .....</b>	<b>66</b>
Coordinating the Program in Australia.....	68
J.L. Jaussi.....	68
Gail Ockey .....	74
Paul Hokanson .....	75
Challenges in Establishing the Seminary Program in Australia .....	76
Conclusion .....	79
<b>Chapter 6: Seminary Expands to the <i>Pakeha</i> and the Maori – Seminary in New Zealand. 83</b>	<b>83</b>
Coordinating the Program in New Zealand.....	88
Rhett James .....	88
Enrollment Begins.....	92
Local Part-time Supervisors .....	94
Kaikohe Experiment.....	96
General Authorities and the Seminary Program in New Zealand .....	98
Hiring Full-time New Zealanders.....	99
Challenges in Establishing the Seminary Program in New Zealand .....	100
Conclusion .....	102
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusion.....</b>	<b>106</b>
Research Question # 1 .....	106
Research Question # 2.....	109
Suggestions for Future Study .....	113
Conclusion .....	114
<b>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>115</b>

## Chapter 1: Introduction

As a program, seminary is well-rooted in the modern Latter-day Saint experience. Since its inception, seminary has sought to strengthen youth in their understanding of the scriptures and encourage them to apply what they learn in their lives. For many decades, seminary was an opportunity only available to youth living in North America. Today, however, seminary is a worldwide organization. Scholars have covered extensively seminary's establishment, however, many have yet to explore thoroughly its expansion.<sup>1</sup>

### Statement of Purpose

The purpose for this thesis is to examine the events that led to as well as the events of the initial worldwide expansion of the seminary program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to English-speaking countries beyond North America during the administration of William E. Berrett. Berrett was the Administrator of the seminary and institute program from 1965-1970. In 1953, seminary had been established in seven states and Canada. By the time Berrett retired in 1970, seminary had expanded to all fifty United States and twenty-five countries or territories.<sup>2</sup>

### Key Research Questions

This study will answer the following key research questions:

---

<sup>1</sup> See Kenneth G. Bell, "Adam S. Bennion: LDS Superintendent of Education, 1919-1928" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969), Scott C. Esplin, *Education in Transition: Church and State Relationships in Utah Education*, (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 2006), Casey P. Griffiths, "Joseph F. Merrill: Latter-day Saint Commissioner of Education, 1928-1933" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> See William E. Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988), 240. This number includes seminary that had been established on military bases and does not necessarily include seminary established for natives of the country.

1. What circumstances, events, and developments led to the international expansion of the seminary program?
2. Who were the key figures involved in the international expansion, what challenges did they face in establishing the program abroad, and what evidence did they see that the program was successful?

## **Rationale**

Several reasons make the current study worthwhile. First, many Latter-day Saints are unaware of the international expansion of seminaries and institutes. In 2000, Victor L. Ludlow conducted a study of the internationalization of the Church. He also performed informal surveys of Latter-day Saints in order to compare members' perceptions versus reality. He discovered that the international strength of the seminary and institute program was "the biggest surprise to most Latter-day Saints. They assume that the seminary and institute program is primarily a USA-Canada phenomenon."<sup>3</sup> This study seeks to correct this misperception.

Secondly, the seminary and institute program continues to spread to new areas all over the world. As it does, new pioneers establish and administer the program. Familiarizing themselves with some of the efforts and challenges the first coordinators to foreign lands experienced can prove helpful to coordinators who will yet establish seminary and institute in new parts of the world.

Finally, the efforts of the early pioneers of the international seminary program should be recognized. Their vision of how the seminary program could strengthen youth throughout the

---

<sup>3</sup> Victor L. Ludlow, "The Internationalization of the Church," in *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 213.



world moved them to sacrifice much in that pursuit. Their experiences are an important chapter in the history of the seminary and institute program as well as the history of the Church and can inspire others to make similar sacrifices for the youth of the Church.

## **Methodology**

### *Delimitations*

This study is limited to the international expansion of seminaries to English-speaking countries outside North America during the years 1965-1970. During this period, seminary expanded to other countries such as Germany and Brazil. However, translation of seminary materials presents a host of challenges far too extensive to explore in this study. Although the expansion of the institute program occurred simultaneously with the seminary program, that development is also outside the scope of the present study in order to provide a thorough analysis of the expansion of seminary. Therefore, discussion will focus on the development of the seminary program in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, the first countries to which seminary expanded beyond North America.

### *Previous Scholarship*

Much has been written about this time period relative to the expansion of the Church. The expansion of the seminary program happened within the context of the worldwide expansion of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Previous scholarship that addresses this expansion includes Donald Cannon and Richard Cowan's book *Unto Every Nation; Gospel light reaches Every Land*,<sup>4</sup> Cowan's work, *The Latter-day Century*,<sup>5</sup> a collection of articles edited by

---

<sup>4</sup> Donald Q. Cannon and Richard Cowan, *Unto Every Nation; Gospel Light Reaches Every Land*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003).

Reid L. Neilson titled, *Global Mormonism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*,<sup>6</sup> Russel R. Rich's comprehensive history, *Ensign to the Nations; A History of the Church from 1846-1972*,<sup>7</sup> and Gregory Prince's exposé on the administration of President David O. McKay, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*.<sup>8</sup> Specific to the expansion of the Church in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, much has been written about the growth and establishment of the Church in Great Britain<sup>9</sup> whereas comparatively little has been written about Australia<sup>10</sup> and New Zealand.<sup>11</sup>

### Sources

This study relies heavily on primary sources, many of which come from E. Dale LeBaron. Between 1991 and 1992, LeBaron collected oral histories of those who pioneered the seminary program beyond North America. These oral histories belong to Seminaries and Institutes and have been placed in the Church History Library where they are currently in the process of cataloguing each interview. Each of these oral histories provide a wealth of information specific to the pilot program in the Midwest, and the expansion to Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand and are currently in the author's possession acquired with

---

<sup>5</sup> Richard O. Cowan, *The Latter-day Saint Century*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999).

<sup>6</sup> Reid L. Neilson, *Global Mormonism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 2008).

<sup>7</sup> Russel R. Rich, *Ensign to the Nations; A History of the Church from 1846 – 1972*, (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1972).

<sup>8</sup> Gregory Prince, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> V. Ben Bloxham, *Truth Will Prevail; The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987*, (Solihull, England: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), Donald Q. Cannon, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles*, (Provo, Utah: Brigham young University, 1990), Derek A. Cuthbert, "Church Growth in the British Isles, 1937 – 1987," *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 13-26, Cynthia Doxey and others, *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles*, (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007), Richard L. Evans, *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain*, (Salt Lake City: Publisher's Press, 1984).

<sup>10</sup> John Douglas Hawkes, "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Australia to 1900" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965).

<sup>11</sup> Marjorie Newton, "Mormonism in New Zealand: A Historical Appraisal" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sydney, 1998), Brian William Hunt, "History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971).

permission from the Seminary and Institute department. In addition to these materials, William E. Berrett has produced various primary sources that will provide additional context to the study. Located in special collections at Brigham Young University these primary sources include Berrett's personal history, an interview, correspondence, and his papers.

It is important to recognize potential bias in these primary sources. All of the individuals cited in this study were members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in good standing and were employed by the Church's educational system. They accept that God guides and directs the establishment and improvement of the Church. Because of this, they regularly refer to such things as "inspiration," "revelation," and "guidance" as they discuss the development of the educational program. Likewise I am a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and share the same perspective and am currently employed by the seminary and institute department of the Church.

### **Outline of the Study**

As an introduction to the study, chapter one clarifies the purpose of the study and identifies the two key research questions that will guide the thesis. It also identifies previous scholarship and primary sources utilized in the study. It discusses bias in the sources as well as my own bias as a researcher.

Chapter two is a brief overview of Church education leading up to 1965. It chronicles the Church's struggle to educate the youth in both religious and secular subjects. Eventually the Church surrendered to the state the responsibility of educating the youth in secular matters, but sought alternative means to provide necessary religious education. This chapter also provides an account of the Board of Education's decision to use seminary as the primary source of religious

education on the secondary level. Concerns later arose among members of the Board concerning some of the seminary and institute personnel drifting away from faithfully following the leadership of the Church and placing undue emphasis on scholarship. This chapter concludes by highlighting the efforts of those leading seminaries and institutes to encourage their personnel to “follow the Brethren” and restore confidence in the program.

Chapter three explores the development of the home study seminary program and its successful pilot program in the Midwest, a prelude to later international expansion. The chapter begins with increasing requests for religious education beyond the borders of North America. It identifies those responsible for the initial idea, development of, and piloting of the home study seminary program. In addition to identifying key figures in the program’s development and implementation, this chapter also identifies the Board of Education’s concerns with the new seminary program and how those concerns were addressed. It concludes with evidence of the success of this trial program with the first four year graduation from seminary east of the Rocky Mountains. With the proven success of the trial program, this chapter sets the stage for the expansion of seminary to Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.

Chapter four is an account of the introduction of seminary to Great Britain. This chapter begins with a brief history of the Church in Great Britain from the arrival of the first missionaries up through the 1960’s. Missionary work in Great Britain during the early 1960’s is likewise addressed in order to present a case for why stake presidents were requesting an educational program for the youth. It includes a brief synopsis of John Madsen’s career prior to his assignment to introduce and administer the seminary program. It follows his efforts during that first year and shows why he needed additional men to help him expand the program. Brief synopses of the careers of Wesley Christensen, James Moss, and David Parkinson prior to their

arrival in the British Isles are also provided. This chapter also explores some of the challenges these men faced as they established seminary in the British Isles and concludes with an assessment of the program's success.

Chapter five tells the story of the introduction of seminary in Australia. It likewise begins with a brief account of the history of the Church in Australia. This chapter briefly recounts J. L. Jaussi's previous experience in seminaries and institutes and his selection as the coordinator to pioneer the program in Australia. His first year of implementing the program is related as well as accounts of the previous experience of Gail Ockey and Paul Hokanson. Other challenges are also addressed along with a summary and conclusion of the program's success.

Chapter six addresses the introduction of seminary to New Zealand. After a brief account of the state of the Church in New Zealand prior to seminary's arrival, the selection process of Rhett James is explored. This chapter presents James' priorities during his first year as the coordinator in New Zealand, as well as the challenges he faced in establishing the program, and evidence of the program's success.

Chapter seven finishes the study with a summary and conclusion by addressing the key research questions. This chapter also identifies suggestions for future studies. It concludes that following the success of the program in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, the Board approved additional expansion to anywhere in the world where stakes had already been established.

## Chapter 2: Brief History of Church Education: 1888 - 1965.

From the earliest years of the Church, revelations guided the Saints in relation to education. A revelation encouraged the Saints to “seek learning, even by study and also by faith” (D&C 88:118). Moreover they were commanded to teach one another not only “the doctrine of the kingdom” and “all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God,” but also “things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars and perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms” (D&C 88:79). Thus, the Saints were clearly instructed that they were to give necessary attention to both religious learning as well as secular learning. In all reality, they did not see a hard line between secular and religious learning as society has conditioned us to recognize today. They understood that “the glory of God is intelligence” (D&C 93:36) and this included history, geography, and science, as well as principles and doctrines of the gospel as contained in the scriptures.

In June of 1832, Joseph Smith expressed the urgency with which the Saints should attend to the education of their children. “The disciples should lose no time in preparing schools for their children,” Smith wrote, “that they may be taught as is pleasing unto the Lord, and brought up in the way of holiness.”<sup>1</sup> As a result, school houses were among the first buildings in any settlement of the Saints. In Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, education was a way for the Saints to worship God. Even along the trek west after persecution had driven them from Nauvoo, they

---

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, (second edition revised, Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1980), 276.

established make-shift school houses in their encampments.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the impermanence of location, Church members taught their children both secular and religious education simultaneously. They saw no reason to separate the two.

When the Saints found a home in the west, their isolation proved advantageous, allowing them to continue educating their youth without the dictates of any outside source. This luxury, however, did not last. With the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act in 1887 and the Free Public School law passed in 1890 the federal government seized control of education in Utah territory and consequently eliminated religious education from public schools.

### **Latter-day Saint Response**

Church leaders were gravely troubled by the encroaching legislation. President Wilford Woodruff wrote to local leaders on June 8, 1888 with his concerns:

Religious training is practically excluded from our 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. To permit this condition of things to exist among us would be criminal.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the General Board of Education determined that Academies should be “established in each Stake as soon as practicable.”<sup>4</sup> Funded in part by the Church and in part by tuition, these academies were private institutions intended to provide secular education in companion with religious instruction to teenage youth. After a little more than a decade, there were more than two-dozen academies encouraging “learning by study, and also by faith.” Church leadership

---

<sup>2</sup> See Kenneth G. Bell, “Adam S. Bennion: LDS Superintendent of Education, 1919-1928” (Master’s Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969), 12.

<sup>3</sup> Wilford Woodruff, cited in Clark, J. R. *Messages of the first presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, vol. 3, (Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1965-1971), 167-168.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

hoped all youth would attend the academies.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the accessibility of free public schools made them an attractive alternative to the academies.

Church leaders likewise were concerned that elementary-aged youth were not receiving religious education. Thus, local leaders were encouraged by the First Presidency to call a brother or sister “to take charge of a school wherein the First Principles of the Gospel, Church History and kindred subjects shall be taught.”<sup>6</sup> It was suggested that they meet once a week shortly after the conclusion of the school day or perhaps on Saturday to focus on religious education. Meeting once a week for religious instruction was far less desirable than daily instruction, but was certainly better than none at all. The Religion Class program, as it was named, served elementary-age youth in the Church for nearly four decades.

### **The Establishment of Seminary**

The inadequacy of the religious instruction for youth attending public high schools became a matter of great concern to many Church leaders including Joseph F. Merrill. Serving as a member of the Granite Stake Presidency, Merrill was also a member of the stake board of education. As such it was his responsibility to ensure that youth were adequately educated in matters both secular and religious. He wondered if the Church could provide something similar to the Religion Class for students in high school, but on a daily basis. The content would be patterned after the religious courses provided in the academies but at one-eighth the cost.<sup>7</sup> He proposed students be released during the day to attend a religious class in a separate building owned by the Church near the public high school.

---

<sup>5</sup> See George Q. Cannon, “Our Educational Facilities,” *The Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XXV (April 15, 1890), 243-44, cited in Bell, 22.

<sup>6</sup> James R. Clark, “Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah” (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, 1958), pp.260-261, cited in Bell, 23-24.

<sup>7</sup> Bell, 84.



The Church Board of Education and the Granite School District Board of Education approved Merrill's plan and by the fall of 1912, Granite Seminary was open and Latter-day Saint students experienced seminary for the first time. Later speaking as an Apostle during General Conference, Merrill envisioned, "the time will come, I verily believe, and before very many years, when week-day religious education will be offered to every high school boy and girl, to every college and university boy and girl in this Church."<sup>8</sup> His statement would prove prophetic.

Meanwhile, academies were facing a problem of their own. In a letter written by the Church Board of Education to the Brigham Young College in Logan, leaders expressed their concerns. "Within less than a decade the annual appropriation for maintaining the Church schools has increased almost tenfold. This is altogether out of proportion to the increase of the revenues of the Church; a ratio that cannot longer be maintained."<sup>9</sup> Although the increase was unmanageable, the Church continued to maintain the academies for more than ten years. Many Church leaders felt that the academies were far superior to the combined public school and seminary alternative and consequently did not easily let them go. Elder David O. McKay, for example, was concerned that seminaries and institutes had not yet demonstrated that they were adequate substitutes for the Church schools.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, the Board determined on March 3, 1920 to begin closing the academies in favor of the less expensive yet effective seminary option.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Joseph F. Merrill, in Conference Report, April 1928, 37, cited in Casey P. Griffiths, "Joseph F. Merrill: Latter-day Saint Commissioner of Education, 1928-1933" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2007), 37.

<sup>9</sup> William E. Berrett, Alma P. Burton, (1958). *Readings in LDS Church history*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958), 343.

<sup>10</sup> Minutes, Church General Board of Education, February 20, 1929, cited in Gregory A. Prince and Wm. Robert Wright, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2005), 183.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 342.

## The Influence of Secularism on Religious Educators

Seminary resembled a daily Sunday school and centered on the Bible, Book of Mormon, Church history, and the teachings of Church leaders. Administrators of the seminary program, however, sought “to make of the Church seminaries more than just a Sunday school, through trained men.”<sup>12</sup> This training began as summer meetings and later included encouraging teachers to pursue advanced degrees in theology. Some of these teachers who attended universities to study theology succumbed to a secular approach to religious education. In reflecting on this secularization, Boyd K. Packer wrote that these religious educators “had followed, they supposed, the scriptural injunction: ‘Seek learning, even by study and also by faith.’ 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.”<sup>13</sup> Upon their return, their teaching, laced with secularism, led to complaints from parents and priesthood leaders that eventually reached the First Presidency.

In 1938, President J. Reuben Clark Jr. spoke at Aspen Grove to group of seminary and institute teachers assembled for their annual summer school to address some serious concerns the First Presidency had due in part to the unwelcome influence of secular thought on religious education. He said,

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, the *ne plus ultra* of up-to-dateness; then they have brought it back and dosed it upon us without any thought as to whether we needed it or not....

---

<sup>12</sup> Sidney Sperry, interviewed by Kenneth Bell, February 19, 1969, cited in Bell, 78.

<sup>13</sup> Boyd K. Packer, *That All May Be Edified*, (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982), 43-44

You are not to teach the philosophies of the world, ancient or modern, pagan or Christian, for this is the field of the public schools. Your sole field is the gospel, and that is boundless in its own sphere...

Our course is clear. 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...

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 of religion unless they can be used to teach the gospel in the manner prescribed.<sup>14</sup>

President Clark’s meaning could not be mistaken. Notwithstanding his clarity, returning to orthodoxy in the Church Educational System continued to be a struggle for years to come. In the late forties and early fifties there were still teachers that felt “that the teaching of basic principles of the gospel might somehow be left perhaps to the Sunday School. These few teachers felt there were more interesting things to do in their classes. They could explore some of the side roads, those that had not received attention in Sunday School or from the Brethren.”<sup>15</sup> Thus when the administration of Franklin West came to an end in 1953, there were still some concerns on the part of the Church leaders about seminaries and institutes.

### **The Unified Church School System**

In the beginning of the 1950’s, the Church Educational System included Brigham Young University, Ricks College, LDS Business College, and the Juarez academy in Mexico as well as seminaries and institutes. The possibility of combining all Church schools and seminaries and institutes under one head that would report to the Board of Education had been considered as

---

<sup>14</sup> J. Reuben Clark, *The Charted Course of the Church in Education*, (Salt Lake: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> Packer, *That All May Be Edified*, 45.

early as 1938.<sup>16</sup> With the inauguration of Ernest L. Wilkinson in October 1951 as President of Brigham Young University, the idea was entertained once again. The history of BYU records the results as follows:

After carefully considering the problem, the First Presidency decided to consolidate all Church schools under one administrator, Ernest L. Wilkinson. Because Dr. Franklin West retired from his position of commissioner of education in 1953, the transition to the new program was quite simple. Furthermore, Wilkinson's success during the first two years of his administration influenced the decision. Even so, he was taken by surprise by the move. Wilkinson's appointment as administrator of Church schools was officially confirmed by the Board of Trustees on 26 June 1953, but public announcement was delayed for a week.<sup>17</sup>

In his new position as the administrator of the Unified Church School System, Wilkinson was responsible for the Church schools as well as seminaries and institutes and reported directly to the General Board of Education. In this capacity, he selected two vice-presidents: William F. Edwards, who was largely responsible for the financial and business administration of the system, and William E. Berrett who was given charge of the seminary and institute program.

### **William E. Berrett as the Vice-Administrator Responsible for Seminaries and Institutes**

Wilkinson knew along with others that Berrett was a trustworthy choice. He wrote Berrett in July of 1953 explaining that "in presenting your name to the First Presidency, I had the complete support of President Joseph Fielding Smith who stated to them that you were sound in doctrine and 'willing to accept counsel.'"<sup>18</sup> Berrett's experience with Joseph Fielding Smith dated back to 1936 when Berrett had been invited by Franklin West to write what would become *The Restored Church*. Elder Joseph Fielding Smith along with Elder Charles A. Callis had been

---

<sup>16</sup> Ernest L. Wilkinson, ed., *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 5vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), 2:569.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 2:572.

<sup>18</sup> Ernest L. Wilkinson to William E. Berrett, July 7, 1953, reprinted in Berrett, *My Story*, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

appointed to approve Berrett's manuscript. "Brother Smith was especially helpful," Berrett remembered. "The first time he sent some pages back to me marked 'False Doctrine – come and see me,' I was frightened. I need not have been. He was the soul of kindness and, in our many subsequent meetings, helped me avoid errors that otherwise might have been made."<sup>19</sup>

Upon embarking in his new responsibilities, Berrett remembered one of his greatest concerns: "Our teachers were not looked upon with a great deal of respect. The profession of teaching religion had not made an appeal. I found that the general authorities never wanted their own sons to become teachers of the program. The one or two that did teach for a year or two then left us."<sup>20</sup> This was in part due to the influence of secularism on some of the seminary and institute men. Berrett remembered that the Brethren urged him, "'Now go slow.' They were a little disturbed about the way things had been handled, to be frank... At any rate, complaints had reached the Brethren and they ... were not too thrilled about extending our program because there were too many complaints that would come in."<sup>21</sup> In order for the seminaries and institutes to expand worldwide, Berrett had to earn the trust of the general councils of the Church. He wasted no time.

At the urging of Harold B. Lee that he should "break away from previous policies," Berrett selected two new assistant administrators for the program. Berrett frequently refers to guiding inspiration that helped him throughout his decision making as the administrator. "It may seem strange to some," remarked Berrett, "how inspiration can guide one in carrying out assignments in the Church, but I was to experience such inspiration many times in selecting my staff and in formulating policies for the development of religious education in the Church."

---

<sup>19</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 47, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>20</sup> William E. Berrett Oral History, interviewed by Stan Petersen and J. Elliot Kimball, Dec. 16, 1988, in author's possession, hereafter cited as Berrett interview by Petersen and Kimball.

<sup>21</sup> William E. Berrett Oral History, interview By E. Dale LeBaron, May 6, 1991, Provo, in author's possession, hereafter cited as Berrett interview by LeBaron.

After hearing how A. Theodore Tuttle, the Director of the Institute of Religion in Reno, Nevada, “had handled an assignment in a previous convention of Institute teachers,” Berrett “had the inspiration flash in my mind that he was my man.”<sup>22</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Berrett and Tuttle counseled together about a young teacher in Brigham City named Boyd K. Packer. Tuttle had taught with him and suggested him as an assistant. Both Harold B. Lee and Spencer W. Kimball approved of him. Kimball had been working closely with Packer as he “had engaged Boyd in starting a Seminary program for Indian students” in Brigham City.<sup>23</sup> “I haven’t forgotten my meeting with Brother Kimball,” Berrett reminisced, “I am sure that, on that occasion, [Elder Kimball] had the inspiration that Brother Packer was destined for greater things and consented for his release from his assignment at Brigham City.”<sup>24</sup>

Aided by Tuttle and Packer, Berrett “proceeded to upgrade the entire Seminary and Institute system.”<sup>25</sup> There was much to be done. The three of them “spent no small part of our time trying to satisfy the inquiries of General Authorities who had been to conferences throughout the Church and had received complaints that some students... had lost their testimonies.”<sup>26</sup> Packer related:

On one significant occasion, Brother Tuttle and I set aside our appointments for the day. We spent the day wrestling with the problems of our seminary and institute teachers. No small amount of time was spent on our knees appealing to the Almighty for guidance. We did not think then-nor do I think now-that we or you should work without inspiration in our assignments. The exertions of that day brought us three simple words: Follow the Brethren. This became our motto. With the encouragement of William E. Berrett, this we would teach, and this we would live.

---

<sup>22</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 77, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Packer, *That All May Be Edified*, 45.

As we moved about the Church, meeting with the seminary and institute men, all, save a few, rallied-most with rejoicing, for they had not been comfortable about the drifting.<sup>27</sup>

As part of this effort, Berrett reinstated summer trainings. It was “the first time in many years for a Summer School of intensive instruction,” and according to Boyd Packer, “it was time once again to check the moorings” and realign with the presiding councils of the Church.<sup>28</sup> Seeking instruction from the Brethren, Berrett requested that Elder Harold B. Lee instruct the teachers daily during the five week period. Needless to say, “this was hard on Elder Lee with all of his regular Church assignments, but his presence and timely instruction proved a powerful stimulant to our work.”<sup>29</sup> Rather than speak every day for five weeks, Lee periodically invited other General Authorities to speak during these important sessions. The time and instruction that Elder Harold B. Lee and the other General Authorities volunteered in these meetings emphasized the need to realign the seminary and institute program with the Priesthood.

Berrett also requested that the General Board of Education reactivate local boards of education. “Such Boards had been created as early as 1888 and had continued with a limited duty where religion classes and released-time Seminaries were operating. Now their duties were enlarged.”<sup>30</sup> In line with the new mantra, “Follow the Brethren,” reactivating local boards of education would place seminary and institute personnel in a position of serving local priesthood leaders and meeting their needs. This significant policy decision not only placed the seminaries and institutes firmly under the direction of priesthood, but would later become critical in facilitating the internationalization of the seminary and institute program.

---

<sup>27</sup> Packer, *That All May Be Edified*, 46.

<sup>28</sup> Packer, 45.

<sup>29</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 78, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 81.

In addition to reinstating summer schools and reactivating local boards of education, Berrett instructed local faculties to meet weekly and regional faculties to meet monthly.<sup>31</sup> He also developed a program of greater screening of potential seminary teachers to ensure that high quality teachers were hired. He previously noted that the program was attracting “those who had failed in the sciences and other fields then they thought well at least I can teach religion.”<sup>32</sup> He also pursued benefits for all employees that would attract high quality people to teach in the system.<sup>33</sup>

Consistent and steady in his efforts, Berrett continued to administer the program faithfully under the direction of the Priesthood. Surprising to many on November 20, 1963, Ernest Wilkinson announced to the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees that he intended to seek political office as a Republican senator for the state of Utah. President McKay felt that “President Wilkinson should remain as President of Brigham Young University while he is seeking the nomination, and if he gets nominated then we can find a successor. If he is not elected, then he should continue at the school.”<sup>34</sup> Although Wilkinson protested the plan, “the minutes of the Board showed that he was granted a leave of absence for the campaign.”<sup>35</sup>

Although he ran an effective campaign, he was soundly defeated. He returned as the President of Brigham Young University, but the Board saw fit to “separate the rest of the Church School System from Brigham Young University.”<sup>36</sup> Harvey Taylor, who was appointed as a vice president of the Unified Church school system in 1957, became the administrator of the

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 78.

<sup>32</sup> Berrett interview by Petersen and Kimball, in author’s possession.

<sup>33</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 79, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>34</sup> Diary of David O. McKay, 21 November 1963, cited in Wilkinson, *History*, 2:181.

<sup>35</sup> William E. Berrett Oral History, interviewed by Thomas Cheney, January 27, 1982, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.



remainder of the Church school system<sup>37</sup> and Berrett became the administrator of the seminary and institute program until his retirement in 1970.<sup>38</sup>

## **Conclusion**

As the isolationist period that Latter-day Saints enjoyed in the west ended, the Saints had to make substantial adjustments to their educational program in order to continue to provide religious education for the youth in conjunction with the secular. Academies were developed in the hopes of providing both religious and secular education simultaneously, but it was not long before the expense was greater than the Saints could bear. Seminary became the practical option. As Boyd K. Packer illustrated,

The seminaries were an outgrowth of the old religion classes, and the institutes of religion were an outgrowth of the seminaries and originally were called college seminaries. In the history of the Church there is no better illustration of the prophetic preparation of this people than the beginnings of the seminary and institute program. These programs were started when they were nice but were not critically needed. They were granted a season to flourish and to grow into a bulwark for the Church.<sup>39</sup>

Under the careful administration of William E. Berrett, seminaries and institutes became a viable option for providing religious education to young members of the Church. Stressing the important role seminary plays in accompanying secular education with the religious, Berrett said,

[Seminary] has spread its influence throughout our state and into other states. It is destined to become not only national, but a great international institution, for it is supplying that other half to our educational system, which has been neglected until our penitentiaries are being filled with youths who have gone wrong, not

---

<sup>37</sup> By this time, the Church School System not only included Brigham Young University, Ricks College, LDS Business College, and the Juarez academy in Mexico, but a new Church college in Hawaii and many new schools in the Pacific as well as Mexico.

<sup>38</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, Church History Library.

<sup>39</sup> Boyd K. Packer, "Teach the Scriptures," Address to CES Religious Educators, October 14, 1977.

because they were inherently bad, but because the moral and spiritual part of their education has been neglected.<sup>40</sup>

Due to the efforts of Berrett and those that worked closely with him, the program was realigned under Priesthood direction. If it had not been for these efforts, the Priesthood councils of the Church may not have trusted the seminary program, a relationship that was critical to worldwide expansion of the system.

---

<sup>40</sup> William E. Berrett Oral History, interviewed by Merrill Briggs, August 10, 1970. Cited in Merrill Briggs, "A History of the Development of the Curriculum of the Seminaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

## Chapter 3: The Pilot Program – Home Study Seminary in the Midwest

### The Problem

“As early as 1962,” according to Berrett, “the Church Board of Education began to receive letters from various areas beyond the United States and Canada from mission presidents and stake presidents who had heard of our seminary program here and who wondered what might be done for them.”<sup>1</sup> By the summer of 1963, letters had also reached the desks of Ernest Wilkinson and William E. Berrett “from Mission Presidents in Europe suggesting that the Church Educational System do something for the Church youth there.”<sup>2</sup> During this same period, Berrett had hoped to take a rare holiday away from work to take his wife on a tour of Europe. This vacation and Wilkinson’s desire to explore the possibility of a religious educational program in Europe coincided perfectly. Accordingly, President Wilkinson did not hesitate to permit the uncharacteristic time away from work. Moreover, Wilkinson instructed Berrett to “find out any information you can to see what we could do to establish an LDS educational program of any kind for the department in Europe”<sup>3</sup>

It is not clear to what extent the Board had influenced Wilkinson’s decision to explore the possibility of a seminary program in Europe, but it is evident that they were certainly on the same page. The letters from Europe had expressed both stake and mission presidents’ anxiety “to get some sort of educational program for the young people,”<sup>4</sup> and Wilkinson, Berrett, and the Board were equally anxious to provide a program to buoy up and strengthen youth throughout

---

<sup>1</sup> William E. Berrett Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, May 6, 1991, Provo, UT, in author’s possession, hereafter cited as Berrett interview by LeBaron.

<sup>2</sup> William E. Berrett, *My Story*, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>3</sup> Berrett Interview by LeBaron, 2-3, in author’s possession.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

the world. As a result, Berrett traveled to Europe to explore the possibility of expanding the seminary program.

Upon his return, his report was discouraging. “There was nothing,” he explained “that gave me very much hope for released time or early morning classes in high schools in Europe.”<sup>5</sup> In the summer of 1965, Berrett visited Great Britain for three weeks exploring “the possibility of establishing seminaries that would operate during the regular school year or during the summer.”<sup>6</sup> His findings were similarly disappointing. Consequently, when President N. Elden Tanner of the First Presidency approached Berrett in 1966 and asked him “to make an investigation in England of the possibility of establishing seminary there,”<sup>7</sup> Berrett could readily explain that “the type of Seminaries we then had in operation were not practical for the British Isles.”<sup>8</sup> Berrett reported to President Tanner the following details:

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.<sup>9</sup>

In the opinion of William E. Berrett, expansion of the current program internationally was not only impractical, but “impossible.”<sup>10</sup> This declaration was not to suggest that early morning seminary would not work in foreign lands, but that it would not be sufficient to provide religious

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Berrett, *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*, 160.

<sup>7</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 16, Church History Library.

<sup>8</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 82, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>9</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 16, Church History Library. See also Berrett interview by LeBaron, 5, in author's possession.

<sup>10</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 16, Church History Library.

education everywhere it was requested. Berrett was acutely aware that unless a new type of seminary could be developed, many youth in foreign lands would miss out on the opportunity to take seminary.

### **An Idea**

Meanwhile, in Cardston, Alberta, a young full-time seminary teacher named Donald Wilson often considered “the many young people living in missions, as [he] had, who were not having the opportunity of Seminary classes to learn the Gospel, to associate with other young Latter-day Saints in social situations and become more closely involved with gospel principles that might positively shape their lives.”<sup>11</sup> Wilson had grown up without seminary and recalled, “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.”<sup>12</sup> He wondered if something could be done for Latter-day Saint youth growing up outside the umbrella of the seminary program. “It was during this time,” Wilson remembered, “that I began to formulate some thoughts that might take this gospel program to the world.”<sup>13</sup>

Wilson knew that Brigham Young University was already offering home-study courses to high school-aged students and he had personally been enrolled in a university correspondence course, but the weaknesses of both approaches were readily apparent: little interaction with a teacher and no interaction with other peers. In a seminary class the primary goal is not only the assimilation of information, but also the strength of association with like-minded peers. With

---

<sup>11</sup> Donald Wilson, “The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program,” 1, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

this in mind, Wilson conceived a seminary program modeled after the correspondence course he had taken, but also including regular gatherings perhaps once or even twice a month with a teacher to cover some of the more important subjects they had studied since their last meeting. The day could include, Wilson proposed, with “time for socializing together and thereby meet and associate with other Latter-day Saint youth.”<sup>14</sup>

In an effort to test the validity of his idea, Wilson contacted Ernest Eberhard Jr., the Director of Curriculum for Seminaries. Eberhard was pleased and encouraged him to prepare a proposal to present to the Church School Administration. Wilson immediately started working out his proposal collecting maps and figures and awaited an opportunity to present it to current administrators.

He learned that Harvey Taylor, administrator of Church schools would be visiting Cardston, Alberta. Wilson set up an appointment and remembered well “that meeting in [Taylor’s] motel room on that wintry December morning in 1966 to discuss what might be considered a far-out theory.” As he shared his idea with President Taylor, Wilson noted that Taylor “seemed fascinated with the concept.” Taylor even compared it to “the lone scout program whereby the Boy Scout Association reached boys who lived in isolated areas. He was encouraging in his 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.”<sup>15</sup>

“By this time I believed Great Britain would be the ideal place to start this type of program,” Wilson recalled, and that was exactly what he proposed to Harvey. Wilson readily admitted that “Britain seemed an obvious place to begin because I had served my mission there

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 3.

and the people meant a great deal to me.” Although there were personal reasons for Wilson’s choice, they were not the only reasons: “also, geographical factors made this a logical decision. I felt the towns and cities which made up the British stakes lent themselves to this kind of program.”<sup>16</sup>

Taylor gave him the assignment to collect additional information, namely, how many Aaronic Priesthood holders and girls of similar ages on the records of each ward and branch in Great Britain. Wilson quickly set about preparing various forms for British wards and branches in order to facilitate information collection and then sent them to Great Britain. “A progress report with this information was sent to President Taylor on January 27, 1967.”<sup>17</sup> Four days later, the note had barely arrived when President Taylor responded: “I hasten to acknowledge your letter of January 27 regarding a Seminary program in Britain about which we have talked on my recent visit to Alberta.”<sup>18</sup> President Taylor eagerly awaited Wilson’s report.

Wilson collected the requested information from wards and branches in Great Britain and prepared a proposal that included “recommendations and suggestions of the correspondence/tutorial program noting the value for youth in preparing them for missions and adult church leadership.”<sup>19</sup> This proposal was forwarded on to President Harvey Taylor and William Berrett. Both administrators met with Donald Wilson on March 28, 1967. The minutes of the meeting recall that “a letter was read from President N. Eldon Tanner stating that the First Presidency had decided not to establish any seminaries in England at the present time,”<sup>20</sup> likely

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 2-3.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>18</sup> President Taylor to Donald Wilson January 31, 1967. A copy of the letter is included in Donald Wilson, “The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program,” Church History Library.

<sup>19</sup> Donald Wilson, “The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program,” 3, Church History Library.

<sup>20</sup> Minutes of the meeting between Donald Wilson, Harvey Taylor, and William E. Berrett on March 28, 1967. Copy is included in Wilson, “The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program,” Church History Library.

due to Berrett's previous report relative to circumstances in Europe that made the current form of seminary impossible. Nevertheless, Wilson suggested that a type of correspondence course could be set up to "accomplish the same goals without the necessity of seminaries per se."<sup>21</sup> The correspondence program could be supplemented with "monthly gatherings at Stake Centers, at which time the program would be divided between gospel study and social activities."<sup>22</sup>

Unbeknownst to Wilson, while he was sharing his proposal, something significant was quietly happening within William Berrett. Berrett recalled that "there flashed into my mind an inspiration of what we were to do. I say 'inspiration' for surely the Spirit of the Lord directed me in this matter."<sup>23</sup> He remembered that "the minute" Wilson had expressed his thoughts that there were "'ways of reaching our students in England with a home study of some kind,' ... I had a revelation that we could find a home study plan that would work."<sup>24</sup> Berrett felt he had been given confirmation from a heavenly source about this "new type of seminary," that could meet the needs of "the isolated two or three students out in these stakes of the Church where there was no organized seminary."<sup>25</sup>

Berrett lost no time. "Just as soon as [Don Wilson] left," he remembered, "I called the staff together and directed Ernest Eberhard, our curricular officer for seminaries" and the mandate was given, "prepare something now for home study."<sup>26</sup> Eberhard "was given charge to develop the necessary individual-study curriculum and to make recommendations for a trial program."<sup>27</sup> The curriculum needed to be "intriguing to students obliged to work alone."<sup>28</sup> After

---

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, "The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program," 3, Church History Library.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 81-82, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>24</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 6, in author's possession.

<sup>25</sup> Donald Jessee, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, July 5, 1991, Provo, 7, in author's possession.

<sup>26</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 6, in author's possession.

<sup>27</sup> Donald R. Bond, "A New Type of Seminary: A Grain of Mustard Seed," 1, in author's possession.



giving this directive, Berrett explained to his staff, “I am going up to meet with the Board of Education to see if I can get their approval.”<sup>29</sup> Although Berrett had tentatively moved forward with curriculum preparation before discussing it with the Board, he recalled, “I had a feeling in my spirit that they would approve it.”<sup>30</sup>

The initial idea of a correspondence program was no surprise to Eberhard. He had originally heard the idea from Donald Wilson several months earlier when he suggested Wilson should propose the idea to Church Education administrators. Moreover, Eberhard had likewise been deeply concerned about youth growing up in the Church isolated and alone, separate from other like-minded peers.<sup>31</sup> Eberhard “selected two specialists in curriculum development and writing – Arnold Stringham and Don Jessee”<sup>32</sup> and they began preparing materials that could guide such isolated students in a home study approach to seminary.

Although Berrett fully intended to present the “plan before the members of the Church Board and wait for inspiration on the matter,” he was hesitant to do so.<sup>33</sup> Various questions had surfaced about whether or not the Board would approve of the new program.<sup>34</sup> According to Donald Jessee, one of Eberhard’s curriculum writers, William Berrett “didn’t think the Brethren would approve it. He wanted to try it out and get a little bit of work done on it and see if it would work before he did much.”<sup>35</sup> Berrett’s intention therefore was not to avoid meeting with the Board, but to move forward momentarily with the hope of providing a greater vision of the potential of the program.

---

<sup>28</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 81-82, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>29</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 6, in author’s possession.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Jessee interview by LeBaron, 7, in author’s possession.

<sup>32</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 1, in author’s possession.

<sup>33</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 82, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>34</sup> Jessee interview by LeBaron, 9, in author’s possession.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 10-11.

“When we made it in the Board of Education meeting,” Jessee recalled, “President Berrett came back afterwards and said that it had been turned down. Both he and Ernie were extremely disappointed.”<sup>36</sup> The Board had not turned down the idea of developing a home study program, but had refused to make a major commitment for international expansion.<sup>37</sup> Before long, the Board revisited the idea of home study seminary separate from the possibility of international expansion. As a result, home-study seminary, “was voted on, and it was conceptually approved with a limited roll-out.”<sup>38</sup> With tentative approval for a pilot program, the stage was set to test the idea of a correspondence seminary course within the United States.

### **The Experiment Begins**

In reflecting back on this period of development and implementation of the home study program, Donald Jessee recalled that things moved “very, very quickly once they started to move.”<sup>39</sup> Similar to Eberhard, Jessee remembered feeling “the Spirit brooding the whole way.”<sup>40</sup> In late May or possibly early June, 1967, the curriculum team gathered and discussed where they should experiment with a trial program. “Brother Eberhard recommended that this new type of seminary be sent to the Midwest, namely, Missouri, Illinois, or Ohio.”<sup>41</sup>

Meanwhile Donald Bond, a seminary teacher at East High seminary in Salt Lake City, had heard of something new developing. He visited with Arnold Stringham, a member of the curriculum department, with whom he worked the previous summer writing curriculum. Stringham explained the new program and the possibility of starting in the Midwest. “Well, who

---

<sup>36</sup> Jessee interview by LeBaron, 10-11, in author’s possession.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 12-13.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>41</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 1, in author’s possession.

have you got to pilot it?” Bond inquired. “They haven’t picked anybody yet.”<sup>42</sup> When he noted Bond’s high interest in such an assignment, Stringham went to Ernest Eberhard who shortly thereafter met with Bond. “I could tell something was up when [Eberhard] asked me where I had been on a mission, where my wife’s folks lived, and where she was raised,” all of which was in Illinois. Everything started to fall into place. “Within a week, President Berrett had asked me if I would want an assignment of this kind,” which Bond immediately accepted.<sup>43</sup>

With “the necessary elements of the program” falling into place, Berrett “wanted to move forward immediately in locating the stakes and missions to be considered for the trial program so he could have it presented in the Church Board of Education meeting on 22 June 1967.”<sup>44</sup>

Berrett wanted to choose an area where there was not an organized stake, but had many independent branches with youth that were distant from each other. “It took two or three days with Don to outline what we would try.”<sup>45</sup> Using a map of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, “President Berrett selected the three center locations, determined by clusters of branches. They were to be Des Moines and Davenport, Iowa and Vincennes, Indiana.”<sup>46</sup>

After selecting the three centers for the pilot program, Mission and District Presidents were contacted and informed of the new program, the Board’s decision, and Donald Bond’s assignment. Berrett understood that the success of the program largely hinged on the support of the local priesthood leaders. Therefore, Berrett “had worked through the Brethren to channel it through the priesthood leaders.” Consequently, Bond was going “under the direction of the

---

<sup>42</sup> Donald R. Bond, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, June 13, 1991, Salt Lake City, 6, in author’s possession.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 2, in author’s possession.

<sup>45</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 8, in author’s possession.

<sup>46</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 2, in author’s possession.

mission presidents and district presidents there at the time.”<sup>47</sup> Thus it required not only the approval of the Board, but also the approval of the local priesthood leadership, which they readily gave.

By July 1967, Donald Bond and his family moved to Davenport, Iowa, with the specific charge from President Berrett “to do all possible to make it work.”<sup>48</sup> It had only been a little over a month since Bond had heard of the new program. Now its success rested on his shoulders. He knew, like President Berrett, that local priesthood leadership was the key to the program’s success.

Shortly after the Bonds arrived in Davenport, Donald left his wife with moving boxes to unpack and started meeting with priesthood leaders. The plan was to establish home study in two districts and one stake. President Duane Banks served as the stake president of the Cedar Rapids Stake in Iowa which included various branches, President Donald Woolley was the district president in Des Moines, and President Hubert Fluckiger served as district president of the South Indiana District. Each of these men was very supportive of the program “because they felt for the first time something was being designed for them.”<sup>49</sup> They hoped for the program’s success as much as anyone.

Meetings were set up with President Banks and the branch presidents in his stake as well as with President Fluckiger and the branch presidents in the Vincennes district. Bond explained the program and the priesthood’s role in its success. When the meetings concluded, all left onboard and excited. President Woolley, however, did things a little different. He accompanied Bond as they visited each branch president in their home. “Boy, did those branch presidents find

---

<sup>47</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 13, in author’s possession.

<sup>48</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 2, in author’s possession.

<sup>49</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 16, in author’s possession.

out quickly how important this program was in the mind of their district president,” Bond recounted. “I was really impressed with President Woolley’s introduction approach.”<sup>50</sup>

Although each stake president presented it in different ways, “they were really excited about it and gave it a special emphasis.”<sup>51</sup>

During this time, Bond was regularly communicating with Ernest Eberhard in order to begin classes in the fall. Both Eberhard and Bond felt strongly that an adult from the branch needed to be called as a weekly teacher that could move through the curriculum with the students. They sought “permission through priesthood lines to have the [branch presidents] call a member of the branch” to serve in this position.<sup>52</sup> They would become a home study seminary teacher that would be available throughout the week. Eberhard and Bond felt that meeting with someone once a month would not be adequate. “They needed more motivation, more role models.”<sup>53</sup> These individuals were called by a bishop or branch president and were “released from most other church assignments. This [became their] activity in the ward.”<sup>54</sup>

The program was established with an enrollment of 175 students. Bond summarized the speed with which the program was implemented, “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.”<sup>55</sup> Students had available a weekly home-study seminary teacher in their branch to help them through the individual curriculum, with whom they would meet in small groups on a weekly basis. Once every month they would meet in larger groups with a seminary teacher, and their fellow peers. Together they addressed various subjects covered in their home-study

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 19, Church History Library.

<sup>55</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 25, in author’s possession.

curriculum. The emphasis of the monthly meetings was motivating and encouraging their daily scripture study program.<sup>56</sup>

While Bond was establishing and implementing the program, curriculum writers were producing materials for students and teachers as quickly as they could. Bond recalled that receiving the curriculum in time was the greatest challenge to the program. “They were creating it and producing it in a month’s time. It was just right down to the wire every time.”<sup>57</sup> As one of the curriculum writers 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.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of the challenge of producing, shipping, and receiving the materials in time, it was evident in the first few months that the pilot program was a success. Dale Tingey, who was serving as an assistant to Berrett, visited the first monthly meeting in October. He had planned to spend two weeks traveling to all the areas to evaluate the progress of the program. After speaking with priesthood leaders, teachers, and parents, he remarked to Bond, “I don’t think we even need to spend the two weeks here. This is so highly accepted. Everybody is so highly motivated.”<sup>59</sup> Bond did not feel that would be enough and insisted, “Now hold on just a second. I have people all up and down these states ready to visit with you, and they’re looking forward to

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 25-33.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>58</sup> Jessee interview by LeBaron, 18, in author’s possession.

<sup>59</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 34, in author’s possession.

telling you what's really going on, so you can sit in these classes and feel what's going on within a month's time."<sup>60</sup>

Ernest Eberhard had also visited early in the year and was likewise deeply impressed. He along with Arnold Stringham visited for two weeks and saw every aspect of the program. Upon their return, "all [Eberhard] could talk about was home study and what impact it had on the kids."<sup>61</sup>

### **Board Concerns**

Notwithstanding the initial success and glowing reports, Eberhard called Bond early in December 1967 and explained, "Don, I think you're probably going to have to come home."<sup>62</sup> Eberhard was a member of the correlation committee and knew firsthand that members of the Board were afraid that the home-study "program would harm the Monday night program the Church was just starting" as well as "what they were doing in promoting home teaching."<sup>63</sup> Bond was devastated.

The increased emphasis on the home during this period is evident in the formalized programs of family home evening and home teaching. Much of the Board's concern about the home study seminary program was the fact that this was another "separate program they're following in the homes" that could potentially distract families from the home evening and teaching programs being emphasized by the First Presidency.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, when Berrett proposed the expansion of the program to England in the Board of Education meeting on January

---

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 8-9, in author's possession.

<sup>64</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 17, Church History Library.

3, 1968, it “was not accepted for fear of it intruding on the programs of home teaching and family home evening, being directed by Marion G. Romney.”<sup>65</sup> It was, however sent to the correlation committee for further review.<sup>66</sup>

“Eberhard,” Bond recalled, “was the only voice in that correlation committee to represent us.”<sup>67</sup> Before long, Eberhard contacted Bond and explained that Elder Romney wanted “the addresses of all the branch presidents, all of the district presidents, bishops, stake presidents and mission presidents that were involved.”<sup>68</sup> Bond compiled a list and remembered “how excited I was to prepare that directory because I knew each of the leaders personally, and I was aware of how pleased they were about home-study seminary.”<sup>69</sup> He then delivered it to Elder Romney within a week of his request. Romney’s intention was to collect information from them specific to the home study seminary program. He sent each of them a letter, which was for many the first letter they had ever received from a General Authority.<sup>70</sup> Among other things, he asked them, “does this interfere or add to home evening?” Many of the local leaders sought coaching from Bond about how to answer, to which Bond requested that they be honest and “tell them how you feel about home study.”<sup>71</sup>

Bond shared two responses that were given to President Romney:

One of the branch presidents in a little town of Northern Iowa, quite a prominent and well-educated man with a high position in his company, told Elder Romney the following: “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

---

<sup>65</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 5, in author’s possession.

<sup>66</sup> Letter from Dale T. Tingey to Donald Wilson, January 25, 1968. In Donald Wilson “The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program,” Church History Library.

<sup>67</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 36, in author’s possession.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 5, in author’s possession.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 37, in author’s possession.



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.”<sup>72</sup>

A bishop in the area named Arthur Brown had two children who participated in the program. He explained in his letter to Elder Romney,

We live in an area of scattered church membership, where early morning seminary is considered impractical. This year, however, we commenced a home study program with thirteen teenagers enrolled. Many parents of our youth were cautious about entering the program, fearful that the time demands added to the heavy requirements of school and church assignments would overwhelm our high school youth... Most surprising to the parents, however, was the uninhibited enthusiasm of our youth towards the program. Our seminary teacher testified that teaching this class was the finest experience she had encountered in the Church. One parent said that the Bible, which usually collected dust in her home, had become alive. Another stated that her boy was motivated to study in the program. As for my own son and daughter, I can assure you that the seminary has been competitive with school or church in their minds and clearly takes precedence over other activities. It is merely miraculous that they don't complain of drudgery in the assignments as they sometimes do about their homework from school.<sup>73</sup>

After all the information Elder Romney had requested had been collected and reviewed in the correlation committee, the Board of Education met to consider the results. William Berrett was sure to inform Bond that the Board meeting would take place at 9:00 AM on May 1, 1968. “I recall vividly my input to that meeting,” Bond recounts.

I was en route to Vincennes Indiana. I pulled off the highway and 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 as they 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.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 40.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 41-42.

<sup>74</sup> Bond, “A New Type of Seminary,” 5, in author's possession.

As Bond humbly sought divine intervention, the Board discussed the very positive results. They had determined that not only was the “new type of seminary” successful, but that it “was actually increasing the effectiveness of home evening and home teaching.”<sup>75</sup> As the school year was nearing its end, it was determined that home study seminary would be a viable option throughout the world, allowing Church education to expand.

## **Conclusion**

As the 1967-1968 school year ended, Donald Bond returned to summer school in Provo. During that period, Bond recalled that Berrett had “set up a personal interview for me,” with Harvey Taylor, the current Administrator of Church Schools, “and that was a really exciting experience.”<sup>76</sup> He sat down with Taylor who declared that home study seminary “is the most exciting and profound thing in religious education in the last fifty years.”<sup>77</sup> As William Berrett described, “it has enabled the Church to spread the program throughout the world.”<sup>78</sup>

A significant historical event occurred on May 27, 1970 in Nauvoo, Illinois when “the first [seminary graduation] east of the Rocky Mountains” was held.<sup>79</sup> Bond invited Berrett to be a part of the historical occasion, which he heartily accepted. Prior to the graduation, Berrett had a meeting with President Hugh B. Brown. Afterwards, Berrett “persuaded President Brown to come and give a speech”<sup>80</sup> at the ceremony the following day, which Brown “was really thrilled to be a part of.”<sup>81</sup> Thus the very first seminary graduation east of the Rocky Mountains was

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Bond interview by LeBaron, 60, in author’s possession.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 61.

<sup>78</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 19, in author’s possession.

<sup>79</sup> Berrett Interview by LeBaron, 8, in author’s possession.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 47.

further marked by having both William E. Berrett and Hugh B. Brown present the diplomas to the graduating youth.

## Chapter 4: Seminary Crosses the Ocean – Seminary in Great Britain

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established in Great Britain more than a century before the arrival of the seminary program. The first missionaries to serve outside of North America served in Great Britain. Early in the year 1837, Elders Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde along with five others traveled to Great Britain and initiated the work in England.<sup>1</sup> Their efforts were followed by the great mission of the Apostles from 1839 – 1841.<sup>2</sup> These and subsequent missions during the nineteenth century resulted in thousands of British citizens joining the Church. Each of these new converts was encouraged to follow the injunction to emigrate and gather with the Saints in Kirtland, Nauvoo, and later the Great Basin.<sup>3</sup>

With the beginning of World War I, missionaries were evacuated leaving the weight of the business of the Church in the hands of local leaders. After the war's conclusion, missionaries returned to the British Isles, but sparingly as the Great Depression descended upon the United States. Latter-day Saint families like many others struggled financially. Consequently few missionaries were called during this period.

Just prior to the beginning of World War II in 1937, President Heber J. Grant paid a welcome visit to many Saints in Europe. In contrast to the missionaries of the previous century, President Grant encouraged the Saints to build up Zion in their native lands.<sup>4</sup> As World War II ravaged Europe, local members of the Church accepted greater Church responsibility. Out of the ashes of a continent hammered by war rose local leadership. As Derek A. Cuthbert, a British

---

<sup>1</sup> See Orson F. Whitney, *The Life of Heber C. Kimball*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2001), 103-204. These pages tell the story of this mission relying heavily on Kimball's own account as recorded in his journal.

<sup>2</sup> See James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve in Great Britain—1837-1841*, (Salt Lake City: Shadow Mountain, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Ward, "Why Do You Not Obey the Gospel?" *Millennial Star*, vol. 3, no. 10, February 1843.

<sup>4</sup> Donald Q. Cannon and Richard Cowan, *Unto Every Nation; Gospel Light Reaches Every Land*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 80.

convert who joined the Church during this period, explained, “the war years stemmed the flow of emigrants and showed the British Saints what they could do on their own. It took several years to build up the leadership needed to make the breakthrough to stakehood, but there was no looking back.”<sup>5</sup>

Up to this point in Great Britain, the Church had not invested in permanent buildings. This was something that President David O. McKay, upon becoming President of the Church, determined to change. With his vision of an international Church, President McKay knew that buildings would be necessary in order to strengthen the Church in foreign lands. In fact, in 1952, he explained to reporters in Europe that the purpose of the building program was “to keep our adherents here instead of encouraging them to immigrate to Utah and other places in the United States.”<sup>6</sup> Although Church leaders had encouraged the Saints to remain in their native lands and strengthen the branches to which they belonged, temples in the United States beckoned them to come. For this reason in 1952, the First Presidency determined that the time had come to build a temple in Great Britain.<sup>7</sup> Temples had never before been established prior to a stake but it was additional encouragement to strengthen the international Church. The London, England temple was completed and dedicated in 1958 and in 1960 the first European stake was established in Manchester, England.

The 1960’s were an era of unprecedented Church growth in Great Britain. In 1958, T. Bowring Woodbury was called as the mission president for the British mission. In a youth conference, about a year later, Woodbury “bore testimony to the fact that this was a new era in

---

<sup>5</sup> Derek A. Cuthbert, “Church Growth in the British Isles, 1937 – 1987,” *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 1987), 20.

<sup>6</sup> David Oman McKay diaries, June 23, 1952, in the David Oman McKay papers, MS 668, manuscript division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, cited in Gregory Prince, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 204.

<sup>7</sup> See Prince, 202-203.

the British mission, that there was a new era in membership... The baptisms for the first six months of this year had increased 77.6%.” Moreover, he explained that it was also “a new era in local leadership and that now ten out of fifteen districts were completely in local hands and that before the end of the year it appeared that all could be in local hands.”<sup>8</sup>

From 1960 – 1965, membership increased more than enough to establish five additional stakes in the British Isles. With the tremendous growth, the Church was unable to fully care for the additional members. According to Derek Cuthbert, who became a counselor to Woodbury, it was a problem of proportion. There were not enough leaders in proportion to the number of members. “Whereas Church membership increased almost threefold, from nineteen thousand to seventy-one thousand, leadership potential, as measured by the number of Melchizedek Priesthood, only rose by 1.3 fold.”<sup>9</sup> Many of these new members were young converts baptized without the companionship of their parents.<sup>10</sup>

Local leadership was ill-equipped to provide a program that would adequately buoy up these young converts and strengthen them in their new-found faith. Both stake and mission presidents had heard of or knew about the seminary program and began writing to Church headquarters “[wondering] what might be done for them.”<sup>11</sup>

With the success of the pilot program in Midwestern United States, William Berrett approached the General Board of Education and asked permission to further expand the seminary program. In response to his request, Berrett recalled, “the Board turned over to me letters from

---

<sup>8</sup> T. Bowring Woodbury diary, August 3, 1959 as cited in Prince, 236.

<sup>9</sup> Derek A. Cuthbert, “Church Growth in the British Isles, 1937 – 1987,” 15.

<sup>10</sup> For a more extensive discussion of missionary efforts from 1960-1965, see Gregory Prince, *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*, (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005), 232-245. See also D. Michael Quinn, “I-Thou vs. I-It Conversions: The Mormon ‘Baseball Baptism’ Era,” *Sunstone* 16, no. 7 (December 1993): 30-44.

<sup>11</sup> William E. Berrett Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, May 6, 1991, Provo, 1-2, in author’s possession.

stake presidents in New Zealand and Australia and England, quite a list of letters. They were urging that we have seminaries.”<sup>12</sup> Berrett knew that in order to expand, “our biggest group, out of necessity, for some years will be those who do their study in their homes.”<sup>13</sup>

Although “it had taken some time to convince the General Authorities that [the home-study program] had merit,” in the summer of 1968 Berrett “got the ‘green light’ to try the program out in England and Australia.”<sup>14</sup> With permission from the Board, Berrett and those that worked closely with him began the selection process to determine who they would send. After some discussion and collaboration, they developed a list of several people they were considering sending to Great Britain.

### **Coordinating the Program in Great Britain**

#### *John Madsen*

Ultimately, seminary and institute administrators selected John Madsen to pioneer seminary in the British Isles. Although it is not clear why Madsen was selected, his varied experience in seminaries and institutes made him a valuable asset. He was hired full-time in 1963. Prior to that time, he had been teaching early morning seminary for a year in Pullman, Washington. He began his career teaching at East High School in Salt Lake City, Utah. In the fall of 1965, Madsen returned to Washington as a coordinator for only a year before receiving a new assignment at the University of Utah Institute as an advisor to the fledgling Latter-day Saint Student Association (LDSSA). It was in this capacity that the possibility of Madsen serving in Great Britain was leaked to his wife Diane.

---

<sup>12</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 8, in author’s possession.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> William E. Berrett, *My Story*, 102, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

Dale Tingey, Diane's brother-in-law who was working as an assistant administrator to William Berrett, called Diane one afternoon. Without any kind of greeting, he asked, "How would you like to go to England, Diane?" Diane remembered her shock and surprise at the possibility of returning to the land of her mission, "It just felt like an electric shock going from my head to my toe. I rebounded and said, 'Dale, what are you talking about?'" After explaining that the Board had approved the expansion of the seminary program to Great Britain and that Berrett was in the process of selecting who would coordinate the program, Tingey shared a word of caution with Diane. "Remember that John is my brother-in-law, so because he's family, his chance to go to England is probably not very good. I don't want to get your hopes up. But I thought I would just tell you and just tease you this morning."<sup>15</sup> Notwithstanding the caution, Diane could not help but be thrilled with the possibility.

Several weeks later, the Madsen's had travelled to Washington to visit John's parents. While there, John received a phone call. When Diane heard him greet "President Berrett," she knew the purpose for the conversation and started cheering in the other room, "We're going to England!"<sup>16</sup> During the phone call, Berrett explained to John about the expansion to England and asked if he would "be willing to accept the responsibility of introducing that program in the British Isles?" John quickly responded, "Yes sir." Berrett questioned, "But you haven't consulted with your wife." John knew there was no need, "well, she was a missionary there and I am certain that she..." Berrett interrupted, "No, I need to speak with her."<sup>17</sup> Obviously Berrett could not hear the "cheerleading in the front room."<sup>18</sup> With Diane on the phone, Berrett

---

<sup>15</sup> John M. Madsen Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, August 8, 1991, Sandy, Utah, 33, in author's possession, hereafter cited as Madsen interview by LeBaron.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 17-18

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 33.



“explained the nature and duration of [the] assignment and asked if she would be willing to support [John],” to which she heartily agreed.<sup>19</sup>

Berrett invited the Madsens to attend a training meeting conducted by Don Bond who had successfully coordinated the pilot program in the Midwest. “Others were present, including Brother Jaussi, who was going to Australia, and some other brethren who would be taking the home-study seminary program into other parts of the United States were also present for that meeting.” It was surprisingly brief “probably seven o’ clock till about nine.” Madsen remarked, “we had no formal training other than that single meeting.”<sup>20</sup>

They had yet to determine where they would initiate the program. Madsen explained,

There were six stakes in the British Isles in June of 1968. President Berrett was convinced that the three stakes in the middle of the country would be a very natural place to begin. He was very familiar with the stake leadership and felt that they would be very supportive and enthusiastic in the implementation of this program. And so it was determined that these three stakes, the Leicester, Leeds, and Manchester Stakes, would be the initial place for the introduction of the seminary program. So when that was determined, President Berrett indicated that he would be traveling with us to the British Isles to make the initial introduction of Diane and myself to the stake leaders and then he would leave us to implement the program.<sup>21</sup>

Accordingly letters were sent to each of the three stake presidents informing them of this.

One letter addressed to President Dennis Livesey of the Leeds Stake typifies the plan:

The Church Board of Education has authorized the Department of Seminaries and Institutes to initiate a special type of seminary for the youth of the stakes in the British Isles. We are immediately determining which of the stakes might desire this program for the coming year. We cannot extend the program to all of the

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 17-18.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 36-37.

stakes in the British Isles, but feel that if it is your desire, that your stake would be admirably located for the initial experiment

The type of program which we have developed, which is thought by the Board of Education to be best suited to your needs, is called the “Home Study” seminary and consists of programmed instruction which the student follows in his home with the encouragement of an individual named in the respective wards or branches to give some personal encouragement. And with the students meeting one Saturday each month under the direction of our professional coordinator for intensive personal help, this program avoids extensive travel and has proved effective in reaching and holding our youth. It has been tried on an experimental basis in several missions of the United States. It is aimed to reach the youth of the Church between the ages of 14 and 18, whether or not they are in school...

Brother John Madsen, who knows our program well, has been assigned to initiate the program in selected areas of England. He and his family will be arriving in England August 3<sup>rd</sup>. It is my plan to accompany them at that time in order to get the program underway. If your letter indicates that you would desire this program in your area, I will send you further details and our itinerary as to when we could meet with you and your official family on the matter.<sup>22</sup>

Berrett rightfully placed the decision-making power into the hands of the local priesthood leaders. They decided whether or not they wanted the program. For this reason, Berrett stressed to Madsen that “the future success of the educational program of the Church rested squarely on the reception of [the seminary program] by the leadership in the British Isles.”<sup>23</sup> Thus, their objective was to help priesthood leaders catch the vision of what seminary could do for their youth. They needed to help them see that seminary was not just nice, but necessary to strengthen young men and women in their faith. Both Berrett and Madsen felt that “if [they] failed in this mission, [it] would set the Church program back at least ten years.” Notwithstanding this reality, Madsen remembered, “we didn’t fear, we didn’t worry. We did rely upon the Lord and knew

---

<sup>22</sup> William E. Berrett to Dennis Livesey, July 2, 1968, in author’s possession.

<sup>23</sup> John Madsen interview by LeBaron, 40-41, in author’s possession.

that he would bless us, for it was his work and we simply wanted to be his instruments in bringing it to pass.”<sup>24</sup>

A significant challenge to the success of the program was obtaining the curriculum in time for the school year to begin. By July 1968, Madsen recalled, “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.”<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, they “were assured that by the time the first classes would be held in October, the materials would be in our hands.”<sup>26</sup>

The summer brought a lot of preparation and anxiety for the Madsen’s. None of it, however, was unwelcome. They described it as “a sense of adventure, and in a very real way, a kind of a pioneering feeling.”<sup>27</sup> In their last gathering with other seminary and institute personnel at Brigham Young University, the closing prayer offered by Ernest Eberhard deepened the reality of the pioneering effort they were embarking upon. Madsen paraphrased the prayer thus, ““Our Heavenly Father, we go to our several areas, but this year as well, our representatives will be crossing the seas and taking the program to foreign lands.’ It really touched my heart deeply,” Madsen recalled, “that we should be privileged to be involved with this great work.”<sup>28</sup>

Finally, the day of their departure arrived, Friday, August 2, 1968. After a few connecting flights, they arrived in Glasgow, Scotland on Saturday, August 3, 1968 and checked into a hotel. Madsen remembered feeling “quite at home and excited about being in the British

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 37.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid,

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 40-41.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

Empire, the land of kings and the land of such regal history, the land where Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball and Wilford Woodruff had done such incredible missionary work, the fountain head of the Restoration. It was just overwhelming to be there! Thrilling!”<sup>29</sup>

After attending Church in Glasgow, they met briefly in an unscheduled meeting with the Glasgow Stake presidency. The stake presidency was “very interested in the seminary program, though initially they would not be involved in the home study program. President Berrett said they could, if they desired, participate in an early morning seminary program.”<sup>30</sup> During the meeting they immediately began discussing who would teach and later, settled on a counselor in the stake presidency. They were thrilled about the new program. Madsen remembered, “President Berrett promised that I would return within a week, to see that a teacher was appointed and to see that instructions, course outlines, and materials would be available to them.”<sup>31</sup>

Berrett traveled with the family throughout the next week meeting with the stake presidencies of the Manchester, Leeds, and Leicester Stakes. Madsen recalled that in these meetings, “President Berrett explained the value and purpose of the program and I was able to give them a feel as to how the program would function.” The potential costs of the program were at that point unknown. Even though British Saints were struggling financially and Berrett and Madsen explained that those involved in home study seminary “would have to bear the cost of the materials, they were still very enthusiastic and very anxious to have the program.”<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 48-49.

<sup>30</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 47, in author’s possession. Berrett and Madsen planned to begin home study in the three center stakes of England, namely, Leeds, Leicester, and Manchester. Berrett likely assumed that one more stake participating in home study would require more time and effort than Madsen could realistically offer.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 50.

The Madsen's were grateful to have the companionship of William Berrett during these initial introductions. Berrett's regal nature commanded respect, and the British responded very well to him. "President Berrett was masterful in dealing with these wonderful priesthood leaders," John recalled. He described Berrett's nature thus,

He was a man who looked like a prophet, who talked like a prophet, and who had the bearing and dignity of a true patriarch, comparable in my heart and mind to an Adam, or an Enoch, or a Noah, or a Moses. He just was a man of wonderful dignity, and character, and spirit. 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."<sup>33</sup>

Diane Madsen described Berrett as "majestic." She continued, "I like that word because [the British] love the king and queen, they loved regal things, and President Berrett was all of that. And we didn't have that bearing. We were young, and you had to be young to do what we had to do."<sup>34</sup> Berrett's presence provided legitimacy to the program in the eyes of these stake leaders.

On August 10, 1968 they traveled back to Manchester, Berrett bid them farewell and boarded a plane "leaving them as babes in the wood to foster the new program."<sup>35</sup> As John and Diane watched his plane depart, John remembered, "the weight of the entire program settled down upon us, and we were a couple of rather sober children." Diane added, "we just held on to each other and wept as we watched him go off into that blue sky."<sup>36</sup>

It had been a busy week, but the heavy workload had only begun to descend. Four days later, Berrett wrote Madsen apologetically, "I certainly left you with a bundle of work to do in

---

<sup>33</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 44, in author's possession.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 46.

<sup>35</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 102, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>36</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 53, in author's possession.

getting students enrolled.”<sup>37</sup> Madsen wasted no time. He immediately began working with leaders in each of the four stakes “to begin calling their teachers and recruiting their students to be enrolled” with the intention of beginning classes in October.<sup>38</sup> The Glasgow stake had selected their teacher and held the first seminary class in the British Isles on September 2, 1968. Madsen was in attendance and remembered,

It was quite a thrill to join with this early morning seminary class at 7:00 a.m. and have them tell me that as they were walking, some two or three of them, toward the building in the morning, a policeman stopped them and said, “Where are you going?” And they said, “Seminary,” or “Seminar” as they would call it sometimes. He really couldn't believe it, and he accompanied them until he saw other young teenage boys and girls gathering for religious instruction. It was quite a phenomenon. That's where it all began.<sup>39</sup>

Madsen continued meeting with parents, leaders, and teachers encouraging enrollment. Madsen rejoiced that “in every case there was wonderful enthusiasm.” He impressed upon all those involved in the new program “that none of us could possibly appreciate the historicity of this moment and the importance of what was taking place. None of us could really foresee what impact this was going to have on the Church and the future development of the work of the Lord.” He encouraged them to do their best whether, teacher or student because “we were all pretty much on trial, and that what we did we had better do with prayerful hearts and with all our hearts, because what we did would have an impact on other places in the world who were waiting for the opportunity to have this program.”<sup>40</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Madsen was thrilled “when mail delivery brought some big boxes of materials with tubes, with charts, and maps, etc., this was the New Testament Course... We

---

<sup>37</sup> William E. Berrett to John Madsen, August 16, 1968, in author's possession.

<sup>38</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 62, in author's possession.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 63-64.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 62.

opened up those supplies and had such a thrill as we realized that the program would get underway on schedule.” With the materials in hand, they began holding preschool conventions in each stake. In these conventions the anticipation of the experiences they would share together was contagious:

We got underway in those first meetings with wonderful enthusiasm on the part of the students as they saw their materials and tasted of the spirit of the Lord and felt the strength and joy of being together with their peers to learn more of the gospel and to better prepare themselves to take part in the Latter-day work of the Lord. There was just great enthusiasm and great excitement. Our first series of student conventions were indeed successful! We were underway!<sup>41</sup>

Around this same time, Madsen shared a wonderful experience with Elder Spencer W. Kimball who was presiding at the Leicester stake conference during the weekend of September 14-15, 1968. During the course of the conference, Elder Kimball requested an interview with Madsen. The interview’s purpose was two-fold. The main purpose for the interview was to call Madsen to serve on the high council of the Leicester stake. Moreover, Kimball announced, he desired to give Madsen a blessing. Kimball was fully aware that the Madsens “were there to introduce the seminary program.” Thus, under these circumstances, Madsen recalled, Kimball

laid his hands upon my head and set me apart to serve as a member of the high council--to lend strength, etc., to that stake, but he also blessed me in connection with the establishment of the seminary program in the British Isles. He said, "I bless you that you will be imminently successful in establishing the seminary program in the British Isles." I just remember that phrase and rejoiced inwardly over the apostolic blessing, realizing that the Lord was indeed blessing the program so that the Gospel of Jesus Christ would be taught to the young people of the British Isles in preparation for the great work that had yet to be done in that land.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 62-63.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, 61.

The anticipatory spirit could be felt throughout Great Britain. It was not long before missionary districts began requesting the program. In a letter to Madsen, dated September 16, 1968, Berrett refers to a letter he had recently received from the Northeast British mission. The letter “indicates that we must have more men in Great Britain next year and I am sure this will happen.” Berrett continued, “we have no objection to your furnishing a group of this kind with lesson materials but I know no way of giving them other assistance and you certainly have all that you can carry.”<sup>43</sup> Around this same time, the London Stake had heard about the early morning program in the Glasgow Stake and expressed interest in setting up a similar program in London. By October of 1968, “two early morning seminary classes got underway” in London.<sup>44</sup> Whether or not to send additional personnel to the British Isles was no longer a question of “if” but “when” and “how many.”

Initial enrollments in each of the five programs by the end of September were very promising. The Leicester stake had 97 students enrolled, a fact which thrilled Berrett. “If the other stakes turn out in similar proportions you will certainly have a job on your hands.”<sup>45</sup> Further north, the Leeds stake enrolled 79 students and the stake in Manchester enrolled 61 students. The early morning program in Glasgow had 21 students enrolled and another 56 students enrolled in the two classes in London. For the school year of 1968-1969, 237 British youth would initially take advantage of seminary.<sup>46</sup> This was the report Berrett presented to “the

---

<sup>43</sup> William E. Berrett to John Madsen, September 16, 1968, in author’s possession.

<sup>44</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 70, in author’s possession.

<sup>45</sup> William E. Berrett to John Madsen, September 27, 1968, in author’s possession.

<sup>46</sup> John M. Madsen, “A Brief Account of the Introduction of the Church Education Program in Great Britain,” 5, in author’s possession.



Executive Committee of the Board of Education on the status of our Seminaries in England and the members seemed very pleased.”<sup>47</sup>

Accordingly, by October seminary was in full operation in each of the five stakes. As Berrett intimated, Madsen certainly had his hands full. As he would travel from program to program observing, he was pleased to see that the youth were excited about the program, notwithstanding the additional commitment it required. “It was quite a thrilling thing to see the enthusiasm and dedication these young British youth had for the early morning seminary program. Their daily public schooling is very demanding.”<sup>48</sup> Madsen added, “the schooling of these students was so intense that to have them take on another full curriculum and devote the additional time that was required was quite an adjustment.” Even though their secular studies required much of their attention, “they made the necessary adjustments and sacrifices. In fact, they began to give their seminary studies priority and the parents began to worry about their other schooling.”<sup>49</sup>

In a letter to Madsen dated October 23, Berrett wrote, “I hope that you are getting your materials for this is a real problem on both sides. We are having a hard job to keep ahead of schedule on our materials for the Home Study Program, but have begun to see a bit of daylight.”<sup>50</sup> Little did Berrett know the difficult time Madsen would have getting the materials into the country even if they arrived on time.

When the first major shipment arrived, Madsen had to “virtually walk those seminary supplies through the customs process, because [the authorities] said these materials were

---

<sup>47</sup> William E. Berrett to John Madsen, September 27, 1968, in author’s possession.

<sup>48</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 63, in author’s possession.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 70.

<sup>50</sup> William E. Berrett to John Madsen, October 23, 1968, in author’s possession.

illegal.”<sup>51</sup> Materials printed outside of Great Britain were forbidden. A customs agent explained that any materials “have to be printed in our own country in order to be used here.” Madsen compared himself to “Moses before Pharaoh” requesting deliverance. “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... Somehow, they finally yielded and allowed me to bring those materials in.”<sup>52</sup> Once he had obtained the materials he traveled north through each of the three stakes delivering the materials to each of the teachers who then in turn delivered to their students. In order to deliver all the materials, he visited twenty-five to thirty cities among the three stakes. It was a monthly ritual.

Meanwhile, Berrett’s focus remained on the further expansion of the seminary program.

He wrote Madsen on November 27, 1968,

As you well know, we would be happy from this office to extend our program to the Missions as well as the Stakes in England and I would welcome letters from Mission Presidents requesting this if they feel so inclined. I believe that if they really want such a program in the missions that it could be obtained. It will not be urged upon any stake president or mission and our hands are tied until we do get a request from them. You may want to pass this on to any who make inquiry of you as to the possibility of expanding the program for next year. Those stake Presidents or Mission Presidents could either write directly to me or to the First Presidency.<sup>53</sup>

Reiterating the already established policy, the program would not expand except at the request of local priesthood leaders. Immediately after receiving this letter, Madsen wrote to each of the mission presidents and stakes without home study that he “received instructions from President William E. Berrett, Administrator of Seminaries and Institutes of Religion, regarding

---

<sup>51</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 74, in author’s possession.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> William E. Berrett to John Madsen, November 27, 1968, in author’s possession.

the procedure to be followed for the possible expansion of the Home Study Seminary Program in the British Isles.”<sup>54</sup> He encouraged each of these men to write Berrett or the First Presidency if they desired the program.

In addition to these letters, Madsen also visited “with all of the mission presidents, and with some district presidents, to explain the program and to determine the number of potential students and possible areas in which to further expand the program.”<sup>55</sup> Madsen was very effective. Letters started pouring into Berrett’s office. By the middle of February, Berrett wrote, “I am receiving various letters from Stake Presidents and Mission Presidents in England, all of which have been helpful in persuading the Board of Education to permit our sending additional men to the British Isles.”<sup>56</sup> By the end of February, Berrett had heard from each of the mission and stake presidents in the British Isles and was happy to report, “all of them desire a program for next year.”<sup>57</sup>

With half of the year behind him, Madsen recognized there was more work than he could possibly do. He related to Berrett that “it has become apparent that the program, both early morning and home study, require very close supervision. In order to keep the entire program running at peak efficiency and performance I will surely need additional help.” Madsen could see many things that required attention that he was unable to give. In consequence of this, he confessed, “I’m surely anxious for the green light on additional men.”<sup>58</sup> By mid-February, Berrett had already requested “two men to serve in England” under Madsen’s direction, “and one man to handle Scotland and Ireland, probably under a separate arrangement but with full

---

<sup>54</sup> John M. Madsen to Presidents Oates, Cannon, Porch, and Robison, December 4, 1968, in author’s possession.

<sup>55</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 64, in author’s possession.

<sup>56</sup> William E. Berrett to John M. Madsen, February 18, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>57</sup> William E. Berrett to John M. Madsen, February 25, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>58</sup> John M. Madsen to William E. Berrett, January 21, 1969, in author’s possession.

cooperation. This as I say has not completely jelled but it looks likely. I will keep you informed as soon as we have certainty so that you can help work out the matter of placement of the individuals whom we will send.”<sup>59</sup>

Elder Spencer W. Kimball wrote Madsen in January informing him of a tour Kimball would take through Great Britain from February 16 to March 12. Moreover, “[Elder Kimball] expressed that he is ‘tremendously interested in the program and will do everything’ he can to further it when he visits all the stakes and missions of the British Isles.”<sup>60</sup> Kimball requested that during that time Madsen bring a map with potential enrollment numbers for the upcoming year in order to discuss the possibility of sending additional men to Great Britain. Prior to the visit, Madsen wrote Berrett,

I’ve received word from both Stake and Mission presidents that Elder Kimball will stress the Seminary Program and be requesting detailed and specific figures as to the potential for the Seminary Program as he visits each Stake and Mission in turn. With his visit and emphasis, and the contacts previously made I feel we shall surely have a clear picture of the extent to which the program should be expanded.

When Madsen and Kimball met, Madsen brought a map with the outlines of each stake, mission, and district along with number of potential students in each area he had compiled with the help of the leaders of each organization. Madsen “opened that map to [Kimball’s] gaze, and he poured over it like a field general and was tremendously interested and curious to know where the strength was and what the potential was.” Kimball then inquired, “if an additional man were to be sent, where would you place him?” Madsen did not hesitate to emphasize the need for more men. He pleaded his case, “that would be very a difficult decision because there are so

---

<sup>59</sup> William E. Berrett to John M. Madsen, February 18, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>60</sup> John M. Madsen to William E. Berrett, January 21, 1969, in author’s possession.

many areas that are wanting this program in the coming year.” Nevertheless, Madsen assured him that he would be pleased with any additional help. As the meeting ended, Madsen received no confirmation about whether or not other men would be sent. “That's all I knew about the future expansion of the program.”<sup>61</sup>

On April 14, 1969, Berrett wrote Madsen with the news that the Board had approved three additional men to work with Madsen in Great Britain.<sup>62</sup> Wesley Christensen would “operate separately in Scotland and Ireland partly because of his many years of service with us and his many years as a supervisor.” Due to these circumstances, Berrett felt that it would not be logical to “place him under a younger man.”<sup>63</sup> Further, Berrett explained that “there will be two men who will come to work under you.” James Moss had just been hired full-time after teaching a few classes part-time. His first full-time assignment would be in England where he served his mission. David Parkinson had also been assigned to Great Britain. At the time he had just finished his fourth year and was most recently the seminary principal in Moab, Utah. He had served his mission in Ireland, Scotland, and England.

### *Wesley Christensen*

Of the group that was pioneering the program in the British Isles, Wesley Christensen was certainly the most experienced. After twelve years of various assignments, in February 1969, Christensen received word that a possible assignment change was in the works. Dan Workman, the Director of the Logan Institute at the time, passed a message on to Christensen. He wrote of the experience that Workman “told me that Berrett had called me about accepting an

---

<sup>61</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 65, in author’s possession.

<sup>62</sup> William E. Berrett to John M. Madsen, April 14, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

assignment as Coordinator of Seminaries and Institutes in the British Isles.”<sup>64</sup> While in Provo attending a mid-year convention for coordinators, Christensen “met briefly with Pres. Berrett to receive the official call and to be given preparatory instructions.” In his journal, he wrote, “what an exciting experience, living in Scotland.”<sup>65</sup> On August 1, 1969, they arrived at the Prestwick airport just south of Glasgow. They spent their “first night in a foreign land, tired, sleepy, & thankful for our safe arrival.”<sup>66</sup>

### *James Moss*

As James Moss finished a law degree, he was offered a position coordinating the seminary and institute program in Great Britain. The prospect of returning to the land where he served his mission was too enticing. In spite of their concerns about his wife Lavelle being pregnant, they “felt a calm assurance and a renewed excitement about the opportunity,” and decided to accept as their first full-time experience the international assignment.<sup>67</sup> They “felt somewhat like pioneers in reverse as we arrived in England July 24, 1969.”<sup>68</sup> Moss was quick to express when they arrived “how good it felt to be home.”<sup>69</sup>

### *David Parkinson*

Four years after Parkinson had been teaching seminary in Moab, they received a letter from the administration of seminaries and institutes announcing that an additional man would be sent to Great Britain the next year. “The CES men were invited to indicate their interest in

---

<sup>64</sup> Wesley Christensen journal, February 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, 8.

participating.”<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, Parkinson quickly expressed his interest, but to no avail. “We got word that they had hired a man from Logan, Wes Christensen.”<sup>71</sup> Not long after in April 1969, Stan Best called to announce “there have been some changes made in the decisions regarding the British Isles program, and they are going to send more men than they had previously planned,”<sup>72</sup> and Parkinson would be numbered among them. They were thrilled. They arrived in London on July 30, 1969.

### **Dividing the British Isles**

Since January 1969, Madsen and Berrett had been corresponding back and forth to determine the best way to divide the districts. Scotland and Ireland seemed to be an easy division. Wesley Christensen would pioneer the program in these areas and had a tremendous amount of work in front of him. The Glasgow stake anticipated 100 students for 1969 – 1970 year. By including the branches surrounding Glasgow, the region “could be divided making two areas of 75 students each.”<sup>73</sup> Also part of the Scottish mission, the Dundee area had approximately 50-60 potential students for the next year.<sup>74</sup> In addition to the students in the Scottish mission, the Irish mission also desired to be involved. However, no numbers were provided for potential students, but Madsen described the area as “primed and ready for the program.”<sup>75</sup> Although a clear picture of potential students had yet to be established in this area, it is apparent that Christensen would direct a seminary district serving well over 200 students for the 1969-1970 school year.

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>73</sup> See John Madsen, letter to William E. Berrett, March, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

In northern England, David Parkinson continued the home study program in the Leeds stake which estimated 80 students for the upcoming year.<sup>76</sup> The Sunderland stake, which was the only stake that had yet to initiate a seminary program, would be involved in home study as well. Their pre-enrollment numbers estimated 70 students for the upcoming year.<sup>77</sup> Also included in this seminary district were both the Hull and Grimsby districts which were part of the North British Mission.<sup>78</sup> The Hull district anticipated about 50 students and the Grimsby district estimated 20 students.<sup>79</sup> David Parkinson supervised a seminary program that would serve approximately 220 students.

John Madsen continued working in the central area of England. By dividing the Leicester stake into two areas and combining the Leicester side with the Midlands East and Midlands South districts from the Central British Mission, they expected 105 students to be involved with the home study program. The Birmingham side of the stake could similarly combine with the Midlands North and Midlands West districts.<sup>80</sup> Their pre-enrollment numbers suggested 65 students would be involved during the 1969-1970 school year.<sup>81</sup> The Liverpool district, part of the North British Mission would also be a part of this area. They had 45 potential students.<sup>82</sup> The Manchester stake estimated 60 students for the upcoming year.<sup>83</sup> Under Madsen's supervision, approximately 275 students were involved.

---

<sup>76</sup> See John Madsen, "British Seminary District Preliminary Report," in author's possession.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> See John Madsen to William E. Berrett, March, 1969, in author's possession.

<sup>79</sup> See John Madsen, "British Seminary District Preliminary Report," in author's possession.

<sup>80</sup> See John Madsen to William E. Berrett, March, 1969, in author's possession.

<sup>81</sup> See John Madsen, "British Seminary District Preliminary Report," in author's possession.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.



James Moss worked in southern England. The London stake anticipated 70 students for the upcoming year.<sup>84</sup> Joseph Hamstead, president of the London stake requested that they maintain an early morning program specific to adults, but determined that the youth 14-18 would be involved in the home study program. Also included under Moss' supervision was the British Mission (60 students), the British South Mission (60 students), the Bristol District (50 students), and the South Wales District (35 students). This southern British seminary district, supervised by Moss, served approximately 275 students.

### **Challenges in Establishing the Seminary Program in the British Isles**

These men faced a variety of challenges as they were establishing seminary in the British Isles. John Madsen explained that one of the significant challenges they faced was due to the recession in England at the time. This problem was evident during the Saturday meetings. “Twenty to thirty percent of the young people who were our students had Saturday jobs. They were, of necessity, working, because everyone who was of age had to work in the British Isles in order to support the family. Times were tight and difficult, so that made it appear as though there wasn't the greatest support and enthusiasm for the program.”<sup>85</sup>

Notwithstanding the difficulties, “these young people were doing the work and they were staying current with the required material. Every possible student who could be present for those programs was present for our monthly meetings.”<sup>86</sup> Saturday employment was not the only reason students may not have attended. “The cost and availability of transportation” also created problems. Madsen continued, “there were very few members who owned automobiles. Teachers and students had to travel to the monthly Saturday meetings at their own expense on trains and/or

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 69, in author's possession.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

buses, and that was costly for them and represented a great sacrifice.”<sup>87</sup> Their regular efforts to attend in spite of the difficulties, illustrates the need that the seminary program was fulfilling.

Another difficulty that continued throughout the course of the pioneering experience was obtaining and delivering the materials on time. Moss explained that “this was one of the biggest problems in our first year of operation here. 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.”<sup>88</sup> Unfortunately for Christensen, materials were often too late. His journal entry for November 25, 1969 curtly states, “another day waiting for materials.”<sup>89</sup> On December 3, he recorded, “the biggest problem for Seminary is getting our supplies. We are still waiting additional copies of unit I and we have never seen unit II and we should be getting unit III by now.”<sup>90</sup> In the face of this frustration, he marveled at how much patience the students and teachers had “waiting for materials something I guess I will have to develop.”<sup>91</sup>

When the materials arrived, customs continued to assert that they were illegal.<sup>92</sup> Mary Etta Parkinson, the wife of David Parkinson recalled, “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 that they were prepared to meet these guys and sail through it. Very seldom did it sail through. It was always just incredible experiences that would tax every aspect of all their abilities together.”<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> James R. Moss journal, September 23, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>89</sup> Wesley J. Christensen journal, November 25, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>90</sup> Wesley Christensen journal, December 3, 1969, in author’s possession.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 74, in author’s possession.

<sup>93</sup> Mary Etta Parkinson Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, June 24, 1991, Bozeman, Montana, 23, in author’s possession, hereafter cited as Parkinson interview by LeBaron.

Another challenge was discovered in working with some of the priesthood. Beth Christensen, Wesley's wife remembered, "Wesley spent an awful lot of time speaking to the branch presidents and stake presidents. It didn't seem like they had time to listen to him. They wanted the program, but they wanted it handed to them like a pill, all done up, or they wanted it done their way. They wouldn't take time to listen, and unless he got the groundwork done properly, the program wouldn't work out right."<sup>94</sup> Similarly, Mary Etta Parkinson explained, "the leadership had so many things to do. They were short in numbers, and this was one more program to do."<sup>95</sup> Adapting and adjusting in order to administer the program was difficult for many of the local leaders.

In addition, the fact that the "Americans" were introducing the program created additional difficulties. In April, Berrett wrote Madsen recognizing the potential problem with Americans introducing the program. He expressed, "we feel that we should not greatly increase the number of personnel from the States in any of the foreign countries, but should use these people for supervisory activities and train local brethren to become area coordinators and assistants in the program." He further encouraged Madsen to "find some local brethren that we can put on a part-time basis or even full-time basis as needed."<sup>96</sup> Christensen "often said that it would be great when they have people of their own, on their own level that can bring the program to them. Then it will be the Church program rather than the American program."<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>94</sup> Beth Christensen Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, June 1991, Logan, Utah, 25-26, in author's possession, hereafter cited as Christensen interview by LeBaron.

<sup>95</sup> Parkinson interview by LeBaron, 72, in author's possession.

<sup>96</sup> William E. Berrett to John M. Madsen, April 21, 1970, in author's possession.

<sup>97</sup> Christensen interview by LeBaron, 26, in author's possession.

## Conclusion

It was not long before these men began to see the fruits of their labors. Madsen rejoiced, “no longer did these young people arrive at their teenage years, and then routinely become inactive. That is what had been happening for years and years in the British Isles. Missionaries were Americans. Now they began to see themselves as future missionaries. Many of these young people went on to fulfill full-time missions.”<sup>98</sup> In fact, Madsen was convinced that “you can plot the number of missionaries in the British Isles and see those numbers begin a steady and dramatic and remarkable increase from the time that the Seminary program was implemented. Not only did they begin to go on missions, but marriages began to occur in the temple with greater frequency.”<sup>99</sup>

Not only did they notice that the youth were willing to serve missions, but they were willing to sacrifice a great deal to serve. One such example as related by Beth Christensen was Keith Brooks. He was forced to choose between a scholarship for college and a mission. Notwithstanding the significance of the award, “he wanted to stop and go on a mission. Wesley went with him to talk to his head professor to see if they would hold his scholarship,” but to no avail. It truly came down to serving a mission or receiving a scholarship and attending college. He chose to serve a mission.<sup>100</sup>

A sacrifice of this kind was no longer a rarity in the British Isles. Mary Ellen Parkinson, in speaking of this new generation of youth remarked that “they were the ones that took the risk of stopping their college to serve a mission and then coming back to whatever. It was unlikely that they could get back into college. It wasn't possible in those days. You had to finish your

---

<sup>98</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 72, in author's possession.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Christensen interview by LeBaron, 79, in author's possession.

college and then go on a mission. But these kids dared to do those things. They were remarkable.”<sup>101</sup> Their education was no longer solely secular, but included the religious. In fact as is evident in these missionaries, the religious was even given priority over the secular.

The effectiveness of the seminary program could be seen in the many youth that continued faithful and later became effective leaders. In fact, in 1981, Mary Ellen Parkinson returned to Scotland and was not surprised to find that “the leadership of the ward was now made up of the seminary students that we had known when we lived there. The bishop was newly married when we lived there. The two counselors in the bishopric were previous students.”<sup>102</sup> In commenting further about one of the counselors to the bishop, for him, “seminary made all the difference in his life. He was the only member of the Church from his family.” Accordingly, many assumed that he would not continue faithful and would fall into inactivity like so many before him. However, when Mary Ellen returned, “there he was with a lovely wife and daughter, married in the temple,” and serving as a leader in the Church.<sup>103</sup> She was likewise convinced, “it had to be seminary that helped make that difference.”<sup>104</sup>

David Parkinson had determined early on that he would work so that when he returned to the United States, “he would not be replaced by an American.”<sup>105</sup> Similar to others Americans working to establish the program, they sought to empower the British to lead the British.<sup>106</sup> Parkinson “worked with that objective and he was able to accomplish that. When he did leave, it

---

<sup>101</sup> Parkinson interview by LeBaron, 75-76, in author’s possession.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 74.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 74-75.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 75-76.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 77.

<sup>106</sup> See Christensen interview by LeBaron, 26, in author’s possession, also Lavelle Moss Oral History, interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 1991, Orem, Utah, 31, in author’s possession, hereafter cited as Moss interview by LeBaron.

was a British citizen that took over the job,” something that brought Parkinson a great deal of satisfaction.<sup>107</sup>

Additionally, the parents of the youth were developing an increased desire to study their scriptures because of the new program in which their children were engaged. “The adults were so excited that they were looking over their children's shoulders wanting to have the study materials.”<sup>108</sup> On occasion, “the kids would go to study, and they couldn't find their materials because their parents had absconded with them,” a problem, Lavelle Moss quipped, “we liked to have.”<sup>109</sup> The adults were so adamant that institute classes naturally developed. “There was just no stopping them. Virtually the entire leadership of the ward wanted and pleaded to do it, and so David held a class for them, an institute class for these adults. They spent an incredible number of hours in study.”<sup>110</sup> It was evident “that there was a real need for them to have this opportunity to study the gospel on a daily basis.”<sup>111</sup> The current leadership as well as the rising generation were deepening their understanding of the scriptures in a powerful way that changed the British Isles.

The change did not go unnoticed. In August of 1971, the Church's first Area Conference was held in the British Isles. In attendance were President Joseph Fielding Smith, President Harold B. Lee, Elder Spencer W. Kimball, Elder Marion G. Romney, Elder Richard L. Evans, Elder Thomas S. Monson, Elder Boyd K. Packer, Elder Marion D. Hanks, Elder Paul H. Dunn, and Elder Loren C. Dunn. “During the lunchtime, just prior to the concluding afternoon session, the Brethren were relaxed. Many of them had given their talks and they were in a private area of

---

<sup>107</sup> Parkinson interview by LeBaron, 77, in author's possession.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid*, 20.

<sup>109</sup> Moss interview by LeBaron, 18, in author's possession.

<sup>110</sup> Parkinson interview by LeBaron, 20-21, in author's possession.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, 21.

the complex where the meetings were being held.” John M. Madsen who was serving as the mission president of the Southwest British Mission at the time was sitting close enough to witness the following event:

All of a sudden President Harold B. Lee walked into that room... The Brethren opened the circle of chairs and President Lee sat down with them, and leaned forward in his chair. I could see all of the Brethren also lean forward. President Lee then said, “Brethren, there is a wonderful Spirit brooding over this historic conference. But the most important development that has taken place in the British Isles in recent years has been the introduction of the home study seminary program...” He explained his statement, saying that as a result of the introduction of the home study seminary program, more of our people were studying the scriptures than ever before.<sup>112</sup>

Madsen remembered, “I was thrilled. It was a glorious confirmation that the work had been established, and was obviously having its impact upon the youth and members of the Church throughout the British Isles.”<sup>113</sup> The seminary program had been established and the fruits were easily visible.

---

<sup>112</sup> Madsen interview by LeBaron, 93, in author’s possession.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 5: Seminary Expands to the Land “Down Under” – Seminary in Australia

Early LDS missionaries John Murdock and Charles Wandell arrived in Australia on October 30, 1851. Although they were not the first to preach in Australia, they represented the formal organization of the Australian mission.<sup>1</sup> Murdock and Wandell were quick to explain to all converts “that they had an obligation to immigrate to Utah to be with the Saints.”<sup>2</sup> Thus from 1853 to 1859, “more than five hundred Saints gathered to Utah, plus another two or three hundred between 1859 and 1900.”<sup>3</sup> Needless to say, due to the majority of converts emigrating, the Church in Australia struggled to establish itself.

In the first few decades of the twentieth century, the Church in Australia began to change. As Church leaders began encouraging the Saints to remain in their native lands, membership naturally rose. From 1910 to 1925, Church membership in Australia almost doubled from 660 members to 1,169.<sup>4</sup> However, in consequence of World War I, the Church struggled to maintain branch leadership. Many of the men enlisted in the Australian army leaving the branches with insufficient men to operate. Moreover, the total number of missionaries serving in Australia dropped from 30 before the war to only eighteen by 1919.<sup>5</sup>

With the conclusion of the First World War and the end of the depression, the Church experienced a season of growth. From 1935-1940, the Church sent more missionaries to Australia than ever before, and the general public perception of the Church had become more favorable. Unfortunately, with the beginning of World War II, the Church in Australia struggled

---

<sup>1</sup> See R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*, (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1986), 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 199.

<sup>3</sup> Donald Q. Cannon and Richard Cowan, *Unto Every Nation; Gospel Light Reaches Every Land*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003), 163.

<sup>4</sup> Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 206-207.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 213.



once again. On October 14, 1940, President Heber J. Grant called for the return of all missionaries from the United States. He also instructed mission leaders to use local members to fill leadership positions previously held by the missionaries, a task that was becoming increasingly difficult considering that many of the men were joining the Australian army. Although World War II ended in 1945, the Church struggled to recoup before the Korean War began. Wars, inadequate numbers of missionaries, and “the tyranny of distance” as historian Geoffrey Blainey called it,<sup>6</sup> were all factors in the slow growth of the Church in Australia during the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1955, President David O. McKay visited Australia. McKay’s visit has been referred to as “the turning point for the Church in Australia.”<sup>7</sup> At this time, Australia boasted one hundred missionaries, more than the country had ever had. Seven years later, the number of missionaries had swelled to seven hundred. Accordingly, the Church experienced tremendous expansion during these years. By 1960, the Church had seven thousand members in Australia and had organized three stakes (Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne) in the same year. The Church continued to steadily grow. Before the decade’s end, four additional stakes had been established.<sup>8</sup>

In November 1967, William Proctor, president of the Brisbane Stake, observed “that secondary schools in the area were providing religious instruction through an access program in the local schools.”<sup>9</sup> Some of the youth in his stake had asked Proctor if a similar program could

---

<sup>6</sup> Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History*, (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1983, cited in Newton, *Southern Cross Saints*, 159.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 231.

<sup>8</sup> See *Sketches of Australia and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, L. Tom Perry Special Collections. The following stakes were established between 1966 and 1969: Adelaide (February 1966), Sydney South (May 1967), Perth (November 1967), and Parramatta (November 1969).

<sup>9</sup> Lionel Waters, “History of CES in Australia,” in author’s possession.

be organized for them. Proctor determined to write to the General Church Board of Education and ask “if a religious study program could be implemented in his stake. He suggested that the program be run by retired priesthood holders travelling from school to school to teach these youth the gospel.”<sup>10</sup> Little did Proctor know that the Board had approved a home-study seminary pilot program already underway in the Midwestern United States.

When the Board approved further expansion of the home-study seminary program on May 1, 1968, they discussed where to begin the program. With Proctor’s request six months earlier, the Brisbane Stake was a logical location to begin the expansion. After the Board told Berrett, “you can start with one place in Australia,”<sup>11</sup> he considered who he would send to both begin the seminary program and “determine the feasibility of establishing religious education programs throughout Australia.”<sup>12</sup>

### **Coordinating the Program in Australia**

*J.L. Jaussi*

When J. L. Jaussi was hired in 1960 to teach seminary in Montpelier, Idaho, he was already an experienced school teacher of fourteen years. Berrett described Jaussi as one who “was full of energy and had great appeal with young people.”<sup>13</sup> After two years in Montpelier, he taught four years in Logan; two years at a junior seminary and two years as principal at a senior seminary. While in Logan, Alma Burton “pulled [Jaussi] aside, and said, ‘Look, we are going to extend the program back into the Eastern United States. We need a man to go back

---

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Berrett Interview by LeBaron, 26, in author’s possession.

<sup>12</sup> Waters, “History of CES in Australia,” in author’s possession.

<sup>13</sup> Berrett Interview by LeBaron, 27, in author’s possession.

there. Would you be interested in going?”<sup>14</sup> It was not an easy decision for Jaussi and his wife. He explained, “we had just bought a ranch in Cache Valley at that time, had a lovely home there, and also had three sons in the mission field at the same time. We didn't know what to do, but we decided it was an opportunity.”<sup>15</sup> Leaving Logan in the summer of 1966, Jaussi became the coordinator of the Central States District. It was a large area which extended “from Independence, Missouri, to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and from the Great Lakes on the north to Memphis, Tennessee, on the south.”<sup>16</sup> As the sole employee of the seminary and institute program in the area, he initiated early morning seminaries wherever it was feasible and institutes at many of the universities. One year later, he supervised Don Bond and the home-study seminary pilot program.

Over the course of eight years, Jaussi acquired a wide range of experience in the seminary and institute program. Berrett lauded his efforts, “I had been quite pleased with his seminary activities.”<sup>17</sup> He was confident that Jaussi was the man to introduce seminary in Australia. Consequently, in the summer of 1968, when Jaussi had returned to Provo for summer school, Berrett requested to meet with him. After some pleasantries, Berrett asked, “how would you like to go to Australia?” Jaussi did not hesitate, “just fine. When do I leave?” Berrett responded, “How soon can you pack your bags?” To which Jaussi replied, “I suppose by tonight.”<sup>18</sup> Before they made any additional plans, Berrett insisted “you had better check with your wife first.”<sup>19</sup> The next morning, after Jaussi had counseled with his wife and children, he

---

<sup>14</sup> J. L. and Marilyn Jaussi Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, May 28, 1991, Santa Clara, Utah, 4, in author's possession, hereafter cited as Jaussi interview by LeBaron.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 27, in author's possession.

<sup>18</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 7, in author's possession.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 8.

assured Berrett that they would go. “It’s a good thing,” Berrett admitted, “I have already replaced you back in Indiana.”<sup>20</sup>

The school year in Australia did not begin until February 8, 1969, so the Jaussis did not need to rush to their assignment directly after summer school. They planned to leave by November. Prior to their departure, the Jaussis met William Proctor, the president of the Brisbane Stake, in Salt Lake. He was likely visiting from Australia to attend general conference. Born and raised in Scotland, President Proctor’s English was difficult for the Jaussis to understand. “If you think I am hard,” Proctor warned the Jaussis, “wait till you hear the Australians.”<sup>21</sup>

The Jaussis departed for the “land down under” in November 1968. Unlike, the introduction of seminary to Great Britain, William Berrett was unable to accompany them, but he was confident that “Jaussi was a man of wide experience in our program and full of initiative and vigor.”<sup>22</sup> Therefore, Berrett trusted wholeheartedly in Jaussi’s ability to introduce and explain the program to local leadership.

Upon arrival in Brisbane, the Jaussis were surprised to discover, “no one was there to meet us. We expected President Proctor or someone else to meet us, but no one came. We were completely on our own.”<sup>23</sup> They found a telephone and contacted Proctor who curtly replied, “This is a weekend. I am busy. You find yourself a motel and... we will see you Monday.”<sup>24</sup> They were able to find a motel near the church. They attended the meetings on Sunday and

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 102, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>23</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 15, in author’s possession.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 15-16.

watched as the Australian Saints rallied around them and helped them find a home and provided them with furniture and other necessary household items.

Once they were settled, Jaussi quickly set about introducing and explaining the program. He visited with each of the bishops who announced it in their own wards. He also utilized the MIA program “which,” Jaussi explained, “was a better telegram system than the T.V. It just went from mouth to mouth. Those young people just ate it up. They went and told each other and brought their friends in. You can't believe how they did the recruiting.”<sup>25</sup>

The recruiting process was further accelerated when the materials arrived in January 1969. Jaussi remembered that the bishops were particularly excited about the materials. “They all wanted to buy the student kit. We had enough that we could sell every bishop a student kit. The bishops took them home and started to use them in their own families.”<sup>26</sup> With the support of the leaders in the wards in Brisbane, four early morning seminary classes were established. Jaussi determined that “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.”<sup>27</sup> Berrett’s initial instructions to Jaussi were “you know the program, and you have worked in all three areas, so you give them the program that will fit their situation, because we don’t know.”<sup>28</sup> Beyond Brisbane, early morning was not suitable. Consequently, in the surrounding branches, Jaussi organized the home-study program.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>29</sup> When the Brisbane stake was organized, it included five wards and six branches. See *Sketches of Australia*, 41, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

From his arrival, Jaussi spent much of his time counseling with priesthood leaders about the selection of teachers. Once the bishops, stake president, or mission president selected and approved the teacher, Jaussi “interviewed them, talked with them, discussed the program, told them what was expected and what opportunities there were and what they could do.”<sup>30</sup> Of these teachers, Jaussi expressed, “we just got some tremendous teachers down there to handle these programs. The young people loved them.”<sup>31</sup>

Although support for the program was initially high, once the school year started in February, Jaussi felt that priesthood support from the bishops and even the stake president weakened. Jaussi recalled, “we had a bit of a conflict as we started in the Brisbane Stake.”<sup>32</sup> The Brisbane Ward had sixty-eight youth that were seminary age and only eleven were attending. In the Brisbane Second Ward, there were over sixty potential seminary students and only twenty-four attended. Similar statistics existed in each of the wards.<sup>33</sup> As the year progressed, however, local priesthood became more and more supportive. They could see the excitement of the youth. With an enrollment that first year of one hundred and twenty students,<sup>34</sup> “the program started to speak for itself.”<sup>35</sup> Jaussi explained,

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 [the seminary and institute program]. 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.’ That is the reason that President Berrett came out in the summer of 1969.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 38, in author’s possession.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>34</sup> *Church News*, February 21, 1970.

<sup>35</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 21, in author’s possession.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Arriving in Brisbane early June 1969, William Berrett accompanied the Jaussis to a meeting with all the teachers and later he spoke at a fireside for all the youth of the Brisbane Stake. “He really thrilled them,” Jaussi remembered, “they were just so pleased with him.”<sup>37</sup> On June 2, Berrett and both J. L. and Marilyn Jaussi boarded a plane to Sidney. The following day, they met with “John D. Parker of the Sidney Stake and the Australian Mission President, R. Don Smith and set up procedures for starting seminaries the coming February.”<sup>38</sup>

Leaving Sidney on June 4, they arrived the same day in Melbourne. The next day they met with Percival W.F. Davis, stake president of the Sidney Stake and Milton W. Russon of the South Australian Mission and likewise explained the program and obtained their full support. The next day they traveled to Adelaide and met with the Adelaide Stake President, Dudley R. Tredrea, who likewise expressed a desire for the program.

After the meeting in Adelaide, Berrett traveled on to Perth on the western coast of the country and the Jaussis returned to Brisbane. When Berrett met with Donald W. Cummings, stake president of the Perth Stake, Cummings expressed his pleasure that the “program of religious education would reach his stake.”<sup>39</sup> Due to the tremendous size of Australia and the city’s relative isolation, Perth was often neglected. Berrett also met with the president of the Australian West Mission, Milton H. Hess. Unfortunately, it was determined that there were some branches that were too small and too scattered to introduce the program at that time.

In each of these meetings, the stake presidents pledged their full support of the program and also determined that a member of the high council would be responsible for ensuring its

---

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>38</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 106, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 107.

implementation.<sup>40</sup> It was also apparent to Berrett that the one additional man he originally intended to send would not be adequate. It became necessary to send two additional men to work under Jaussi in further establishing the program in Australia. The Jaussis would relocate to Adelaide. From there they would establish the program in Adelaide, Melbourne, and Perth. In November 1969, Gail Ockey would take over running the program in Brisbane and Paul Hokanson would establish the program in Sidney. Due to initial efforts of these men, the 1970 school year began with “an enrollment of 600 students.”<sup>41</sup>

### *Gail Ockey*

Although originally studying to become a clinical social worker, in his final semester before graduating, Gail Ockey became disenchanted with the idea. Perplexed, he asked a good friend, “What are you going to do, Bruce, when you graduate from college?” His friend, Bruce Lake, answered with certainty, “well, I'm going to be a seminary teacher.”<sup>42</sup> Ockey considered the possibility. “There was something about that idea,” Ockey recalled, “that just immediately appealed to me, and so I decided that I wanted to be a seminary teacher too.”<sup>43</sup> After completing the additional year of college to obtain a teaching certificate, Ockey was hired in 1962 at West High School in Salt Lake City.

Following a year at West High, Ockey was transferred to a one-man seminary in Oakley, Idaho. He served there for five years and then was reassigned as the principal of Skyline High School in Idaho Falls. When he was finishing his second year at Skyline, he received “a rather stunning phone call” from Marshall Burton who was working as the Director of Personnel for

---

<sup>40</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 33, in author's possession.

<sup>41</sup> *Church News*, February 21, 1970.

<sup>42</sup> Gail Ockey Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, June 14, 1991, Pocatello, Idaho, 2, in author's possession, hereafter cited as Ockey interview by LeBaron.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*



seminaries and institutes. Ockey had never expressed interest in an overseas assignment, nor did he serve his mission in a foreign country. Needless to say, Ockey “had no idea that something like that was even in the mill, and so it was a mixture of shock and surprise.”<sup>44</sup> His wife was far more eager to accept the assignment, and was “ready to start packing.”<sup>45</sup> Her father had served as a mission president in Holland when she was younger and she loved the idea of providing a similar experience for their four children and one on the way. After a few days of prayer and contemplation, Ockey accepted the assignment.

### *Paul Hokanson*

While serving in the British Mission from 1958-1960, Paul Hokanson discovered a love for teaching. When he returned home, he graduated from Brigham Young University with a degree in history and began teaching at a high school in Star Valley, Idaho. While there he met Wesley Christensen and Richard Brough, both of whom “coerced [him] into seminary.”<sup>46</sup> His first assignment was in Rexburg, Idaho in 1965. Two years later, Berrett’s assistant administrator Frank Day visited the seminary and interviewed each of the teachers. Day inquired about Hokanson’s employment goals. Without prior thought, Hokanson expressed, “I think we ought to have seminaries in England and overseas.”<sup>47</sup> Unaware that seminary and institutes were piloting the home-study program in the Midwestern United States with the purpose of eventually expanding worldwide, Hokanson was pleased when Day explained, “the Church is doing

---

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Paul and Julina Hokanson Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, July 17, 1991, Chesterfield, Missouri, 1, in author’s possession, hereafter cited as Hokanson interview by LeBaron.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 5-6.

something on that if you're really interested. When the announcement is given, tell your supervisor.”<sup>48</sup>

When Lavar Thornock, Hokanson’s principal, made the announcement that anyone interested in going to Great Britain should express their interest, Hokanson quickly responded. Not long after, however, Hokanson learned that the assignments had already been made and he was not numbered among them. He expressed his disappointment to his wife who asserted, “you don't want to go to England. Let's go somewhere exciting, like Australia,” a statement that would soon prove prophetic.<sup>49</sup> In the spring of 1969, Marshall Burton, the director of personnel for seminaries and institutes, invited Hokanson to help introduce the program in Australia. For Hokanson and his wife, there was no question. They were willing and ready to go. In contrast to the two-hour meeting both John Madsen and J. L. Jaussi attended prior to their assignments, Hokanson, Ockey and others traveling to Great Britain and New Zealand attended a week-long convention to orient and prepare them for their new assignments.<sup>50</sup>

### **Challenges in Establishing the Seminary Program in Australia**

In order for the seminary and institute program to be successful, it needed the backing of local leadership. Although many leaders in Australia gave their unflinching support, some felt it was either a distraction or that the program required more attention than they were able to give. The coordinators perceived in these leaders that “there seemed to be a lot of support on the surface,” but then later discovered that “there really wasn’t any.”<sup>51</sup> It may also be true that the coordinators were failing to see that the program of necessity needed to be directed by the local

---

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> See Bond interview by LeBaron, 52-53, in author’s possession, Madsen interview by LeBaron, 35, in author’s possession, and also Hokanson interview by LeBaron, 7-9, in author’s possession.

<sup>51</sup> Hokanson interview by LeBaron, 18, in author’s possession.

priesthood. As long as the coordinators played the role of directors of rather than resources to the local priesthood, support of the program waned.<sup>52</sup>

Even though there were stakes in Australia, local leaders still “struggled to meet the needs of running a full priesthood and auxiliary program.”<sup>53</sup> Hokanson recalled, “it seemed like every time we called a teacher... they would be called to be a bishop or branch president.”<sup>54</sup> In some areas it was difficult to keep the same teacher throughout the year. More commonly, it was difficult to find a teacher that would consistently prepare and present effective lessons. This was not due to lack of care and concern for their students but because they were spread far too thin. Often, teachers would receive additional callings or be appointed to teach just before the school year began, without adequate time to prepare. “In some cases, teachers were arbitrarily ‘released’ from classes without prior consultation with the CES supervisor.”<sup>55</sup> As a result of such circumstances, Hokanson observed that many of the Australian members “were overwhelmed by their membership in the Church and by the whole Church program,” including the seminary system.<sup>56</sup>

Ockey explained the struggle they sometimes faced, especially in the branches, “to have the right kind of teachers who could work that seminary program as it needed to be worked. Sometimes within the branches, we didn't always have the strongest personnel to use as teachers. You have to have a good teacher to get kids up at five in the morning to be to those early morning classes at six o'clock.”<sup>57</sup> Even when an effective teacher was provided, if parents failed to catch the vision for the program, they would not fully support it. Numbered among the

---

<sup>52</sup> See *Ibid*, 29.

<sup>53</sup> Waters, “History of CES in Australia,” in author’s possession.

<sup>54</sup> Hokanson interview by LeBaron, 20, in author’s possession.

<sup>55</sup> Waters, “History of CES in Australia,” in author’s possession.

<sup>56</sup> Hokanson interview by LeBaron, 18, in author’s possession.

<sup>57</sup> Ockey interview by LeBaron, 43, in author’s possession.

greatest challenges Ockey faced “was getting the parents of the young people to really see clearly what seminary would do for their young people, so it became all important to them to be sure that their students were in seminary and that they were reinforcing that on a regular basis.”<sup>58</sup>

Another challenge came from the students. Adding an early morning seminary class to an already rigorous school day proved difficult for some of the youth. The additional workload for the home-study students also created difficulties.<sup>59</sup> Many, however dutifully completed the work. Although they diligently finished the home-study assignments, Hokanson worried that “it didn't get into their lives and affect them the way the early morning or the regular institute classes did.”<sup>60</sup> Without a teacher carefully walking them through the materials and inviting them to think deeply about them, some students remained unaffected. For this reason, Jaussi, Ockey, and Hokanson established early morning seminary classes in many of the wards contrary to the requests of some of the seminary and institute personnel in Provo who wanted them to push the home-study program.<sup>61</sup> Early morning was a viable option in the larger cities because chapels were often close enough to schools that students could attend seminary and still arrive at school on time.

The enormity of Australia also created a tremendous challenge for the establishment of the seminary program. Comparable to the size of the contiguous United States but with a population comparable to Texas, much of Australia is unpopulated land. Jaussi, who was responsible for the stakes in Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, and the surrounding missions, faced a significant challenge with the distance between these three areas. Traveling from Melbourne to

---

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>60</sup> Hokanson interview by LeBaron, 19, in author's possession.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

Perth is similar to traveling from St. Louis, Missouri to Los Angeles, California. Marilyn Jaussi remarked of this time, “we lived in our car. He wouldn’t stop at the drive-ins, so I soon learned to pack food and we lived in the car.”<sup>62</sup> J. L. Jaussi adamantly explained, “I couldn’t stop at the drive-ins because we didn’t have time.”<sup>63</sup> Traveling by car was often more expensive than flying. Consequently, Ockey traveled to more locations by plane than automobile.<sup>64</sup> With so much area to traverse on a regular basis, it was difficult to provide adequate support to the teachers and priesthood leaders throughout their areas.

## **Conclusion**

Notwithstanding the many difficulties, these men successfully established the seminary program and were able to see the fruits of their efforts. In December 1970, the Jaussis sent a Christmas card home to family and friends to update them on the events of the previous two years:

We have to stop and remind ourselves that just two years ago, it was unheard of here, and most of the bishops and stake presidents were very dubious about it. It has taken a lot of hard work, enthusiasm, and plenty of faith as well as thousands of miles flying over this big country, but we can now say that the seminary and institute program is here.<sup>65</sup>

“Every year,” Hokanson celebrated, “our numbers increased.”<sup>66</sup> Moreover, Hokanson felt that there was evidence to suggest that the seminary and institute program “began to make a difference in church attendance and temple attendance.”<sup>67</sup> It was not only the students who were

---

<sup>62</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 12, in author’s possession.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ockey interview by LeBaron, 24, in author’s possession.

<sup>65</sup> Jaussi Christmas Letter, December 10, 1970, in author’s possession.

<sup>66</sup> Hokanson interview by LeBaron, 36, in author’s possession.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 20.

experiencing the benefits of the program. A father in Sidney who had two daughters in seminary was benefitted as he worked with them on their seminary material:

One of them was dyslexic, but as they enrolled in seminary, they decided that the girls would read the Book of Mormon, word for word. What that amounted to was in the home each morning, the father would have to say the words and then the daughter would repeat it because she couldn't read. In the process, she read the Book of Mormon and learned to read and he read the Book of Mormon for the first time. He indicated that he was made a ward clerk when he was baptized, then was put on a high council, then was bishop, and then the stake president, and had never learned a lot about the Church.<sup>68</sup>

This particular father had always been a leader without a scriptural foundation. Reading through the Book of Mormon with his daughter jump-started his own personal scripture study.

A few years before the Jaussis arrived, Elder Thomas S. Monson visited Australia and promised the members of the Church that “within ten years, there will be a miracle happen in the Church in Australia.”<sup>69</sup> Jaussi recalled, “After we’d been there a couple of years and the program was going, the missionaries started to go out and things began to happen. Several of them commented, ‘Well, this is the miracle that [Elder Monson] was talking about.’”<sup>70</sup>

Gail Ockey expressed that one of the greatest successes of the seminary program was the increased number of missionaries that were leaving from Australia:

I think what was observable at that point in time was the fact that seminary did help the young people begin to learn and understand the Gospel and the scriptures much earlier than it ever had before. I think it helped them to gain their testimonies much earlier than before. I sensed while I was there that one of the things that I needed to do was to try and teach the Australian youth that they had a responsibility to go on missions, which wasn't happening then. I tried to be particularly sensitive to the idea that with this going on, these young people ought to go on missions just like everybody else in the Church. So that was the main

---

<sup>68</sup> Ibid, 23.

<sup>69</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 47, in author's possession.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

impact. I think since then, it has been demonstrated that the seminary and the institute program have both had a major impact on more and more young people in that country going on missions.<sup>71</sup>

Some years later, a banquet was held at the Church Office Building to express gratitude to those who participated in the international expansion of the seminary program. During this evening Neal A. Maxwell spoke. He expressed sincere appreciation for the sacrifice that was made and then affirmed that their efforts prepared “the seed bed for President Kimball’s vision of how the missionaries were to serve their own people as well as going to neighboring countries.”<sup>72</sup> Moreover, he declared that “what President Kimball had said in this vision of going into all the world could never have really happened without the seminary program creating earlier knowledge, earlier testimony, earlier decisions to go on missions, and earlier preparation for the youth.”<sup>73</sup>

Those involved in establishing the seminary program in Australia watched as “the number of young men going on missions just doubled and tripled, and of course when they came back from their missions and got married, they brought families into the Church. That has caused the Church to become very stable and increase in numbers because of all those families.”<sup>74</sup> They also noted that many of their former seminary students would return from their missions and provide vital leadership in the wards and stakes. In considering the results of the program, Jaussi declared, “I’m sure that this program of seminaries and institutes is the greatest program that has come into Australia since the Church went there as far as expanding the Church

---

<sup>71</sup> Ockey interview by LeBaron, 33, in author’s possession.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>74</sup> Jaussi interview by LeBaron, 45-46, in author’s possession.

and developing the people so that they can spread the gospel with the testimonies they have developed.”<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 47.



## Chapter 6: Seminary Expands to the *Pakeha* and the Maori – Seminary in New Zealand

Church leaders in Australia were the first to propose sending missionaries to New Zealand. Augustus Farnham, president of the Australian mission, received information indicating that the Maori people in New Zealand would be receptive to the gospel message. He suggested the idea to the First Presidency in a letter dated August 14, 1853. “From what I can learn,” Farnham explained, “the field is ready to harvest.”<sup>1</sup> With encouragement from the First Presidency and support of the Australian Saints, Farnham, in company with William Cooke and Thomas Holden, arrived in New Zealand on October 27, 1854 to begin proselyting. After more than a month of preaching throughout the country, Farnham returned to his duties in Australia leaving Cooke to preside over the work in New Zealand. Cooke served faithfully there for nearly two years before returning to Australia.

Although Cooke’s term of service lasted only two years, it represents the longest period of continual missionary presence in New Zealand until 1878.<sup>2</sup> After Cooke’s arrival, the Australian Mission expanded its borders to include New Zealand and was renamed the Australasian Mission. The combination of expansive boundaries and few arriving missionaries made it difficult to give adequate attention to all areas of the mission. Because mission headquarters were in Australia, the few numbers of missionaries focused almost entirely on that country. Occasionally, missionaries serving in Australia would visit New Zealand to baptize and organize branches and districts. It was not until the mission headquarters moved from Australia to New Zealand in 1879 that New Zealand enjoyed the continual presence of missionaries. In

---

<sup>1</sup> Cited in Brian William Hunt, “History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand,” August 1971, 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 1986), 258.

consequence of this sporadic missionary effort as well as a few migrations to Salt Lake City, in 1880, only seven branches of the Church existed in New Zealand with only 133 members.<sup>3</sup>

Although Farnham had originally proposed working among the Maoris in New Zealand, missionaries had largely focused on the Caucasians or *Pakehas*.<sup>4</sup> From the time Farnham arrived, the Maoris and *Pakehas* were engaged in conflict. This conflict erupted into a war that did not end until 1872. This climate discouraged extensive preaching among the Maoris. Historian Lanier Britsch explained that “the Maoris came out of the experience defeated, depleted, and badly in need of spiritual regeneration.”<sup>5</sup> The timing was right in October 1880 when President Joseph F. Smith encouraged William M. Bromley, newly called mission president of the Australasian mission, to shift the focus to the Maoris.<sup>6</sup> This shift in focus proved effective. By the end of the century, there were nearly 4,000 members and at least seventy-nine branches.<sup>7</sup>

Paralleling the educational efforts of the Saints in the Utah territory, missionaries established Church schools for Maori children. These schools focused on teaching reading, writing, and basic arithmetic. As the public school system in New Zealand developed and eventually included the Maori children, the Church schools phased out.<sup>8</sup> This did not mean, however, the end of the Church’s efforts to educate Maori youth. In 1913, the New Zealand mission established the Maori Agricultural College. Similar to the academies in the Great Basin, the college provided religious education in conjunction with secular education. Although many

---

<sup>3</sup> Donald Q. Cannon and Richard Cowan, *Unto Every Nation; Gospel Light Reaches Every Land*, (Salt Lake: Deseret Book, 2003), 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>6</sup> See Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 263-264.

<sup>7</sup> See Cannon, *Unto Every Nation*, 169-170.

<sup>8</sup> See Brian William Hunt, “History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand,” (Master’s Thesis, Brigham Young University), 66.

felt the school was successful, low enrollment and high expenditures brought into question the continued feasibility.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the First Presidency determined on October 2, 1930 that the 1930-1931 school year would be the college's final year in operation.<sup>10</sup>

Around this same time, mission president John E. Magleby sought to prepare the New Zealand Saints to lead themselves. Up to this point, missionaries served in most of the leadership positions in the branches and districts. He sought to change this pattern by placing more New Zealanders, specifically Maoris, in leadership positions.<sup>11</sup> Magleby's decision prepared the Church in New Zealand for the onset of World War II. As the war began and missionaries were recalled from the country, the Church rested upon the able backs of the native Saints.

Following the war, missionary work experienced a marked change due to the leadership of the newly called mission president, Gordon C. Young. Young's efforts to strengthen the Church were often unpopular among the Maori Saints. Since the 1880's, Latter-day Saint missionaries had largely focused on the Maori people.<sup>12</sup> Young felt that this focus should change. He increased missionary efforts among the *Pakehas* while continuing to work with the Maori. Many Maori's felt slighted, but this was not the only reason for their frustration. Young was aware of immorality among the Maoris. Consequently he determined to cleanse the Church and excommunicated many of the most blatant offenders.<sup>13</sup> He also made significant efforts to prepare New Zealand for stakes. In the process he reorganized the district leadership to more

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 81-84.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 86.

<sup>11</sup> See Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 305.

<sup>12</sup> From 1935-1938, mission president M. Charles Wood made a marked shift in the mission from the Maori to the *Pakehas* before Matthew Cowley arrived and shifted the focus back to the Maoris. See Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea*, 310-311.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 318-319

closely resemble stake leadership and sought to settle conflicts between Maori and *Pakeha* branches.

In addition to the extensive changes taking place among the people during this era, significant building projects also began. In 1948 Elder Matthew Cowley brought news to New Zealand that the First Presidency had approved establishing the Church College of New Zealand to serve the country's high school-aged youth. Young immediately set out to procure land for the college. A year later, land was purchased and by April 1952, construction began.<sup>14</sup> The Saints were thrilled with the prospects of having a Church College nearby. Their joy was only surpassed by the visit of President David O. McKay in 1955. On this visit, he determined that in addition to the Church College, a temple would be built adjoining the land of the Church College of New Zealand.

The construction of both the Church College and the temple opened a substantial period of growth for the Church in New Zealand. From April to August 1958, the temple and Church College were dedicated, the Auckland Stake was organized, and the New Zealand mission was divided. Two years later, Church leaders established the Hamilton and Hawke's Bay stakes followed by the Wellington Stake in 1965. Before the end of the decade, three more stakes were established: Hamilton South (1967), Auckland South (1968), and New Zealand North (1969).<sup>15</sup>

Many significant factors facilitated the tremendous growth of the Church in New Zealand during this time. These circumstances likewise facilitated international growth of the Church throughout the world. A quote from Elder Delbert L. Stapley during general conference in 1960 identified many of these factors,

---

<sup>14</sup> Hunt, 107.

<sup>15</sup> See Hunt, 129-130.

I remember the words of President McKay, as the New Zealand [Auckland] Stake was planned, that transportation has brought the far places of the world close to us. Added to that are the improved communications that permit us almost instantaneously to talk to the Saints in the far areas of the earth. The Church is being taken closer to the people because now all the helps of the auxiliary organizations and the visits of the General Authorities will be at their disposal, and in turn this will bring the Saints of these faraway lands closer to the Church. Truly it is a great blessing to the people to have a stake with all the blessings that are associated with stake organizations.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to this rapid growth, stake presidents became increasingly concerned for the spiritual well-being of the youth in their stakes. The Church College of New Zealand became a support to stakes in strengthening youth that had means to leave home and attend the college. However, stake presidents worried about the young people that could not afford to attend the Church sponsored school and remained at home. In hopes of finding a remedy for this problem, stake presidents wrote to Church headquarters.<sup>17</sup> Aware of these concerns, the Board approved expansion of the seminary program to New Zealand after the seminary experiments in Great Britain and Australia proved successful.<sup>18</sup>

As part of a trip to evaluate seminary growth in Australia, Berrett also traveled to New Zealand in 1969 and met “with all Stake Presidencies, High Councilmen and Bishops, to explain the Seminary Program.”<sup>19</sup> The visit to New Zealand lasted twelve days from June 8 to June 20 with “a meeting practically every day.”<sup>20</sup> Berrett anticipated implementing the program slowly in New Zealand: “I had come to New Zealand with the intention of selecting two of the seven Church Stakes as an experiment in starting seminaries.”<sup>21</sup> He was surprised to find that “every

---

<sup>16</sup> Delbert L. Stapley, in Conference Report, April 1960, 74.

<sup>17</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 8, in author’s possession.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 27.

<sup>19</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 104, L. Tom Perry Special Collections. See also Ric Morehouse, “The Establishment of Church Education in New Zealand,” 29, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

<sup>20</sup> Berrett Interview by LeBaron, 28, in author’s possession.

<sup>21</sup> Berrett, *My Story*, 105, L. Tom Perry Special Collections.

Stake Presidency wanted to start seminaries at once. They were having trouble in holding their teenagers and saw the seminary program as one of the answers to their problems.”<sup>22</sup> Upon returning home, Berrett immediately endeavored to identify who he could send to establish the seminary program in not just two, but all seven stakes in New Zealand.

### **Coordinating the Program in New Zealand**

#### *Rhett James*

Rhett James served as a missionary to New Zealand from 1961 – 1963 where he developed a love for the country of New Zealand as well as its people. After graduating from Washington State University with a Bachelor’s and Master’s Degree, James began his Doctoral work in history at Brigham Young University. His focus was on Indian History and Mormon/Indian relations. During this time, Dale Tingey approached him about teaching seminary in Brigham City. He accepted the job and began in 1964 teaching at both the seminary and the Brigham City Indian School.<sup>23</sup> After three years, he was transferred to Tucson, Arizona where he taught at the University of Arizona Institute with Dean Jarman.

During the spring of 1969, James was sitting in Jarman’s office visiting when Jarman received a phone call from William Berrett. Although James knew it was Berrett on the phone, he did not know what they were discussing until Jarman covered the phone with his hand and explained that the Board approved the expansion of seminary to New Zealand. Jarman was well-aware of James’ love of the people of New Zealand. “I had one of those ‘Mormon theophanies,’” James explained, “where a small voice spoke to me and said tell them you will

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Rhett James Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, June 5, 1991, Logan, Utah, 1-2, in author’s possession, hereafter cited as James interview by LeBaron.

go. It took me by surprise, but I did it.”<sup>24</sup> Surprised at the declaration, Jarman questioned whether or not James was serious. James adamantly repeated, “tell them I will go.” Grinning, Jarman removed his hand from the phone and explained, “President Berrett, I have Rhet James here who was a New Zealand missionary, and he just had a prompting, and he wants me to tell you that he will go.” Berrett paused, and then assured that James’ proposition would be considered.<sup>25</sup>

The next few months were a frustration to James and his wife. Although they felt confident that they were going to New Zealand no formal assignment had been extended.<sup>26</sup> At Jarman’s urging, during the week of summer school in July, James set up an appointment with Berrett. During the meeting, Berrett “indicated that it was for certain, and told me that he had made a trip down and met with the stake presidents.”<sup>27</sup> Moreover, Berrett related the enthusiasm of local leaders for the program as well as his concern that “we needed to take it to the whole [country] the first year,” to which James heartily concurred.<sup>28</sup> James remembered from his mission perceiving a “regional pride” in New Zealand. Consequently, if an area received the program before another, “there would be a feeling of favoritism” that might cripple the program. For this reason, James recalled, “I knew that the program had to go to the whole country.”<sup>29</sup> James asked Berrett if there were any additional instructions on how to establish the program in New Zealand. “No,” Berrett responded, “it’s your stewardship, your assignment. You do what you think needs to be done and I’ll support you.”<sup>30</sup> This was a demonstration of his confidence

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 8-9.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, 9.

in James' abilities. Thus Berrett instructed James to introduce seminary to all seven stakes and administer the program however he felt would be best.

Arriving in New Zealand on the morning of November 3, 1969, James and his wife spent their first day settling in their new home located in Temple View, near the Temple and Church College. The next day, he spent the afternoon calling stake and mission presidents scheduling meetings to formally introduce the seminary program to local leadership.<sup>31</sup> "In two months," James explained, "I met individually with all the stake presidents and district presidents from Cacoide in the north to Indecargo in the south."<sup>32</sup> During the course of these meetings, James recorded in his journal on November 17, 1969, his "vision that the Seminary and Institute Programme might stabilize this country's Mormon youth and check the negative sources." He indicated that if the program is successful, "the pattern of increased missions, temple marriages and strong local leadership should follow." He was confident that statistics for the next six years "should tell a more positive story."<sup>33</sup> Within every individual involved in the program, James sought to instill this vision of an increased missionary force as well as a temple-worthy generation.

In meeting with these local priesthood leaders, James emphasized this vision of increasing both the number of full-time missionaries and the number of temple marriages. When James expressed to them, "We want every young man to go on missions. We want every young man and every young woman married in the temple," he sensed from them that "that type of

---

<sup>31</sup> Rhett James journal, November 4, 1969. Cited in Rhett James, "The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand, 1969 through 1974," 3, in author's possession.

<sup>32</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 81, in author's possession.

<sup>33</sup> James journal, November 17, 1969, cited in James, "The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme," in author's possession.



conversation had not occurred. That kind of talk seemed foreign.”<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, it resonated with priesthood leaders as a worthy and necessary goal. James helped them to see that seminary could increase the number of young people serving missions.

Local leadership immediately began considering who might teach. Potential teachers were carefully considered and cleared by priesthood leaders and administratively approved by James. Once they were approved, teachers were often “released from their other callings.”<sup>35</sup> In some circumstances leaders expressed to James “strong promptings” on who to call to teach.<sup>36</sup> On other occasions, it was James who felt directed as to who should teach. In one instance, he remembered, “I was prompted to ask the name of the Stake Primary President... who would make a good seminary teacher.”<sup>37</sup> The stake president had not considered her, but agreed to call her. James later added, that it “was an inspired selection as her students will attest.”<sup>38</sup>

Local priesthood leaders intended to finish the selection of all teachers prior to the Christmas holiday. Some, however, were unsuccessful, which was a matter of great concern to James. He recorded in his journal that this was the “first major threat to organization and deadlines.”<sup>39</sup> James scheduled a pre-school teacher’s convention for January 10, 1970 to provide newly called teachers with a vision of the program and training on how to administer it. With the failure to call all teachers before the Christmas holiday, James was fearful that not all teachers would be in attendance. He was pleased to find, however, that during the convention,

---

<sup>34</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 81-82, in author’s possession.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>36</sup> James journal, December 12, 1969, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. December 10, 1969, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

<sup>38</sup> James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” 6, in author’s possession.

<sup>39</sup> James journal, December 19, 1969, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

“all but 4 teachers [were] present,” and those that were absent had been previously excused.<sup>40</sup> Sixty-five people in all were in attendance of whom twenty-six were teachers and thirty-nine were priesthood leaders. Regarding the event, James wrote declaratively, “A great force for good is on the move in behalf of New Zealand youth.”<sup>41</sup>

## **Enrollment Begins**

James encouraged both leaders and teachers to exercise every effort to enroll students in the program. At his urging, each of the seven stake presidencies determined to write letters to all prospective students residing in their stakes inviting their participation. For example, the stake presidency of the Hamilton South Stake wrote:

We of the Hamilton South Stake Presidency want you to know how pleased we are that the Seminary Programme of the Church is to be instituted in the Hamilton South Stake in 1970. Having seen the advantages to the youth of the Church that the Seminary programme has brought to other areas of the world, we look forward with great joy and anticipation to the programme commencing here.

We hope that you will be one of those who feels the urgency and desire to be a part of this programme...

Please give the matter of enrolling your thoughtful and prayerful consideration. We know that it is a programme inspired by the Lord and that He wants you to participate in it and we will do everything we can, together with your Bishop or Branch President, to help you get the most out of this programme.<sup>42</sup>

As the enrollment process began, James consulted with Berrett on potential enrollment and the number of home-study packets needed. When James suggested potentially five hundred

---

<sup>40</sup> James journal, January 10, 1970, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Hamilton South Stake Presidency to Prospective Seminary Student, December 19, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library, Salt Lake City.

students, Berrett felt the number was far beyond reality. “Maybe a hundred and twenty?” Berrett suggested. In response, James explained, “if we are going to do all of New Zealand, five hundred would be conservative.”<sup>43</sup> Berrett relented and ordered five hundred packets. By February 11, 1970, James recorded in his journal, “total enrollment has passed three hundred.”<sup>44</sup>

To establish seminary in seven stakes in three months was no small feat. Reflecting on the difficulty before him, James recorded in his journal the incomplete statement, “time for organization short.”<sup>45</sup> Surely he felt a tremendous need to accomplish much in very little time. James felt that some of the members of the Church did not understand his urgency: “I think I came across... as being in a hurry. They felt that I was moving a bit too quickly.”<sup>46</sup>

In a letter written on November 25, Berrett expressed, “I am pleased with the way you are developing our program; although I can see that you will be a busy man.” Berrett then cautioned James that in spite of the tremendous workload to not “neglect your family, and to arrange your periods away from home so that you do not neglect them,” counsel James sought diligently to follow.<sup>47</sup> Even so, during the first year, James estimated, “I was probably gone twenty out of every thirty days.”<sup>48</sup> Fortunately, James’ office was in his home. When he was not traveling he made every attempt to be available to his wife and children. He felt however that his absence from his family was necessary. He explained,

---

<sup>43</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 83, in author’s possession.

<sup>44</sup> James journal, February 11, 1970, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession. Before long, James initiated institute classes which also utilized the home study materials. By the time the year ended, enrollment included 390 seminary students, 79 institute students age 18-25, and 88 institute students older than 25 for a total of 558. James affirmed, “The promise had been kept with President Berrett.” See James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” 11, in author’s possession.

<sup>45</sup> James Journal November 16, 1969, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

<sup>46</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 98-99, in author’s possession.

<sup>47</sup> William E. Berrett to Rhett James, November 25, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>48</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 106, in author’s possession.

One of the reasons that I was away from home so much is that in New Zealand, you have regional pride... There's a pride in having the programs there first. And so when I went, I knew that the program had to go to the whole country, or there would be a feeling of favoritism. So every energy was made to really have a representation everywhere... And so there was a feeling generated in the first year that wherever there was interest, they would not be neglected... Equal opportunity for everybody. There was no favoritism shown. And while that inconvenienced and put stress on the family, it created an immediate feeling of acceptance, like the program belonged to the people. And there was no regional competition that was sensed.<sup>49</sup>

### **Local Part-time Supervisors**

James determined very early on that in order for the program to succeed he needed additional help. Less than two weeks after his arrival, James attended an Auckland South Stake Meeting, where he later recalled,

A Rex Kennerley came forward to see me after the meeting about his desire to be involved in teaching seminary. As a missionary in Australia a few years ago, he was encouraged by Elder Paul Dunn to watch for the time when seminary would come to New Zealand. During our conversation, I had a special prompting come to me about Rex Kennerley as a fulltime teacher. In fact why not consider training local men to run the program?<sup>50</sup>

This was the first occasion where James considered the possibility of hiring local personnel full-time as supervisors. "With the intensity of the program, and the need to cover the entire country, and follow up on the trained teachers," James explained, "I was anxious to have natives in the program, native New Zealanders involved very early on, and to get that transition under way."<sup>51</sup>

In consulting with some of the other Americans at the Church College of New Zealand, they expressed caution concerning native leadership of the seminary program. They explained

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 97-98.

<sup>50</sup> James journal, November 14, 1969, cited in James, "The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme," in author's possession.

<sup>51</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 14, in author's possession.

“that it was the present practice to have Americans fill supervisory positions.”<sup>52</sup> However, James felt that “if the Church is going to fill the earth such a practice must only be temporary.”<sup>53</sup>

Consequently, on December 11, 1969, James wrote Berrett:

Among those teachers who I have interviewed and who have been approved by the proper ecclesiastical authorities are two brethren that I feel could eventually work into a supervisory capacity in the Home Study Program in New Zealand. Each of these men have been on missions and have been involved in teaching, one of which is presently teaching in a teacher’s college. I feel that they are the type of men who, after having had some experience, might be employed fulltime as Home Study co-ordinators. What is your feeling concerning a possibility of training these men to fill such positions in the department?<sup>54</sup>

Within a week of James’ letter, Berrett responded, “I am very interested in your developing local people who might work on a full-time or part-time basis eventually being efficient as supervisors of home study or early morning seminary work. There would be a real advantage in using local people if they are efficient.”<sup>55</sup> On January 7, Berrett reiterated, “I like very much your suggestion that you might train local individuals to do some coordinating for you on a part-time basis, this will authorize you to set up a couple of such part-time coordinators if it seems wisdom to you.”<sup>56</sup> With authorization from Berrett to hire local part-time supervisors, James immediately began considering who he might select.

James was quite decided on Rex Kennerley supervising the Auckland Stake, but he was not sure who the other supervisor would be. He had interviewed Ric Morehouse to be a

---

<sup>52</sup> James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” 6, in author’s possession.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, December 11, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>55</sup> William Berrett to Rhett James, December 17, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>56</sup> William Berrett to Rhett James, January 7, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

seminary teacher on November 29 and recalled feeling that “he [would] make a good teacher.”<sup>57</sup> During the night of the pre-school teachers’ convention, they again met and James decided without consulting with Morehouse. “Half-way through the meeting,” Morehouse remembered, James identified who would supervise each area. “He went through the different areas that had been stakes and he said, ‘In the [Hawkes Bay] Stake it will be Ric Morehouse.’” Later Morehouse discovered that James “did it on the spur of the moment” during the meeting.<sup>58</sup> In a letter to Berrett on January 20, 1969, James notified Berrett of the two new part-time supervisors.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to Kennerley and Morehouse, James appointed two other part-time supervisors neither of which received compensation. Gordon Yates who was serving as a bishop in the Wellington Stake was assigned as a supervisor in his stake. James recorded in his journal on February 6 that “Yates is acting as a supervisor without pay for me... he desires much in behalf of the stake’s youth. Very helpful to have a man so dependable and honorable in detail follow-up.”<sup>60</sup> Also, Wallace Wihongi would supervise the Auckland South Stake. Wihongi “began as a home study teacher with a class of 27, on his own insistence has developed an Early Morning Programme which,” James explained, “has become a show piece for our Department in New Zealand. He has refused any salary.”<sup>61</sup> With four part-time supervisors, James was equipped with the help he needed to continue administering the program.

## **Kaikohe Experiment**

---

<sup>57</sup> James journal, November 29, 1969, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

<sup>58</sup> Ric Morehouse Oral History, interview by E. Dale LeBaron, May 13, 1991, Tacoma Washington, 4, in author’s possession, hereafter cited as Morehouse interview by LeBaron.

<sup>59</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, January 20, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>60</sup> James journal, February 6, 1970, cited in James, “The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme,” in author’s possession.

<sup>61</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, August 10, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

The typical weekly format of the home-study seminary program included four days of personal study at home and one day meeting with a small group of other students and a teacher. On occasion in New Zealand, however, some of the teachers felt that meeting together once a week was insufficient. Accordingly, James granted “them the same freedom that William Berrett had given [him].” He encouraged them, “meet as often as you feel the need... without creating problems in your area.” Consequently, James explained, “we had daily home-study classes.... Sometimes it was three times a week... It worked wonderfully.”<sup>62</sup>

The home-study curriculum, in James’ opinion, was more successful than any other curriculum at the time “because it [facilitated] systematic personal study.”<sup>63</sup> In an effort to more fully utilize the home-study materials, James experimented with adapting the home study program to daily classroom study in Kaikohe, New Zealand. Classes consisted of 22 students, most of whom were Maori and lived within walking distance of the chapel.<sup>64</sup> Students met for an hour five times a week and divided the class time into three sections: twenty minutes were devoted to completing the home-study assignment, twenty-five allotted for class discussion of the material, and the last fifteen were devoted to scripture chase activities.

In a letter to Berrett explaining the experiment, James summarized the benefits of the Kaikohe class as greater student participation, increased completion of home-study assignments, and greater utilization of the home-study curriculum. Moreover, James recommended “that the home study curriculum, as it now stands, be considered as a possible format for early morning

---

<sup>62</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 104, in author’s possession.

<sup>63</sup> Rhett James to Bruce R. McConkie, July 14, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>64</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, April 2, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

seminary classes.”<sup>65</sup> James then requested permission to continue the experiment in Kaikohe. His request was granted.<sup>66</sup>

### **General Authorities and the Seminary Program in New Zealand**

James felt a need to provide youth with multiple interactions with general authorities. On one occasion he expressed to William Roberts, a regional representative of the Twelve, his desire that the youth “feel the close relationship with the General Authorities that their mothers and fathers once felt.”<sup>67</sup> Consequently, James wrote several visiting general authorities prior to their arrival requesting their encouragement of youth in seminary. On January 28, 1970, James wrote Elder Marion G. Romney, “It would be greatly appreciated if you could, in the course of your visit, give the youth encouragement in the seminary registration.”<sup>68</sup> His requests were often made in an effort to strengthen the seminary program while simultaneously shortening the distance between the youth and general authorities. He wrote Elder Mark E. Petersen, prior to his visit to New Zealand, “it would be greatly appreciated if you could encourage the youth to excellence in their study of the Gospel in whatever manner seems to you appropriate.”<sup>69</sup>

James’ efforts to connect New Zealand youth with general authorities culminated on August 28, 1970 when Elder Bruce R. McConkie attended the monthly meeting of the seminary youth. More than three hundred students were present. Following the meeting, “President McConkie very graciously shook hands with each of the over 300 students in attendance. Telephone calls from teachers, parents, and seminary students have indicated that a close

---

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> James’ recommendation was considered and the department conducted an early morning seminary class utilizing the home-study experiment in 1972, but was shortly thereafter discontinued. See Rhet James, “Brief on Development of Seminaries and Institutes in New Zealand 1969-1973” in author’s possession.

<sup>67</sup> Rhet James to William Roberts, May 19, 1970, Rhet James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>68</sup> Rhet James to Marion G. Romney, January 28, 1970, Rhet James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>69</sup> Rhet James to Mark E. Petersen, April 24, 1970, Rhet James Papers, Church History Library.



personal tie was created between the youth and the Brethren as a result of this kindness extended by President McConkie.”<sup>70</sup>

### **Hiring Full-time New Zealanders**

Elder McConkie’s visit served a two-fold purpose for James. In addition to establishing a “close personal tie... between the youth and the Brethren,” James hoped that McConkie would interview two New Zealanders as potential coordinators of the program. Berrett authorized both to work full-time as long as they first received worthiness clearance from a general authority.<sup>71</sup> Thus, McConkie interviewed Rex Kennerley and Wallace Wihongi and both were hired full-time. James anticipated hiring Kennerley full-time as early as December, 1969.<sup>72</sup> However, in his journal on January 14, 1970, James indicated his interest in also training Ric Morehouse to become a full-time coordinator and expressed his intention to Berrett.<sup>73</sup> He hoped to have three full-time coordinators besides himself for the 1971 school year. “Two could be New Zealanders,” and one would be an experienced seminary and institute teacher that could coordinate institute together with James.<sup>74</sup>

When James proposed Wallace Wihongi be hired full-time instead of Ric Morehouse, he explained that the “active church youth population” of the Hawke’s Bay Stake which Morehouse supervised, “is not sufficiently high to warrant a full-time man. One more year’s development in this area would prepare the area for this type of expansion.”<sup>75</sup> Thus, Rex Kennerley and Wallace Wihongi were both hired full-time together. With the arrival of Robert Brennan from the states

---

<sup>70</sup> Rhett James to Spencer W. Kimball, 1 September, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>71</sup> Rhett James to William E. Berrett, August 10, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>72</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, December 11, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>73</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, January 14, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, August 10, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

in October, James had the help of three other full-time coordinators to begin preparing for the next year of expansion.

### **Challenges in Establishing the Seminary Program in New Zealand**

There were many obstacles to establishing the seminary program in New Zealand. The social environment in which some of the youth lived posed significant challenges. Morehouse recalled that “a lot of the situations in the homes weren’t that good.” An example illustrates the problem: a young inactive girl became involved in the seminary program. Seminary became a haven for her, but after class ended “when she walked home, she came right up against reality: ‘here’s Mom living with another man, here’s my brother living with his girlfriend, here’s booze.’ They were living with that on a day to day basis.” In an effort to counteract the negative influences, Morehouse explained, “we constantly saw the need for early morning and for more conferences and for whatever else we could do.”<sup>76</sup> Morehouse reiterated, “we work with them for a small amount of time and then they are in this environment. That hour has to be such quality time if we are going to have any measure of success.”<sup>77</sup> The seminary program sought to counteract and overcome such negative influences in the lives of the young members of the Church.

Another difficulty they faced in New Zealand was the program’s expense. James was concerned whether or not the home study packet would be affordable for many families. He wrote Berrett on December 18, 1969, “I have come to appreciate the fact that many of our Latter-day Saint families have very often three and four teenagers in a family. The \$10 US or \$8.90 NZ in light of this situation has invoked concern over whether our families will be able to enroll all

---

<sup>76</sup> Ric Morehouse interview by LeBaron, 32, in author’s possession.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 42.

their children.”<sup>78</sup> As an effort to provide a solution, James suggested decreasing the cost. However, after consulting with Berrett, assistant administrator Frank Day, and priesthood leaders, it was decided that the cost not be adjusted and payment deadlines extended over the course of the year if necessary.<sup>79</sup>

Unique to New Zealand was the challenge of determining the relationship between seminary and the Church College of New Zealand. Many of the Maori people “thought it was the will of the Lord to send their children away from home to the Church College.” James began encouraging the youth to “stay home, attend your local schools, receive instruction at home. It would cut the costs for the Church.”<sup>80</sup> Consequently, “there were some concerns about seminary versus the Church College and the traditional roles.” In January 1969, Berrett wrote James, clarifying that coordinators should not “urge students to take Seminary courses rather than attend Church College. You should give Brother [Alton] Wade (director of the Church College of New Zealand) and his faculty full cooperation in getting students to attend the College. The Seminary is for those who do not have that opportunity.”<sup>81</sup> In this manner, Berrett clarified that the Church College and the seminary program were not competing entities, but companions with the same goal and objective.

In some cases students did not decide to participate in seminary until it was too late. Almost a month after the beginning of the school year, one area that originally reported seven students enrolled later reported forty-three. James regretfully informed the bishop that they had neither the materials nor enough teachers to provide a seminary experience for the unanticipated

---

<sup>78</sup> Rhett James to William Berrett, December 18, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>79</sup> See Frank Day to Rhett James, December 30, 1969, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library. See also Rhett James to Frank Day, January 12, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>80</sup> Rhett James interview by LeBaron, 86, in author’s possession.

<sup>81</sup> William Berrett to Rhett James, January 7, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

thirty-six students.<sup>82</sup> This and similar experiences led James to write all stake presidents informing them of the matter: “We have had a number of instances arise where young people have missed meetings necessary for their obtainance of materials. In many of these cases, because of this negligence, materials could not be attained by these young people simply because we are out of equipment.” James then expressed caution about how such students ought to be approached, “Let us not destroy the programme for the future by failing to practice patience, love, and understanding with all young people.”<sup>83</sup> Each of the young people they had to turn away was a prospective seminary student. They hoped to eliminate any possibility that students would feel less inclined to register for seminary the following year.

Challenges also developed because some of the people involved in the seminary program were paid whereas others were volunteers. Morehouse recalled, “there was some antagonism there with some of the teachers.”<sup>84</sup> Early morning teachers received remuneration, home-study teachers did not. This raised some concerns for some of the home-study teachers. Moreover, there were some additional challenges due to local coordinators being hired in the initial phases of the program. Ric Morehouse remembered, “there was that ‘you are paid, we’re not’ attitude... There was some antagonism with priesthood leaders that were working really hard fulfilling their priesthood obligations, and they saw us working hard for the Church and getting paid.”<sup>85</sup> It is not surprising that Morehouse would have been sensitive to this considering he was local and hired a few short months after the program’s introduction.

## **Conclusion**

---

<sup>82</sup> Rhett James to Bishop Whaanga, February 25, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>83</sup> Rhett James to Stake Presidents, February 27, 1970, Rhett James Papers, Church History Library.

<sup>84</sup> Ric Morehouse interview by LeBaron, 16, in author’s possession.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

During the first year in New Zealand, the success of the seminary program was readily apparent. James remembered, “once a month we would get all our groups together, and two, three, or four hundred kids would come. Sometimes,” James recalled, “there would be a hundred more than were signed up for seminary.”<sup>86</sup> Moreover, “there was a high completion rate.”<sup>87</sup> James rejoiced to see how many of them finished the assignments and received credit for the year.

What brought even greater satisfaction was the fact that the program was making a difference in students’ lives. Morehouse remembered one Sunday receiving a phone call from a bishop wondering what had happened. “What do you mean?” Morehouse asked. The bishop responded, “When I got to Church this morning, there was a line of kids up waiting at my door.” When Morehouse asked why, the bishop explained, “to confess sins... we have never had kids come forward like that in our lives.”<sup>88</sup> Due to the efforts of many dedicated teachers, “these kids really felt that they needed to go and see the bishop and get their lives cleared up. So we had kids really starting to put the gospel into action.”<sup>89</sup>

Another example of how seminary students “put the gospel into action” was during a testimony meeting at church. The previous day, seminary personnel had scheduled a service project for the monthly seminary meeting. During the testimony meeting, bishops were pleased to see that “the seminary kids took the program.” Various bishops notified Morehouse showing that it was not an isolated phenomenon. “Nobody else could bear their testimony.”<sup>90</sup> The

---

<sup>86</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 104, in author’s possession.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>88</sup> Morehouse interview by LeBaron, 20, in author’s possession.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 21.

seminary students felt compelled to share their thoughts and feelings following the service project and used the monthly testimony meeting to do it.

James' early emphasis on increasing the number of missionaries and temple marriages turned from vision to reality. "Kids were starting to talk about missions."<sup>91</sup> James carefully recorded statistics and found "the increase in missionaries went from four missionaries to twenty-two while I was there."<sup>92</sup> The youth also began preparing to marry in the temple. "[Temple marriage] started to become the thing to do," Morehouse remembered, "kids were starting to say, 'Well, I guess we should be married in the temple.' Their parents had been married and then later went to the temple, but all of a sudden the kids were saying, 'we should do it the right way first.'"<sup>93</sup> James also noticed a statistical increase with temple marriages. "Temple marriages began to increase enormously. I mean it increased by one and two hundred percent every other year."<sup>94</sup>

A natural result of an increase in the numbers of full-time missionaries and temple marriages is a stronger generation of Church leaders. After moving to Washington state, Morehouse later returned to New Zealand and was pleased to see his old seminary students "as bishops. It was neat to see them as a stake president and the two counselors."<sup>95</sup> Some of the local members remarked to James that "the seminary program made the Church belong to everybody" and "made New Zealanders all one family." As evidenced by the initial introduction of the program in New Zealand, seminary empowered New Zealanders to both strengthen youth

---

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>92</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 89, in author's possession.

<sup>93</sup> Morehouse interview by LeBaron, 23, in author's possession.

<sup>94</sup> James interview by LeBaron, 89, in author's possession.

<sup>95</sup> Morehouse interview by LeBaron, 31, in author's possession.

in living righteous and faithful lives and prepared them for dedicated Church service in the future.

## **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

The expansion of seminary beyond North America is an important chapter in the history of the Church as well as for the Church Educational System. This study examined this story by both exploring what created ideal circumstances for expansion and also identifying the important efforts of administrators, coordinators, and local leaders to establish the program for the sake of young members of the Church. Moreover it further documents the fact that the seminary and institute program of the Church has had an international presence for four decades. Throughout that time, seminary has provided necessary strength and support to young men and women throughout the world.

As outlined in chapter one, this study seeks to answer two questions:

1. What circumstances, events, and developments led to the international expansion of the seminary program?
2. Who were the key figures involved in the international expansion, what challenges did they face in establishing the program abroad, and what evidence did they see that the program was successful?

The answers to these two questions are as follows:

### **Research Question # 1: What circumstances, events, and developments led to the international expansion of the seminary program?**

Many factors led to the international expansion of the seminary program. The most significant of these factors was the tremendous international growth the Church experienced during the ten years prior to the internationalization of the seminary program. President David



O. McKay had travelled extensively as an Apostle to the international areas of the Church. Consequently, as Church President, he sought to strengthen the areas far away from Church headquarters. Technological advancements in both travel and communication, coupled with tremendous missionary success internationally, led President McKay to feel the time was right for additional expansion. Moreover, as a former commissioner of Church education, McKay recognized the need to expand Church education to the international areas of the Church. Where Church schools could not be established, he used seminary as a viable substitute.

Under the direction of President McKay, the Church established the first international stake in 1958. For the next ten years, the Church continued to grow internationally establishing 33 additional stakes beyond North America. More than fifty percent of these new stakes were established in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. The existence of stakes facilitated the expansion of the seminary program because, as Berrett explained, the general authorities had tremendous “confidence when you had a stake president. They’re so carefully chosen... [they] became necessary for our real expansion.”<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, as a result of improved communication and transportation technology, general authorities were far more available to stake presidents. Thus, when stake presidents recognized a need for additional religious education, Church headquarters was more accessible than it had previously been. By petitioning the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in the early 1960’s requesting some form of religious education, international stake presidents encouraged the Board to consider the possibility of additional expansion.

The expansion of the Church was not the only reason that made this a timely request. If the request had come ten years earlier, it is doubtful that the Board would have considered the

---

<sup>1</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 30-31, in author’s possession.

expansion of the seminary program.<sup>2</sup> Beginning in 1953 William E. Berrett, A. Theodore Tuttle, and Boyd K. Packer recognized that adjustments were necessary among the seminary and institute personnel. Prior to this era, the influence of secularism on seminary and institute teachers had created concern among the general councils of the Church about whether or not the program would strengthen youth in their faith. Moving forward with the mantra, “Follow the Brethren,” these administrators realigned seminary and institute personnel with the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve. They also reestablished local education boards in order to strengthen local leadership in their presiding role over the seminary and institute program. Thus seminary and institute teachers became a support to priesthood leaders rather than an independent educational arm of the Church. Therefore, the presiding authorities of the Church felt more confident that seminary and institute could provide religious education to the expanding corners of the Church.

Another development necessary for additional expansion surfaced when President N. Elden Tanner of the First Presidency approached Berrett asking him to explore the possibility of expanding seminary to Great Britain.<sup>3</sup> At the time, neither released-time nor early morning seminary fit the unique circumstances of Latter-day Saint youth overseas. Thus it was determined that unless a new type of seminary was developed, seminary would not expand where released-time and early morning seminaries were not suitable.

Independent of the determination that an adaptation of the seminary program was necessary for further expansion, Donald Wilson conceived and proposed home-study seminary. The short time in which the program was proposed, approved, and developed highlights the collective concern of Church Board members and Church education administrators for the youth

---

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> Berrett interview by Cheney, 16, Church History Library.

of the Church. This rapid development of the home-study seminary program enabled seminary to expand beyond North America, fulfilling a critical need for youth all over the earth to have a daily seminary experience and periodically enjoy the companionship of other peers of their same faith. Without home-study seminary, most young members of the Church would not have a daily experience with religious education. For this reason, the development of the home-study program may be the most important development in Church education since the establishment of seminary.

**Research Question # 2: Who were the key figures involved in the international expansion, what challenges did they face in establishing the program abroad, and what evidence did they see that the program was successful?**

Many individuals played important roles during this era of expansion. William E. Berrett as the administrator of the seminary program was a central figure of the initial international expansion. He was involved in virtually every aspect of the program's development. Under his direction, curriculum writers began producing home-study materials. Interacting regularly with the Board, Berrett proposed expansion, gained approval, and reported back the results. Berrett also determined who the first wave of coordinators would be in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. In both Great Britain and New Zealand as well as several stakes in Australia, his was the initial face of the seminary program as he visited with stake presidents throughout each country to introduce the program. Regular correspondence with in-country coordinators made him readily available as they administered the program. Through his various efforts, Berrett ensured that seminary's expansion to Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand would prove successful and lay the ground work for additional expansion.

Other key figures of the international expansion of the seminary program necessarily include those involved in curriculum development. Ernest Eberhard, Arnold Stringham, and Don Jessee all made significant contributions as they developed curriculum. Doctrinally rich and engaging assignments motivated seminary students all over the world to study. Often parents were so impressed with the curriculum that they would complete the assignments along with their children. Coordinators depended largely on the curriculum to teach doctrine and were regularly impressed with the learning taking place due to the home-study assignments. The quality curriculum developed by these men contributed to the success of the expansion of the seminary program.

The initial expansion took place under the direction of John Madsen in Great Britain, J.L. Jaussi in Australia, and Rhett James in New Zealand. These were the first coordinators to direct the expansion of seminary in each of the three nations. The next group of coordinators included Wes Christensen, James Moss, and David Parkinson in Great Britain, Gail Ockey and Paul Hokanson in Australia, and Rex Kennerley and Rick Morehouse in New Zealand. Each of these coordinators and their families made substantial sacrifices in order to establish seminary.

In each country, coordinators faced similar challenges. Obtaining curriculum materials was a constant frustration. Until they started printing materials in each of their respective countries, there was always a chance that materials would not arrive in time. Financial struggles in each country made it difficult for teachers and students to afford the seminary manuals and travel to the periodic seminary meetings. Obtaining and maintaining the support of local priesthood leaders, however, was consistently the most significant challenge to the establishment of the program. Ironically, the very factor that facilitated the expansion of the seminary program proved to be one of its more significant obstacles. After the establishment of local boards of

education, seminary operated under the direction of local priesthood. Often when coordinators took the role of directing priesthood rather than supporting them, conflict ensued hindering program development.

A unique challenge to establishing the program in Great Britain and Australia came from the fact that coordinators were American. Because of the American coordinators, some of the British and Australian Saints perceived seminary as an “American” program unsuitable to their situation. At times, this led to minimal support from local leaders. This same problem, however, never occurred in New Zealand. Perhaps due to James’ early efforts to train local people to serve as supervisors of the program, it was clear that this was not an “American” program, but a “Church” program. In each of these countries, the American coordinators directed the program for an average of five years before it was completely turned over to the respective local Saints.<sup>4</sup>

Measuring the success of the seminary program during these short years is difficult. Statistical measures do not exist to gauge youth’s spirituality or an increase in their religious commitment. However, a young man or woman’s willingness to serve a mission and marry in the temple can be good indicators of spirituality and religious commitment. Consequently, with the lack of better statistical measures, seminary personnel measured the success of the program by the numbers of full-time missionaries and temple marriages of those involved in the seminary and institute program versus those that were not.<sup>5</sup>

As seminary expanded to Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, coordinators and teachers in the weekly and monthly meetings regularly emphasized the importance of serving

---

<sup>4</sup> In Great Britain, David Cook became the Division Coordinator of the program in 1974. In Australia, Derek Edwards became Division Coordinator in 1975. In New Zealand, Rex Kennerley became Division Coordinator in 1973.

<sup>5</sup> See Neal A. Maxwell, in Conference Report, October 1970, 96.

missions and marrying in the temple. As time passed, coordinators paid close attention to the increasing numbers of missionaries and temple marriages that took place over the span of their international service and reported a significant increase. From this, coordinators concluded that the seminary program was successful in increasing the numbers of missionaries and temple marriages.

It is important to recognize that although the seminary program contributed to increased missionary service and temple marriages among the youth, other factors likely contributed to this change. With the establishment of stakes in these countries, the Twelve assigned regional representatives that could act in their behalf. These and other general authorities visited more frequently and regularly conveyed messages from the First Presidency and Twelve Apostles. It is likely that their messages regularly included invitations to the youth to serve missions and marry in the temple. Local leaders followed suit and echoed this call for more missionaries and temple marriages. Consequently, encouragement to serve missions and marry in the temple came from many different sources.

Moreover, new temples in England and New Zealand made temple marriages more accessible for British, Australian, and New Zealand Saints. The possibility of marrying in the temple for these faithful Saints was now a reality. With regular invitations from seminary teachers, coordinators, general authorities, and local leaders, as well as the accessibility of nearby temples, both numbers of full-time missionaries and temple marriages began to steadily increase.

In addition to an increase in full-time missionaries and temple marriages, coordinators consistently identified leadership as evidence of the seminary program's success. Years later,

many of the Church leadership positions in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand were filled with youth who attended seminary. Coordinators discovered many of their former students presiding in Church positions. Many current stake presidents, bishops, counselors, relief society presidents, and other leaders had participated in seminary as youth. These coordinators felt that seminary had been instrumental in preparing these former students for leadership. Although it is likely that seminary prepared youth for leadership, it is very difficult to prove a causal relationship. Moreover, as leadership positions in the Church are not assigned by ability, but by revelation, using the number of former seminary students in presiding positions as evidence that seminary prepared youth for leadership positions is faulty logic. Thus, in each of these areas, seminary was *a* factor but not *the* factor that influenced an increase of full-time missionaries, temple marriages, and better prepared leaders.

### **Suggestions for Future Study**

Initially, this study intended to include the efforts of the many individuals that pioneered the seminary program in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand from its expansion in 1968 to the transition from American to local Division Coordinator control in 1975. Such a study proved far too broad for one thesis. Additional studies in this area could be country-specific and focus on the transition from American to local coordinators. Moreover further studies could explore the challenges of the first native coordinators and how their experience compared with that of their American counterparts. In companion with seminary during this era, institute was also established in each of these areas. Other studies could analyze the expansion of the institute program during the time period. In the final months of 1970, seminary also expanded to Germany, Brazil, Guatemala, Argentina, and Uruguay. Similar studies would be worthwhile for each of these countries.

## Conclusion

The internationalization of the seminary program has provided the opportunity for Latter-day Saint youth throughout the world to experience daily religious education, a miracle that cannot be attributed to one individual. As Berrett explained, “any program in the Church is not just a one man program. It has to have everyone in it, or it will not work.”<sup>6</sup> From the weekly teachers to the coordinators, the curriculum writers to the administrators in the central office, the stake presidents to the members of the Church Board of Education, the focused efforts of many individuals made the program’s expansion a reality.

As a result of the initial success experienced in Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, the Board approved additional expansion to other areas of the world. In a meeting of the Board of Education in November 1970, Joe J. Christensen, the newly appointed administrator of the seminary and institute program, recalled that the Board “determined that the seminaries and institutes of religion, in one form or another, should follow the membership of the Church throughout the world – as soon as was practical.”<sup>7</sup> Because of this decision, seminary is no longer an isolated program found only in North America. Today, it facilitates Church growth throughout the world.

---

<sup>6</sup> Berrett interview by LeBaron, 48, in author’s possession.

<sup>7</sup> Joe J. Christensen, “The Globalization of the Church Educational System,” *Global Mormonism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Ed. Reid L. Neilson, (Provo, Religious Studies Center: 2008) 189-190.



## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, James B., Esplin, Ronald K., and Wittaker, Davd J.. *Men with a Mission: The Quorum of the Twelve in Great Britain – 1837-1841*. Salt Lake City: Shadow Moutnain, 1991.
- Bell, Kenneth G. “Adam Samuel Bennion: Superintendent of LDS Education, 1919 to 1928.” Master’s Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1969.
- Berrett, William E. *A Miracle in Weekday Religious Education*. Salt Lake: Salt Lake Printing Center, 1988
- Berrett, William E. Correspondence, 1953-1957, MSS SC 2785. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
- Berrett, William E. *My Story*. Unpublished manuscript, BX 8670.1 .B458m. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, BYU.
- Berrett, William E. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 6, 1991. In author’s possession.
- Berrett, William E. Oral History. Interviewed by Stan Petersen and J. Elliot Kimball, December 16,1988,
- Berrett, William E. Oral History. Interviewed by Thomas Cheney, Jan. 27, 1982. MS 13654, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- Berrett, William E. Papers 1836-1974. MSS 1955. L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.
- Berrett, William E., Burton, Alma P. *Readings in LDS Church History*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1958.
- Bloxham, V. Ben. *Truth Will Prevail; The Rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837-1987*. Solihull, England: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987.
- Bond, Donald R. “A New Type of Seminary: A Grain of Mustard Seed,” unpublished manuscript, in author’s possession.
- Bond, Donald. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 13, 1991. In author’s possession.
- Briggs, Merrill, “A History of the Development of the Curriculum of the Seminaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” unpublished manuscript BX 8664.1 .B768h L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, 1970.

- Britsch, R. Lanier. *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986.
- Cannon, Donald Q. and Cowan, Richard O. *Unto Every Nation; Gospel Light Reaches Every Land*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2003.
- Cannon, Donald Q. ed. *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles*. Provo: Brigham Young University, 1990.
- Cannon, George Q. "Our Educational Facilities." *The Juvenile Instructor*, April 15, 1890.
- Christensen, Beth. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, August 8, 1991, in author's possession.
- Christensen, Joe J. "The Globalization of the Church Educational System," *Global Mormonism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Provo: Religious Studies Center, 2008.
- Christensen, Joe J. "The Successful 'Successor.'" *Ensign*, June 1975.
- Clark, J. Reuben, *The Charted Course of the Church in Education*. Salt Lake: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1992.
- Clark, James R. *Church and State Relationships in Education in Utah*. PhD diss. Utah State University, 1958.
- Clark, James R, ed. *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966.
- Cook, David. Oral History. Interviewed by Gordon Irving Salt Lake City, Utah, 1986-88. Typescript. The James Moyle Oral History Program, Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.
- Cowan, Richard O. *The Latter-day Saint Century*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999.
- Cuthbert, Derek A. "Church Growth in the British Isles, 1937-1987." *BYU Studies* 27, no. 2, Spring 1987: 13-26.
- Doxey, Cythia, ed. *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: The British Isles*. Provo: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2007.
- Esplin, Scott C. *Education in Transition; Church and State Relationships in Utah*. PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 2006.
- Evans, Richard L. *A Century of Mormonism in Great Britain*. Salt Lake City, Publisher's Press, 1984.

- Griffiths, Casey P. "Joseph F. Merrill: Latter-day Saint Commissioner of Education, 1928-1933." Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2007.
- Hawkes, John Douglas. "A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Australia to 1900." Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965.
- Hokanson, Paul. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, July 17, 1991. In author's possession.
- Hunt, Brian William. "History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand." Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971.
- James, Rhett. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 5, 1991. In author's possession.
- James, Rhett. Papers MS 13530, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
- James, Rhett. "The Historical Development of the Seminary and Institute Programme of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand, 1969 through 1974." In author's possession.
- Jaussi, J. L. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 28, 1991. In author's possession.
- Jessee, Donald. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, July 5, 1991. In author's permission.
- Ludlow, Victor L. "The Internationalization of the Church," *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000.
- Madsen, John. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, August 8, 1991. In author's possession.
- Morehouse, Ric. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, May 13, 1991. In author's possession.
- Neilson, Reid L. ed. *Global Mormonism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Provo: Religious Studies Center, 2008.
- Newton, Marjorie, *Mormonism in New Zealand: A Historical Appraisal*. Ph. D. diss., University of Sydney, 1998.
- Ockey, Gail. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 14, 1991. In author's possession.

Packer, Boyd K. *That All May Be Edified*. Salt Lake: Bookcraft, 1982.

Parkinson, Mary Etta. Oral History. Interviewed by E. Dale LeBaron, June 24, 1991, in author's possession.

Prince, Gregory. *David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005.

Rich, Russel P. *Ensign to the Nations: A History of the Church from 1846-1972*. Provo: Brigham Young University, 1972.

Waters, Lionel, "History of CES in Australia." Unpublished manuscript, in author's possession.

Whitney, Orson F. *The Life of Heber C. Kimball*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2001.

Wilkinson, Ernest L., ed. *Brigham Young University: The First One Hundred Years*, 4vols. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975.

Wilson, Donald. "The Origin of the Latter-day Saint Home Study Program," MS 4941, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.